Bradley, Omar

September 1, 1955

Dear General Brad:

Belatedly, my best thanks for sending me the copy of the Senate Staff Study.

When come you again to New York? We have about six hundred ducks on the pond, lots of pheasant and quail, and my Pointer works well despite the hot weather. Do save a week-end for shooting if you can.

As ever yours,

General Omar N. Bradley
The Pentagon
Room 3D670
Washington, D.C.

rh

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July 28, 1955

Dear General Bradley:

Your letter of July 11 arrived in Mr. Murrow's absence on vacation.

This is merely a note to tell you that I do not expect Mr. Murrow back until early fall, but will be glad to bring your letter to his attention at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Florence Crissan

General Omar N. Bradley
Washington, D.C.

OMAR N. BRADLEY
GENERAL OF THE ARMY

July 11, 1955

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing a copy of a Senate Staff Study concerning the horological industry. In view of your broadcast on the watch question, I thought you might be interested in this Senate Report.

I hope you are having a nice summer. I have not been to New York since my class reunion in early June. I expect to go East again late this month and I shall look forward to a chance for us to get together.

With all best regards.

Sincerely,

Brad

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

84TH CONGRESS
1st Session

SENATE

DOCUMENT
No. 49

ESSENTIALITY OF THE AMERICAN HOROLOGICAL INDUSTRY

STAFF STUDY

OF

PREPAREDNESS SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 6

OF THE

SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

UNDER AUTHORITY OF

S. Res. 185

OF THE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

PRESENTED BY MR. DUFF

JUNE 8, 1955.—Ordered to be printed

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
55011 WASHINGTON : 1955

ESSENTIALITY OF THE AMERICAN HOROLOGICAL INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

On May 22, 1954, Senator Leverett Saltonstall, chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, established this subcommittee to study the essentiality to the Nation's defense of the domestic watch and clock industry. This subcommittee is one of the Preparedness Subcommittees of the Senate Committee on Armed Services. In conducting this investigation we have endeavored to stay within the limits of our charter and to direct our attention to the importance of the products and skills of this industry to the "preparedness" of the United States.

It is elementary that in time of war all things are essential. We have received testimony to the effect that in past wars such things as horse chestnuts and peach kernels were found to be essential. Here we are dealing with a somewhat different problem. We are considering the skills that have transformed an ancient art into a modern craft which, while using mass-production techniques, has retained its unique ability to work in microscopic dimensions and tolerances. We must not only consider the known products of the watch and clockmakers but we must also take into account the yet unimagined developments which only their trained hands and eyes can produce.

Our task has been made easier since all of the witnesses appearing before our committee at hearings held on June 30 and July 1 and 2, 1954, agreed that the horological industry was essential to the Nation's defense. The only demurring voice objected not to the fact of essentiality but to the degree of essentiality. If then we start with the premise that the skills of this craft are essential, it becomes our duty to determine whether they are essential in peacetime and how essential they will be in the event of a future emergency. We will therefore confine ourselves to the degree of importance of these skills, and to consider how important it is for this Nation to keep its watch and clockmakers "in training" for a fight which international communism may force upon us.

One could not examine the facts at close hand, as we have, without being thoroughly impressed that watch and clock making involves the observance of such tolerances on such microscopic work as almost to defy imagination. Training people to work with miscroscopic parts to such accuracy and to fabricate tools which will respect the subminiature measurements, requires periods of apprenticeship seldom heard of in other branches of American industry. In the case of tool and die makers, for example, it requires up to 10 years to attain proficiency in their work. It is apparent that if we need these skills in time of war we must not wait until then to develop them. War, if it should come again, will come without warning. We shall have no opportunity to build up a defense organization as we have been fortunate enough to do in the past. We must be prepared.

THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE WATCH AND CLOCK INDUSTRY TO NATIONAL DEFENSE

To understand the degree of importance of this industry we should first look back at its history. World War I gave evidence that the United States was not able to rely on foreign sources and there was an acute shortage of timepieces and timing devices. Those whose regular business depended on the importation of watches and watch movements found they had to turn to other pursuits while the sources were shut off.

Prior to World War II, Hitler set about to destroy the horological industry of England by subsidizing the German industry and flooding the English market, driving the watch and clock manufacturers of that great country to the wall. As a result of this maneuver the British industry was neutralized and at the beginning of World War II Great Britain had to turn to the United States for help. She remained dependent on foreign imports throughout World War II.

We call to the attention of all the words of Sir Stafford Cripps, to the House of Commons in 1945, when he explained this unfortunate episode in British history:

> * * * when the war came and we needed, naturally, to mobilize all the engineering resources we could muster, the inadequacy of the clock and watch industry left a very serious gap in what may be termed our industrial armor. The services required a great number of clockwork fuses, as well as clocks and watches.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> If we had had a considerable watch and clock industry earlier, not only should we have avoided the risks which are inseparable in such circumstances from dependence on overseas sources, but we should have had a reservoir from which we should have drawn machine tools, skilled labor and management well suited to the manufacture of many of these precision instruments upon which war so much depends today.

Certainly no Member of the Congress of the United States would want to be called upon to explain why an industry vital to the Nation's defense was not preserved.

All of the warning signs have been raised indicating that the domestic watch and clock industry is in a dangerous situation which, if permitted to continue unchecked, would result in the atrophy of skills which we are told we will desperately need in the future as we have in the past. If anything, we are today more dependent on the accuracy of timepieces than we have ever been in our Nation's history. The speeds of planes, ships, trains, and automobiles are ever increasing. Accurate timing and controlling devices will be needed in the future as much if not more than in the past.

During World War II the American watch and clock industry was completely converted to defense production. In addition to the traditional horological instruments which it manufactured for the defense effort, such as chronometers, chronographs, navigation watches, and military timepieces of every description, it also produced unbelievable quantities of time fuses for antiaircraft and artillery shells, timing mechanisms for land and sea mines, altimeters, and a host of other precision instruments for ships, tanks, and aircraft.

The dependence which the United States had on its horological industry in World War II parallels that of any nation which is involved in modern warfare. With the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, our Defense Establishment again looked to the American watch and

clock industry to satisfy our urgent demand for large quantities of precision instruments of high quality in the shortest possible time. Again, the horological industry produced.

It has been suggested that the defeat of Japan resulted, in no small degree, from its lack of an effective horological industry. The fact that the Allied forces selected the site of the German jeweled watch industry as a target of prime strategic importance underlines the respect which our own military leaders have for the industry as an indispensable part of a nation's industrial strength.

The experience of the British in finding that "the inadequacy of (their) clock and watch industry left a very serious gap in what may be termed (their) industrial armor" reinforces this opinion.

We must not fail to take advantage of the awful experience of our English friends during World War II. This country cannot depend on an overseas supplier of critical defense materiel. To do so would indeed make us most vulnerable. Were the supply lines from Switzerland closed to us in a period of emergency, we could look to no one else in the family of free nations, as the British were able to look to us in World War II.

We could do no greater service to international Communism than by depriving ourselves of industries such as our domestic horological industry.

THE INDUSTRY—ITS COMPONENTS

The American horological industry consists of four distinct components:

1. Jeweled-watch manufacturers.
2. Pin-lever manufacturers.
3. Clock manufacturers.
4. Manufacturers of component timers.

Necessarily, the greatest degree of precision is required in the manufacture of watch movements. Jeweled watches differ from nonjeweled watches primarily in the use of jewel bearings in the escape mechanism while pin-lever watches use hardened steel pins and bearings. Essentially, the skills necessary to effective production in either segment of the industry are similar, although because of the greater miniaturization and greater use of manual skills in the jeweled-watch industry some techniques indispensable to the manufacture of jeweled watches are not found in the pin-lever watch industry.

Extraordinary tolerances must be respected in the manufacture of clocks and component timers as well, although to a lesser degree than in the manufacture of watch movements. The precision which must be achieved on a mass-production basis even in the manufacture of clocks and other timers, however, is far greater than that required from nonhorological industries.

To demonstrate the difficulties which we would face in establishing a jeweled-watch industry if none were available to us, we may examine the slow, tedious development of the American jeweled-watch manufacturing capability of the Bulova Watch Co. In 1930 Bulova embarked upon a program to manufacture jeweled-watch movements in this country. The Swiss industry at the time permitted Bulova to bring to the United States tools, dies, drawings, and machines. In spite of this cooperation, it was not until shortly after World War II that Bulova was able to manufacture, domestically, all the parts that go into watch movements. Today, even such an accomplishment as

this would be impossible due to the fact that since 1934 the Swiss, with an understandable desire to preserve their own industry, have forbidden the export of equipment needed to establish a watchmaking industry.

We cannot overemphasize the long periods required to train key horological personnel, although production people, which constitute approximately 75 percent of the labor forces of the jeweled-watch industry may be trained in from 6 to 12 months. The artisans and supervisory personnel who form the backbone of the industry must have up to 10 years of experience before they are proficient in their skills.

THE INDUSTRY—ITS CAPABILITIES AND UNIQUENESS

It is perhaps improper to classify watchmaking as an industry. Because of the myriad of delicate skills that are involved, it may be best spoken of as craft which designs, engineers, tools, and mass-produces the smallest self-powered machine which man has devised—a machine that combines unparalleled precision and accuracy in dimensions so small that other industries could not possibly match it especially on a mass-production basis.

In peacetime, the industry produces timepieces of all kinds—clocks, watches, as well as scientific timing devices and controls. In time of national emergency the industry has served as an arsenal of sensitive, delicate precision devices needed by the armed services in enormous volume. With rapidly advancing technological developments and with the increasing trend toward more precision, greater miniaturization and increased automation, the skills and facilities of this industry will become increasingly important and vital to the national welfare.

Generations of research, development, and production have produced know-how and skills peculiar to the horological industry. Horology has become a unique science requiring specially trained and highly skilled personnel in engineering, toolmaking, poising, and other technical aspects of design and production. It has no counterpart in modern industry. This background, coupled with a capacity for volume manufacturing, permits the watch and clock maker to convert to precision manufacturing for defense almost immediately when time is of the essence.

Because of their special abilities, watch and clock makers have undertaken numerous research, development, and design problems in the interest of national defense, which have been successfully solved for the military. As Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson has indicated, no one can predict what new and yet-undreamed-of military items horologists may be called upon to produce in the future.

Apart from their unique capabilities, the nature of the watchmakers' skills distinguishes them from other manufacturers. The extraordinary dexterity and the almost unbelievable accuracy required of watchmakers will soon be lost unless the skills are exercised on a continual basis. Thus, the "mothballing" approach can have no application to watchmaking. The skills, which deteriorate with disuse, cannot be stockpiled. They can be preserved only in a going industry.

If the industry loses a skilled worker because of the economic difficulties which his employer may experience, he is reluctant to return to his craft because of the fact that he has not only lost confidence in watchmaking as a secure employment, but also gained seniority in

another industry which he is unwilling to sacrifice. Even if he does choose to return to his craft, extensive retraining is necessary—up to 3 years in some instances—in order for him to regain the skill needed to work with efficiency on vital microscopic tolerances. Thus, it is apparent that if we are to have a horological industry available to us in time of war, which can rapidly expand and achieve production in high volume, it is absolutely necessary that we have a healthy peacetime base. It must not be forgotten that in peacetime watchmakers have performed and will continue to perform research and development which may result in new precision devices which will greatly increase our defense strength.

THE INDUSTRY—ITS CONDITION

During World War II the American watch- and clock-making industry converted its production 100 percent to defense work. During this period, in which it was producing no clocks or watches for civilian consumption, the industry lost its domestic commercial market to the American importers of Swiss watch movements. Upon the cessation of hostilities in 1946, the industry naturally found it necessary to convert to civilian production, but found it almost impossible to compete with the Swiss. Reconversion was difficult and it was almost 3 years before the domestic industry regained efficient mass production. By this time the importers' hold on the market was strong, and at the present time but 15 percent of the jeweled watches, for example, sold in this country are domestically manufactured. This is the price that the American horological industry has paid for its complete contribution to the national defense during World War II.

We are not here primarily concerned with the financial condition of the domestic industry or any of its components. We have been advised that any of the American companies now manufacturing clock and watch movements, which are unable to make money in doing so, can, and in some cases will, either diversify their operations and make other products, or become, themselves, importers of foreign-made movements which can be cased and merchandised in this country under the long-respected American names.

We are concerned, however, with the continued existence of a healthy horological industry in which the vital skills which we have discussed may be retained, and to which new people will be attracted to learn the ancient watchmaking techniques. Without a continually replenished reservoir of skilled craftsmen, the industry will perish.

Although the economic health of the several components of the industry may be maintained by diversification or by importing, it is clear that only through the continuous manufacture of horological movements can the indispensable labor force be preserved. It thus follows that, even though the industry were engaged entirely in the manufacture of certain devices for the military, which do not require the precision or accuracy that watch movements require, the labor reserve would soon deteriorate and hence be unavailable, at a time of need, to manufacture those precision devices which this industry alone can produce.

Domestic employment in the manufacture of jeweled movements has declined from 8,151 workers in 1951 to 4,300 at the present time.

If this trend continues, it is obvious that the country will soon lose its domestic jeweled-watch industry. In the opinion of the subcommittee, such a loss would be catastrophic.

MILITARY ESSENTIALITY

In seeking an answer as to the degree of essentiality of the horological industry to warwork, Senator John C. Stennis inquired as to whether there were other manufacturers who could produce similar war items such as fuses. Witnesses representing both the Government and the industry pointed out that there were other companies who could make these items provided they were given machinery, time, know-how, and money. At the present time, moreover, there are only 3 companies outside the horological industry producing fuses whereas there were at least 10 or more producing them during the Second World War. Approximately 80 percent of the production in 1953 came from the horological industry.

The story of how peak production of fuses was reached during World War II is found in the statement made to this subcommittee by Mr. Roy T. Hurley, Chairman of the World War II Fuse Integrating Committee, set up as a clearinghouse for the entire fuse program. It permitted intensive specialization by different members of the industry.

It was estimated that the E. Ingraham Co., for example, could produce 10,000 fuses a day. This was inadequate, however, to meet the need. Therefore, this plant concentrated on manufacturing some of the most critical and difficult parts of the fuse because its watchmaking skills and facilities permitted such specialization. With this procedure, 66,000 sets of parts a day were soon rolling off the production line and being shipped for assembly to the Eclipse Division of Bendix Aviation, Eastman Kodak Co., National Cash Register Co., King-Seely Corp., Thomas A. Edison, Inc., Borg Products Division of the George E. Borg Corp., Elgin National Watch Co., Hamilton Watch Co., Waterbury Clock Co. (now United States Time Corp.), and Frankford Arsenal.

The other members of the horological industry also supplied other parts and the nonmembers were able to assemble tremendous quantities of fuses.

Another example of how the horological industry responded to the needs of the military can be cited in the experience of the Hamilton Illinois Watch Co. Prior to World War II, chronometers for ships were handmade and came from Switzerland or England. The Navy could acquire but very few from these sources, so turned to Hamilton Watch Co. with a request that large volume production of this highly complicated mechanism be initiated. From the model supplied by the Navy of a foreign chronometer, the company set up a production line which supplied the Navy on a high-volume-production basis approximately 10,000 chronometers by the end of the war. The company was commended by the Navy in 1945 for its achievement:

> Your company has done a magnificent and unprecedented job on the marine chronometer. The instrument today is superior to the world's finest, which latter took many years to evolve.

The horological industry supplied 3½ billion parts and tools to manufacturers outside its industry during World War II and furnished the

military with 25 million completed end items. Although there are many manufacturers in this country who can produce fuses and other precision materiel, given the time, equipment, know-how, and money, their own specialties will be urgently needed by the Government in wartime. The Nation will again look to the watch and clock industry as its immediate and primary source of precision devices.

The record is replete with many, many instances of the military services calling upon the horological industry with urgent requests for production of vital precision devices and instruments which were so badly needed to win a war. Had not the skills of this industry been available our ability to have won World War II would have been seriously impaired. A dissipation and loss of these same skills by allowing this industry to deteriorate would be a blow to national defense in another emergency.

Past experience shows that sound planning for mobilization requires the maintenance of a healthy watch and clock industry. We must not disregard this experience.

MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

One of the most important contributions of the horological industry to national defense has been in the research and development work which it has accomplished. There are countless jobs which have been done, but an example of one will suffice for illustrative purposes.

The powder-type fuse used in World War I was found to be unsatisfactory and Army Ordnance, in 1929, decided to procure the drawings and technical know how of a new antiaircraft fuse which had been developed by the Junghans Clock Co. of Schramberg, Germany. The Swiss watchmakers were producing it at this time on an experimental basis for the British Government. A facility at Frankford Arsenal was set up with machinery from Junghans to manufacture this new-type mechanical time fuse. Several German and Swiss horological engineers were hired to run the plant. It took 8 years to produce a sample lot of fuses. During this period the arsenal consulted with and called upon the American horological industry to assist them in overcoming the timing, testing, and production problems.

Shortly after 1938, the job of production was given to the horological industry and the fuse was substantially redesigned and improved in order to increase volume production and to save strategic material. When World War II came, and it was necessary to establish sources for the manufacture of this fuse, other companies were brought into the program. But in order to get them into production satisfactorily, the horological industry had to make hundreds of engineering changes and supply many of the critical parts as well.

Research and development contributions have been made and are currently being made by this industry on the numerous critical military programs: Improvement and standardization of mechanical time fuses; development of electromechanical and electrical time fuses; fuse miniaturization; development of low-temperature lubricants for precision mechanisms; development of timing release mechanisms for instrument parachutes; development of production methods for piezo-electric quartz crystals; development of gear-autosyn units for converter and radio magnetic indicators; research on mass production of jewel bearings and development of domestic sources of jewel

bearings; research on aerial cameras; development of new types of timepieces, such as break circuit chronometers, memory chronographs, and underwater watches for Frogmen; redesign and improvement of aircraft clocks; and research and development of gyroscopes, safety and arming mechanisms for many types of guided missiles, including both ground-to-air and air-to-air systems.

The industry is uniquely fitted to carry on research and development work for military items. Its components have unusual, integrated organizations, combining the knowledge of theoretical scientists with the skills of precision engineers and craftsmen.

JEWEL BEARINGS

Jewel bearings are tiny synthetic sapphires or rubies. They are used primarily to provide a surface against which the moving parts of various precision instruments can turn with a minimum of wear or friction. Jewel bearings are indispensable in all types of precision instruments as well as in jeweled watches and timing devices. For example, the instruments in a single bomber require more than 5,000 jewel bearings. Unfortunately, there is no satisfactory substitute for them.

The manufacture of jewel bearings requires painstaking training and skill. The shaping and polishing operations must be done to a tolerance of a millionth of an inch. Such production is uniquely within the capability of jeweled-watch manufacturers.

Before 1940, there were virtually no facilities in this country for the production of jewel bearings. We were dependent almost entirely upon imports from abroad. In June 1941 Germany forbade the Swiss to ship any jewel bearings to the United States. In August our Government designated jewel bearings a critical material. Mr. Arde Bulova, chairman of the board of the Bulova Watch Co., had foreseen a possible emergency and in 1940 undertook a program, in which other jeweled-watch manufacturers later participated, to produce these critical items for defense needs.

It is significant that the watch companies not only were requested to make the bulk of needed bearings, but also furnished the necessary machines, know-how, and training for nonwatch producers.

Imported jewel bearings proved to be a most uncertain source of supply, and from November 1942 to March 1943 no bearings were received from Switzerland.

> The production of instrument jewel bearings is a vital factor in our program for increasing aircraft production. As a result, jewel bearings have been designated 1 of the 35 most critical components of military production for which orders must be placed and scheduled through the entire year (War Production Board letter, April 27, 1943).

It was necessary to turn to the domestic jeweled-watch industry to satisfy the critical needs for these jewel bearings.

During World War II, the defense authorities encountered tremendous difficulty in satisfying their requirements for jewel bearings. A jewel-manufacturing industry was started in this country at great cost and with much effort. The industry was abandoned, however, at the conclusion of the war and reliance was once more placed upon Switzerland to supply these vital items.

Since annual imports from Switzerland average over 100 million pieces, the result is that in respect to its requirements for this stra-

tegic article the United States remains in an exceedingly vulnerable position because of its dependence on foreign sources of supply.

Following World War II, jewel bearings were stockpiled. However, with the redesign of instruments and measuring devices, these stockpiled jewels became obsolete for the most part and proved to be useless. When Korea began, this country was not able to use them in any great quantity.

As our technology advances, new designs require new types of jeweling. It is necessary to have a capacity for the production of jewels and only the watch companies can supply the talent necessary for the manufacture of jewel bearings.

Shortly after hostilities broke out in Korea, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided that it was necessary to reestablish domestic facilities for the manufacture of jewel bearings. To accomplish this, the Air Force gave a contract to Elgin Watch Co. for research and development of improved jewel-bearing machinery. In June 1952, Army Ordnance proposals were requested for the construction and operation of a plant to produce bearings at Rolla, N. Dak. Bulova was awarded the contract to build and operate this plant on a dollar-a-year basis. The present capacity of this plant is 5 million a year—far short of the required 150 million a year necessary to supply both military and civilian users in a period of conflict.

CIVILIAN ESSENTIALITY

Frequently overlooked, in the role which an industry plays in time of war, is the contribution it makes to the wartime civilian economy. We take for granted the timepieces by which our hours and days are measured; we fail to appreciate the confusion and inefficiency which would result if we were deprived of these devices.

During the hearings which the subcommittee held, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Lothair Teetor addressed himself to the importance of the horological industry to the civilian economy in time of war. He stated:

> At no time during past wars has sufficient manufacturing capacity for precision timepieces been available in this country to meet both the demands of the military agencies and the needs of essential civilian and war-supporting industries and institutions. * * *
>
> Numerous examples can be cited to indicate the hardships, and frequent production losses, engendered by lack of timing devices. Shortage of precision decimal timers for indutrial use was a chronic problem throughout World War II. Military demand for jeweled timers was so great that few could be released for industrial purposes.

Many defense-supporting industries had an urgent, continuing, but inadequately filled demand for timing devices during World War II. There was a persistent shortage of transportation timepieces, communication timepieces, medical timepieces, industrial timers, and timing devices for mining, research and food processing, to mention but a few essential activities which suffered from a deficiency of timing mechanisms.

Secretary Teetor also pointed out:

> Based on World War II experience, and considering postwar population increase and industrial expansion, it is estimated that in a future emergency a minimum of 3 million jeweled timepieces per year would be needed to meet essential nonmilitary requirements.

Because of the complexity of timekeeping instruments and the changing nature of the demand for them, it is impossible to build a stockpile to satisfy the wartime civilian demand. Clocks and watches are perishable—they require complete overhaul after storage if they are to be accurate.

It is the opinion of the subcommittee that the necessity for timing devices with which the civilian community must operate in an emergency period underscores the conclusion that the American horological industry is essential to our national security.

DEPENDENCE UPON IMPORTS

Secretary Teetor stated before this subcommittee:

> In planning for future mobilization, it would seem questionable to place any reliance whatsoever on a foreign source for precision timepieces.

Switzerland, a nation with which this country has had extraordinarily friendly relations throughout our history, is the world's largest manufacturer of precision timepieces. The Swiss industry, as is our own, is capable of producing not only the timing mechanisms upon which a country would depend in time of war, but also innumerable other precision devices which are necessary to a defense machine. Switzerland's traditional neutrality may be preserved in another world crisis, but a Switzerland surrounded by communism would be of little help to us.

We recognize the importance to the Swiss economy of United States sales of Swiss timepieces. We recognize the great employment which is provided by Americans who import and merchandise Swiss movements. We recognize the difficulty in reconciling these interests with the paramount interest of our national security. We believe, however, that both the Swiss manufacturers and the American importers recognize the overriding necessity of a healthy American horological industry, not only to our own national security but to the safety of the free world in the event of further Communist aggression.

EXPERT OPINION

In the study of any involved and complex subject, the opinions of men who, through training and experience, are expert in the subject are most persuasive. The subcommittee is fortunate in that many people who have been intimately associated with overall mobilization planning have addressed themselves to the problem of the importance of the American horological industry. Without exception, these men have concluded that the industry is vital to the Nation's security in time of war. For example, on November 30, 1948, F. C. Elliot, of the National Security Resources Board, stated that upon the basis of NSRB's study and a review of reports made by the War Production Board, the jeweled-watch industry was one of the four most important in this country, from the standpoint of national defense.

In a 1950 letter to the Senate Committee on Finance, Hubert Howard, then Chairman of the Munitions Board, wrote:

> As I pointed out in my prior letter, the maintenance of a healthy watch industry is essential to the national security. In addition to the items which it alone can produce, the industry undoubtedly would be called upon for the production of other items for which it is not the sole producer. In view of this, it is our feeling that, as a matter of precaution against probable future needs, every effort should

be made to prevent the dissipation of the productive capacity of the industry and to maintain it in a healthy condition.

Early in 1953, an interdepartmental committee established to study the essentiality of the American watch industry found that the production facilities of the industry were both unique and highly essential. It made several subsidiary findings:

1. The industry is dependent upon a very highly skilled group of designing, engineering, tooling, and supervisory workers and some highly skilled production workers.
2. These skills can be acquired only after long training periods.
3. The number of workers in these categories cannot be rapidly expanded in an emergency.
4. The skilled personnel can be retained during peacetime only to the extent that their skills can be profitably used in commercial production of watch movements.

In a letter to the Chief of Naval Materiel, dated March 19, 1954, Adm. M. F. Schoeffel, Chief, Bureau of Ordnance, said:

While the jeweled-watch industry per se is not the only source of watch- and clock-type movements necessary to the national defense, it is nevertheless considered to be extremely essential in this field in view of its know-how and its ability to make certain essential parts required by the watch and clock industry in general.

* * * * * * *

* * * it is this Bureau's opinion that insufficient capacity already exists in the watch and clock industry, including the jeweled-watch industry, to meet the national defense M-day requirements * * *.

It is therefore recommended that representatives of the Office of Naval Materiel be fully apprised of this situation in order that higher authority may be in possession of all the facts as to the essentiality of the watch and clock industry, no small part of which is known as the jeweled-watch industry.

Roy T. Hurley, president of Curtiss-Wright Corp. and formerly Chairman of the World War II Ordnance Mechanical Time Fuse Integrating Committee, declared:

* * * I do not believe we would have produced the required quantity and quality of mechanical time fuses if it were not for the American watch and clock manufacturers.

There is no question that their skill and help will be required for national security if we again engage in a major war * * * we must have a strong watch- and clock-manufacturing industry as an essential part of our industry-defense team.

* * * I cannot conceive of this country being dependent upon overseas sources of supply for watches, clocks, jeweled bearings, or precision-time mechanisms in the event of war * * *

Lt. Gen. Levin H. Campbell, Jr., United States Army, retired, Chief of Ordnance during World War II, stated before the Tariff Commission on February 11, 1954:

* * * I would say having the watch and clock industry as a going industry equipped with the necessary plants, the necessary know-how, the trained people it is of very, very great value to this country as a backlog and a safety for a rapid reaching of production * * *

Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, said, in testifying before this subcommittee:

* * * it is an integral part of our defense mobilization base. At the present time, production and employment is below the level that it should be in order to maintain that base in a sound manner.

In speaking of the watch and clock industry as a whole, he said:

* * * there is no question in my mind at all but that the watch industry as a whole is essential to the national security.

He further stated:

* * * past experience has indicated that the skills that are present in this particular industry are skills that we can use very effectively in connection with the production of other items.

It is very difficult to train people to the place where they have those particular skills. And I think it is important not only to keep intact, as far as we can, those who now have those skills, but it is also very important for us to have the kind of industry that will attract younger people into it so that they, in turn, will develop those skills. * * *

* * * if we did not have this industry and did not have this industry in a healthy condition, we would be deliberately penalizing ourselves as a Nation as far as the production of fuses and other timing devices are concerned.

Thomas P. Pike, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Supply and Logistics), Department of Defense, testified that—

All of these (watch and clock) manufacturers are valuable and essential to the Department of Defense * * *

There is no question that the skills involved in these several industries, constituting in its entirety what we call the horological industry, are vitally essential to our national defense in the event of mobilization.

* * * it would be a dangerous thing again from the point of view of national security and defense if any sizable segment of the watch industry or horological industry were to disappear from this country.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm the vital essentiality of the horological industry for defense.

Secretary Teetor affirmed before the subcommittee that—

The Department of Commerce, with particular emphasis on its responsibilities for mobilization planning and assuring adequate protection capacity to meet essential civilian needs, supports the position that serious damage would be done to the wartime strength of the United States if our domestic facilities for the manufacture of watches are permitted to deteriorate below the levels determined to be adequate for wartime expansion.

An interest in a more general part of our study was manifested by the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy (the Randall Commission). In its January 1954 report to the President and the Congress, the Commission stated:

Our productive power is our mightiest weapon in war. Defense plants and workers cannot be stockpiled. * * * Industries vital to our defense should be maintained at reserve strength levels.

Although the subcommittee recognizes that it is not bound by the expert opinion which has been offered to it, we feel that we would be remiss in our duties if we failed to give this opinion the weight which its unanimity demands.

SUMMARY

1. The horological industry possesses unique, indispensable skilled workers who require up to 10 years of training and experience before they achieve proficiency in their crafts.
2. These skills can be retained only by continuous application in watch and clock making.
3. Without these skilled workers, the American watch- and clock-manufacturing industry cannot survive.
4. In a period of emergency, the Nation cannot rely on foreign sources for precision timepieces, other precision-timing devices, or jewel bearings.

5. The Nation has historically called upon the horological industry as its sole source of precision timepieces, its immediate and primary source for military precision-timing devices and for the development and production of other miniature and subminiature instruments.

6. Since the horological industry is uniquely capable of producing precision items to the most minute possible tolerances, the Nation will, in another emergency, again call upon the industry as it has in the past.

7. In a period of emergency, there is a military and civilian demand for the products of watch and clock makers which is greater than the supply which existing domestic capacity is able to satisfy.

8. There is a critical shortage of domestic jewel bearing productive capacity.

9. The jeweled-watch industry is uniquely equipped to mass-produce jewel bearings.

10 The jeweled-watch production of the jeweled-watch segment of the American horological industry is presently below a safe mobilization base level.

11. The trend of watch and clock production in the other segments of the industry indicates that it will soon be below a safe mobilization base level.

CONCLUSION

It is axiomatic that in time of national emergency, all components of our industrial machine are essential to the country's defense. American watch and clock makers, however, are peculiarly essential, not only in periods of crisis but, in the considered judgment of the subcommittee, in peacetime as well. Their availability in wartime depends upon a continuous peacetime existence at an operating level which utilizes, to the fullest extent possible, the unique, indispensable skills which the horological industry possesses.

RECOMMENDATION

The subcommittee recommends that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Armed Services transmit this report to the President of the United States and to appropriate officials of the executive branch of the Government for their immediate consideration, in order that the Executive may determine and prescribe effective means for the preservation of the critical skills of the watch- and clock-maker's art.

O

Bradley, Gen Omar
315 N. Saltair ave
Los Angeles 49, Calif
April 12th

Office of
General of the Army
Omar N. Bradley
Washington

Dear Ed

This is just to express some measure of my appreciation for your fine help in putting across the main purpose of my Saturday Evening Post article. As always, you did a remarkable job in discussing it on your program last week. Thanks a million.

And let me say once again you have rendered another great service to our country. Thank God it has men like you to serve and protect it in these trying times.

I hope we can get

Office of
General of the Army
Omar N. Bradley
Washington

together for another game of golf some time soon. You were really hot the last time we played, I am still shooting around 83 ± 2 strokes.

With all best personal regards, I am,

Sincerely
Brad

Bradley, Omar

315 North Saltair Avenue
Los Angeles 49, California
April 1, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed the program last Tuesday evening and to express my thanks for permitting me to participate in it. I thought that in general the two sides of the question were well stated; however, I am very disappointed in Mr. Lazarus. He implied that my statement concerning the importation of jeweled bearings was inaccurate, ~~but~~ quoting Charles Taft to the effect that the various instrument companies, - Bendix, Westinghouse, etc., furnished the jeweled instruments for bombers. Of course we know that those instrument companies imported the jeweled bearings, about 99 per cent of which come from Switzerland, but Mr. Lazarus inferred that the instrument companies made these jeweled bearings. I am sorry I did not have the opportunity to set the matter right, and I wonder if there is any way to straighten it out now.

I think that an interesting fact is that during World War II some of the instrument companies named by Lazarus had motorcycles waiting at the plants where the watch companies made jeweled bearings to rush that days production back to their own plants so that they could carry on operations the next day.

It was grand to see you the other day at the Bulova plant. I hope we can get together often when I am back in New York.

Mary joins me in best regards to you and Janet.

Sincerely,

Brad

Omar N. Bradley

ONB:rn

Eng Part
Bradley, Gen. Omar

September 22, 1954

Dear General Brad:

It gives me great pleasure to know that you will appear with me on my 7:45 Radio News program on October 20th and I am looking forward to seeing you again.

I do hope both you and Mrs. Bradley will be free to dine with me after the broadcast.

Sincerely yours,

General Omar Bradley
Astor Hotel
44th Street and Broadway
New York, New York

rh

September 16, 1954

Dear Mr. Knaster:

Many thanks for your letter of September 14th. It would pleasure me greatly if General Bradley could appear with me on my 7:45 pm Radio News program on Wednesday, October 20th. I do hope the General will be free to dine with me after the program.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Ira H. Knaster
United Defense Fund
345 East 46 Street
New York 17, New York

rh

United Defense Fund

345 EAST 46 STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 7-8300

GEARED TO NATION'S NEEDS

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(defense program only)

FINANCED PRIMARILY BY
UNITED COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS

September 14, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Jesse Zousmer telephoned me yesterday and reported that you indicate willingness to interview General Omar Bradley on your evening network radio program.

The General was in touch with our office shortly after I received Jesse's call and informs us that he will be in New York from noon, Monday, October 18th through to the end of that week. He will be available on any day in that period with the exception of Friday, October 22nd.

If you are planning an interview with General Bradley I would appreciate word from you as to a firm air date. And please understand that I stand ready to assist in any way.

Cordially,

Ira H. Knaster

Ira H. Knaster
Radio-TV-Films

IK/jm

Bradley, Omar

Office of
General of the Army
Omar N. Bradley
Washington

315 S. Rodeo Drive
Beverly Hills, Calif.
January 4, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.,
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York.

Dear Ed:

Your letter stating that you were sending me a copy of your record album was forwarded to me here in California. I have not yet received it but I am sure it will either be forwarded or it will be awaiting me in my office when I go back to New York the end of this month.

Thanks very much for sending it.

We thought your World Wide Roundup, given last night was fine. I was sorry I could not be present with some of you and your people since I know them so well.

With all best regards and good wishes for the New Year in which Mary joins me, I am

Sincerely,

Omar

ONB:lh

Dear Ed - Your Runway Roundup was magnificent! Love to Janet - Mary Bradley

since dictating the above, the record has arrived, having been forwarded from N.Y. I haven't had a chance to play it as we are living in a furnished place - thanks.

Bradley, Omar

WASHINGTON

F. F.
Pl. return

19 May 1953

Dear Ed:

Each time I watch your TV program, and I'm a constant fan of yours, I get the feeling that here is something extra -- the whole story told clearly, plainly, and truthfully. So it is of little wonder to me that the Overseas Press Club should select you to receive its award for the best television interpretation of foreign affairs. I am most happy that this recognition has been given your reporting. I'll now watch those programs knowing that my estimation of them has been confirmed in a manner richly deserved.

With warmest regards and all the best.

Sincerely,

Brad

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Bradley, Gen
SP

WASHINGTON

12 May 1952

Dear Ed:

I was delighted to learn that your fine show, "See It Now", won the George Foster Peabody award for outstanding and meritorious accomplishment in the field of television during 1951. Certainly your factual reporting and full coverage of the news on the show merited this recognition and I am delighted that it has come your way. Please accept my heartiest congratulations.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Brad

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

From: The Committee on the P. O.

50

STATEMENT BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY OMAR N. BRADLEY BEFORE THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF APPROPRIATIONS, FY 1953

5 May 1952.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Committee:

With your permission I will make the first statement. It is based on my own views and does not necessarily represent the views of the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Service Chiefs will follow and indicate to you the effects of this expenditure limitation, and the appropriation cuts made in the House of Representatives on their respective Services.

When the final Budget Bureau action on the defense budget request for FY 1953 was taken, the Joint Chiefs of Staff believed it to be their duty to advise the Secretary of Defense that they considered the general period of 1954 to be the most dangerous within the foreseeable future for the security of the United States.

Since we made the point about the general period of 1954, I believe it is fair to you, and to the American people to give you as much information on this subject as we can with due regard for military security.

Obviously, our estimates are based on two things; the best intelligence we have concerning the activities and capabilities of potential enemies. Secondly, on our estimate of what protection we can expect from our allies, and our own preparedness.

We realize that with all factors considered, our estimate at best is a considered judgment, rather than a foregone conclusion. It is influenced by the flow of incoming information and is susceptible to the errors inherent to the problem of predetermining the capabilities and actions of a shifty adversary. Because we consider the general period of 1954 to be the most dangerous for the security of the United States does not mean that Soviet Russia will not precipitate World War III tomorrow. Nor does it mean that Soviet Russia will start an attack upon us, or our friends in 1954.

Our judgment does mean, however, that if the present trend of Soviet activities continues, the military considerations which today deter our enemies from war may have lost their deterring effect by the 1954 period. Our enemies will have capabilities of endangering our country -- doing it most critical damage -- at that time.

We would like to prevent them from doing it if possible. If we can't forestall the war, we would like to have the United States in a posture of preparedness that wouldn't find us helpless and knocked out in the first round.

There are many things that must be done between now and the general period of 1954, if we are to maintain our present relative deterrent strength, and to better our chances if war should come. Cutting the present military budget request so that major items of equipment cannot be purchased, or putting another limit on the expenditures we are allowed in the coming Fiscal Year, won't give us this position. As long as the United States and her allies are in a weaker military position than the Soviet Union and her satellites, the danger to our security exists.

The facts, however, would point up a period sometime after mid-1953, all of 1954 and the first part of 1955 as the general period in which the Soviet Union's capabilities versus our own should reach their highest level. Here are my own reasons why I believe the general period of 1954 to be that of greatest danger:

1. RUSSIA'S GROWING ATOMIC CAPABILITY.

In the late summer of 1949, the President announced the Soviet Union's first atomic explosion. If you would like a relative timetable, consider our own atomic capabilities between 1945, when we held the first test explosion in the New Mexico desert, and five years later, 1950.

When you consider that the Russians gained considerable research knowledge from German experiments, and German scientists, and add to this the

knowledge she gained from the Fuchs betrayal, you can see that the Soviet Union atomic progress, with all the knowledge that she has gained by these methods, should be faster than our own progress in our first five year period. I have cited this only as an example of what we might expect.

2. THE GROWING STRENGTH OF THE WEST POINTS TO '54.

It has become common international knowledge that our plans for the defense of the North Atlantic community have had 1954 as their target for minimum needed readiness. Fourteen nations are working toward this goal. At Lisbon, these nations pledged themselves to carry out the first big step -- the 1952 step -- in this build-up of our military forces.

It does not take more than common sense in the Kremlin to know that if this succeeds -- or even partly succeeds -- the chance of anyone overrunning Europe begins to decrease. And when our collective defense is assured -- they may not want to risk war with the West. If they have the intention of going to war -- and they have stated that war with the free nations is inevitable in their theory -- then they would logically do everything in their power to slow down our readiness, and might decide to strike before we are strong.

This present expenditure limitation, and the cuts in our own budget, and in the Mutual Security appropriations slow down our readiness.

The other factor -- when they should strike to do us maximum damage -- brings up this question: Does the steady increase of strength from our own defense efforts, then, tend to invite an early attack by the Soviets? The answer is probably "yes". But it is better to accept this risk of attack to obtain a real increase in allied strength. Otherwise, we are in danger of offering them Western Europe, and ultimately the United States, on a platter.

3. THE STATUS OF SOVIET UNION MILITARY EQUIPMENT.

This may seem a minor point. But it is an established fact that

military equipment begins to deteriorate when it is six to ten years old.

The Soviet Union ended World War II but did not demobilize her forces. Actually, she maintained an inordinately high war production -- about 65% of her national production -- for two years after the war, 1946 and 1947. Then she cut back, but continued to devote 15 to 20 percent of her national production to war materials.

Adding an average of eight years to this, you have the years of 1954, 1955. In other words, if a sizeable portion of the war materials that she produced in 1946 to 1947 are to be used in battle, rather than scrapped -- and remember she has a great deal of money and material tied up in this -- then she will have to use them in 1954 and 1955.

4. RUSSIA'S INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY.

Apart from our superior atomic capabilities, here is perhaps one of the reasons why Soviet Russia has not attacked before this. It is the effort she has had to make to rebuild her industries, and relocate a sizeable part of them in the less vulnerable area, behind the Urals. This rebuilding and increasing of her industrial capacity has been going on for years now. There are indications that she is reaching the point where she can meet some of the great pressures on her for trade commodities, which in turn will satisfy her needs for strategic materials to increase her armaments production.

Obviously, a satisfactory strategic stockpile is one condition a nation must reach before she can risk a sustained conflict. Every indication shows that she is reaching that stage, both from a basis of industrial capacity and industrial location.

Therefore, in 1953, and 1954, much of this self-deterrent that has held her back will be removed, and will no longer be a factor in our favor.

5. MODERNIZATION OF SOVIET UNION AND SATELLITE FORCES.

From time to time, the Department of Defense has presented to your committees in Congress an intelligence summary of the military strength of the Soviet Union and her satellites. You have perhaps noticed that the number of active divisions has remained the same, and the total number of aircraft has remained practically the same for a period of two or three years. Some may have deduced that this was an indication of no intention to make war, and no improved capability for making war.

Actually, there have been great improvements in the readiness of the Soviet forces. For one thing, the fact that they have maintained approximately the same figures in air and ground strength for that many years is a readiness factor. Supposing that we had kept just 50 divisions active and in training constantly since 1946, instead of this up-and-down demobilization, re-mobilization, and demobilization? Constancy of effort is an indication of improved readiness in itself.

But in addition to that, our best intelligence indicates that the Soviet Union has been improving her armed forces as fast as she could. They have improved their mobility and their firepower by more modern equipment.

In the Air arm, for one outstanding example, the Soviet Union has continuously been producing jet aircraft to replace World War II models. While we have been using up our World War II aircraft out of storage to meet our needs -- and to meet some of our Korean war needs - the Soviet Union has been producing jet aircraft fast enough to meet the Chinese communist needs, and at the same time to expand rapidly the jet components of the Soviet Air Force.

* * * * *

I hate to pin a relative program down to any one period of zenith danger.

In fact, today's estimates give the Soviet Union a capability which she may well consider as adequate to warrant the risk of a major aggression now. Nevertheless, the Soviet-Satellite capability is on a rising curve. As far as we can learn, Russia's modernization of her own and satellite forces, and the continued training within those forces that has built up her magnificent trained reserve, will reach a high point of veteran experience and knowledge, and a good point of material and equipment supply, in the area of time centered around 1954. After that, if sufficient means are provided, our relative capability will get closer and closer to that of the Soviets, and eventually minimize the risk of war--at least will eventually minimize the temptation for the Soviet Union to go to war.

Due to the lead-time required in preparedness, the actions we take here today can bring results in time to meet that threat. In my opinion, the sooner we meet that threat with some specific military power and capability, the better off we will be.

Our warning against the expenditure limitation and the budget ceiling is a matter of record. Any further major cuts, and certainly any further delimitation of expenditures for Fiscal Year 1953 could be militarily disastrous.

In the realm of national security, there is one precious commodity on sale today, especially for the United States because we have the price to buy it: "time". Next year and in succeeding years the price will be higher and there will be less "time" we can purchase. If we are allowed any time for preparedness after the next two or three years, I think we will be lucky. If we make proper use of the time that is allowed us to strengthen our forces, we can build a deterrent that the Soviet Union may respect, and we may avoid having a war at all. As an American citizen I believe it is very foolish for us not to make the best use of the time we have.

E N D

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

28 January 1952

Dear Ed:

We received the kinescope of your end of the year show and the script of the radio show, and I had a chance to go over it in the projection room the other day. All of us thought it was a wonderful job and you gave us some very thought provoking ideas.

I thought you would like to have a copy of the letter General Bradley sent to Mr. Smith, President of the American Oil Company, thanking him for the script and the film.

We'll probably see your man in Lisbon in the next two or three weeks.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ted

Ted Clifton

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

CJCS/McDuff/dc/gck/71321

21 ~~16~~ January 1952

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you sincerely for complying so promptly with our request for a copy of the kinescope film of your excellent New Year's Day program, "Years of Crisis." It was also most considerate of you to include a script of the radio version.

We expect to use the film and script a great deal during the coming year. Here compactly is the outlook of some of the nation's leading news analysts and foreign correspondents. Ed Murrow always does an outstandingly fine job and his New Year's show is tops in its field.

I feel the American Oil Company performed a tremendous public service in bringing this fine report to the nation. It furnished much information and food for thought as the old year ended.

I hope things are going along well with you and, this note affords me an opportunity to send warmest good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Omar N. Bradley

Mr. H. C. Smith, President
American Oil Company
122 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

April 16, 1952

Dear Ted:

This is a hell of a time to be answering your letter of December 18, but I did want to say my thanks, however belatedly, for your kind words about the TV effort and for lending us a hand with the Bradley piece.

I trust all goes well with you and shall hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Colonel C. V. Clifton
Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Department of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

18 December 1951

Dear Ed:

This is just a note to tell you that I think your new TV show is a knockout. I know that General Bradley enjoyed his participation from Rome despite the fact that it was ice cold in the studio at Cina Citta. We all got a laugh out of the fact that you were floating around in the air instead of with both feet on the ground and an ear to the telephone.

Ned Calmer worked his heart out for you on that program and on his spots from Rome. Actually I have never seen a guy so concerned with the success of something his boss was doing.

Incidentally, we all liked him, and think that he is up to the same top standards as the rest of the Murrow team.

Dave and I had two or three evenings together in Paris and, as usual, I enjoyed seeing the Schoenbruns and getting their perspective on our problems over there.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and another wonderful year.

Sincerely,

Ted

Ted Clifton

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

30 July 1951

Dear Ed:

I just received word from Dave Schoenbrun that he has his money, my honest debts are paid and I can now feel free, Chinese style, to incur others.

You are most kind to include me in your invitation and if it is possible I certainly would like to join up. But it will be worth everything to us here in the office if you can get General Bradley up there for a couple of days because he certainly deserves a rest. We'll be pulling for you and the boss.

S P

Please give us a call whenever you are in Washington. You did a terrific thing for the General's book on your show and we have heard nothing but kind words about it through the mail.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Ted

C. V. CLIFTON
Colonel, G.S.C.
Assistant to General Bradley

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

July 12, 1951

Dear General Brad:

This is written on the first day of my vacation in my log house in Dutchess County. First of all, permit me to say, however belatedly, how agreeable it was to have you with me on my program. Secondly, and perhaps more important, I have checked on the Pheasant situation in the autumn and find that there will be plenty of birds and there are indications that the dogs will have improved under training.

Both Janet and I hope that you and Mrs. Bradley can join us for a weekend in October, November, December or January. It will be rustic, but I think the shooting will be satisfactory.

I trust you will not find it offensive if I repeat what I attempted to say on the air the other night; mainly that I have for you a considerable case of hero worship which is something that I did not acquire in the course of rather prolonged association with Mr. Churchill or Mr. Roosevelt.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. Murrow

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

SP

General Omar N. Bradley
Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C.

July 3, 1951

Dear Captain Blanchard:

Thank you for your letter of June 20. I very much enjoyed doing the broadcast with General Bradley and am happy to send you the enclosed copies of the script.

Sincerely yours,

Captain George S. Blanchard
Office of the Chairman
The Joint Chiefs of Staff
Washington 25, D.C.

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

20 June 1951

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The reactions to your radio interview with General Bradley on Monday night have been so fine and the show itself was so full of informative information, that we have had numerous inquiries for actual verbatim material contained in it. Would it be too much of an imposition to ask you to send us a transcript of the interview with Gen. Bradley? We would certainly appreciate it.

Sincerely,

George S. Blanchard
GEORGE S. BLANCHARD
Captain, G.S.C.
Office of the Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

WASHINGTON

28 June 1951

J. no answer

Dear Ed:

I have been so busy since I returned from New York a week ago that I neglected to write you to tell you how very much I enjoyed being on your program with you and how much I appreciate the boost you gave to the book. We have people here who have spoken to me about the broadcast, stating that they enjoyed it very much.

I am already beginning to think of that pheasant shoot with you this fall, and I am determined to join you even if I have to go AWOL.

Looking forward to seeing you again before too long, I am

Sincerely,

Brad

O. N. Bradley

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

WASHINGTON

31 May 1951

Dear Ed:

It is the approbation of people like you which makes one feel that my recent six days spent before the Senate Committee were worthwhile. I surely do hope that the matter can be straightened out and that the existing strong feelings will soon blow over.

I am also glad to hear that there will still be pheasant to shoot next fall. I certainly hope that I can join you this time.

I will be looking forward to seeing you on the 18th of June, if not before.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Brad

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

WASHINGTON

55

29 May 1951

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thanks very much for sending me such an encouraging telegram. I liked what you had to say and the way you said it.

Pheasant shooting in Dutchess County next autumn certainly sounds good to me -- maybe we can do it - I'll try my darndest.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Brad

Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Pentagon
Washington -

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, N. Y.

MAY 24, 1951

GENERAL OMAR N. BRADLEY
QUARTERS ONE
FORT MYER, VIRGINIA

BOTH YOU AND THE LORD LABORED FOR SIX DAYS. YOUR EFFORTS CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO THE REESTABLISHMENT OF SANITY IN WHAT THE LORD CREATED SO IMPERFECTLY. AND THERE WILL STILL BE PHEASANT TO SHOOT IN DUTCHESS COUNTY NEXT AUTUMN. I SIGN THIS EVEN MORE RESPECTFULLY THAN USUAL.

EDWARD R. MURROW

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

19 February 1951

Dear Ed:

General Bradley is participating in an awards presentation of Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge on Washington's Birthday. Included in the program will be these few remarks which comprise his own views on freedom in our times.

The program will be broadcast over the NBC network beginning at 11:00 AM, EST. Parts of it will be televised.

Release time 11:00 AM, EST, Thursday, February 22. Thought you might like an advance copy of the text.

Sincerely,

Ted

C. V. CLIFTON
Lt. Colonel, G.S.C.
Assistant to General Bradley

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

RE RELEASE PLEASE NOTE DATE

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
Washington 25, D.C.

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EXPECTED ABOUT 11:00 A.M. (EST)
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1951

NO. 35-51S

LI 5-6700, Ext. 53201 - 53176

ADDRESS BY
GENERAL OF THE ARMY OMAR N. BRADLEY,
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
AT FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AWARDS PRESENTATION
VALLEY FORGE, PENNSYLVANIA,
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1951 AT 11:00 A.M. (EST)

The Freedom's Foundation is presenting $100,000 in Freedom Awards to more than 800 American individuals and organizations for outstanding contributions to freedom during 1950 at ceremonies at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

NBC will carry the program, which will include General Bradley's remarks from 11:00 to 11:30 A.M. (EST) Thursday, February 22, 1950.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Here at Valley Forge, at the bleak, winter retreat of a defeated American Army, we have gathered to warm our hands and our hearts to a greater task -- a global struggle for freedom's eternal survival.

I am convinced that we will win this struggle. In this righteous crusade, we shall succeed. And all those nations, joined with us in spirit and in action, will remain alive and free.

That winter at Valley Forge was a battle without gunfire, a struggle without glory. Because of their suffering and their defeats, the American troops almost abandoned the cause. But their leader, General Washington, never lost faith.

Now there is little chance that the march toward freedom will ever falter. Too many generations have been sustained by the miracle of individual liberty; too many men have lived in freedom to abandon it without a fight.

The survival of freedom depends on the collective industrial and political power of the nations who have joined in this crusade. In this torn world, the backbone of freedom takes its strength from the power we have to defend it.

The United States, and the freedom-loving nations of the world, have a greater industrial potential than our combined enemies. In the long run, this industrial production and skill will assure our military supremacy if we need it.

MORE

Among the free nations, we are attaining an international political understanding. The North Atlantic Treaty, as a first step, is a stronger combination than the compulsory league of Soviet satellites. In our individual nations, we are stronger because each of us is free. In every satellite nation, where communism rules through the tyranny of a power-hungry minority, there exists a fundamental political weakness.

Morally, and fundamentally, the free world has the undeniable power of a better idea. In our way of life, no worship is denied, no abandonment of religion is required; no elections are counterfeited, no automatic "yes" is demanded.

The sum total of our strength in these broad areas will assure ultimate victory over communism. And for the moment, we are the trusted leaders of this crusade. But in order to win, we must provide the kind of leadership that free men can respect and support.

In this great responsibility, we Americans need humility.

Many of us are caught in the illusion that we -- of all the people in this world -- are self-sufficient. Because of the supreme confidence we have in our strength, in our faith, and in ourselves, it is difficult to admit the need of help.

However, the American people, for all their strength and abundant charity, need guidance, courage, and inspiration. In our American pride at being the arsenal of democracy, we must remember that we are also regarded as the arsenal of hope. Great leadership in such a righteous cause requires that a nation be humble -- before its God and its fellowmen.

As we seek to protect the freedom which we hold in trust, we must provide more than material things. We must provide more than guns for soldiers, more than food for starving people, more than thoughts for hungry minds. We must show them our faith to bolster theirs.

We should realize that our nation is distinguished in this world by the great quality of freedom which sets us apart. There are civilizations, religions, and ways of life much older than ours, which mark other countries and other people for special regard. Many of our precepts, and some of our modes of life have been drawn from this background.

But it is this devotion to freedom that marks the American way of life. So long as the American people sustain this devotion, and cherish and protect and continue to earn the liberty which we hold so dear, this nation will deserve a great place in the history of humanity.

Nature's resources, and our genius for development of them, were placed in this bright area of the world to be shared unselfishly in time of need. I believe that the American people will be endowed with the genius for development and invention only so long as their energies are devoted to the greater good. Realistically, we must acknowledge that the greater good for the world requires continued contribution of energy, faith, and cooperation from all peoples who hope to share the American abundance.

MORE

Frequently the cry is heard, "How can we go on giving and sharing indefinitely; won't we spread it all too thin and dissipate our strength?" We hope that friendly nations will some day become self-sufficient and independent of our aid. For the present, our assistance is needed to hasten their recovery. For the American people to falter or hesitate is unthinkable, for we are provided with ample strength upon which to draw.

We have friends -- staunch, courageous and worthy people who respect our leadership and join us in support of freedom.

We are provided with the strength of diversity which no regimented people can equal. When we apply the initiative and imagination of enterprising men to a difficult problem, we can count on a solution.

Divine Providence gives us another, and greater strength which has never surrendered to any threat or peril. This is the spiritual strength of our religious freedom -- every man looking to his God, with faith and with prayer, for the guidance and the courage that human minds alone never quite provide.

There is an old truism that if something too big, is given to someone too small, to carry, either the load must be lightened or the carrier must grow big enough, strong enough, for the burden. There is little chance, as I read the avowed intentions of communism, that the load will be lightened soon, or that we may be able to shift it entirely to other shoulders. Since we now bear the burden, there is only one solution -- we and our friends must become strong enough to carry it lightly, and with great endurance, and for a long time.

Our own confidence is essential to our leadership. We must maintain the basic quality of a right estimate of ourselves and our abilities. I believe it is this kind of humility which is required of a leader-nation in these times of peril. I would not have us think less of ourselves than we should.

I believe that we can take some inspiration in our present trouble from the words of a famous American, Thomas Paine, who wrote of our earlier crisis just before Washington's troops wintered here at Valley Forge:

> "I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war, by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils;. . ."

In this assemblage today at Valley Forge, we have tried to capture some of the spirit and humility so necessary to the task of preserving freedom. These awards presented by the Freedoms Foundation mark significant contributions to this great cause for which free men crusade.

END

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

(01)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

1950 NOV 10 PM 3 05

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NA319 GOVT DL PD=TDN STATEN ISLAND NY 10 148P=

MR EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

JCS25423 RPT JCS25423

THANKS GREATLY FOR YOUR NOTE JUST CANNOT MAKE IT THIS WEEK END AM SO SORRY SIGNED OMAR N BRADLEY=

CHAIRMAN JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF WASHINGTON DC 101802Z=

JCS25423 JCS25423 101802Z=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

October 25, 1950

Dear General Brad:

About the weekend of the eleventh of November: Please don't say no until you have to. It's a wholly informal, flexible weekend and even a last-minute decision would be most agreeable.

As ever yours,

Ike

General Omar Bradley, Chairman
The Joint Chiefs of Staff
Department of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

No -

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

12 October 1950

Dear Ed:

I am having to leave this afternoon for the trip with the President to the Pacific and have not had time to check thoroughly my schedule for November as it relates to joining you for the second week end of the month. I can't think of any nicer way to spend a week end than the one you suggest with Averell, Bill Paley, Mr. Field, and you. However, I have such a full schedule because of the meetings coming up in connection with NATO and catching up thereafter that I am not sure yet whether I can make it. I think I can, but if you must have an answer now, it would have to be "no."

I will write you again when I return from the trip.

With best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Brad

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

October 6, 1950

Dear General Bradley:

I hope you will remember that I mentioned some pheasant and duck shooting the second weekend in November.

Our place is on Quaker Hill, near Pawling, about an hour and forty-five minutes drive north of New York. I will be glad to drive you and Mrs. Bradley up either Friday night or Saturday morning or, if you care to fly up on Saturday morning, I could pick you up at Stewart Field which is only about twenty-five miles from our place. The plan now is that the party would consist of Averell Harriman, Bill Paley, Marshall Field and yourself. The shooting will be fairly rough and the living conditions somewhat rustic, but I can promise plenty of pheasant and some reasonably fast flying duck.

We both hope that you and Mrs. Bradley can join us.

As ever yours,

General Omar Bradley
Quarters 1
Fort Myer, Virginia

No

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Ted Church?

18 May 1949

Dear Ed:

Today I was told that the Army Signal Corps will maintain a circuit for radio broadcasts from Vianna after the discontinuance of RCA facilities on June 1st. Have you heard from your man there?

Sincerely,

C. B. HANSEN

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

RCA is still operating out of Vienna and office here knows of no plan to discontinue.

H.Wefing.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Ted check F.Y.I. Thanks Ann

11 May 1949

Dear Ed:

A confidential interim report on Vienna: Civil Affairs has queried Keyes to ask for information which would permit the Army to consider the desirability of continuing RCA broadcasting facilities after June 1st or to permit the establishment of alternate broadcasting facilities there. We hope to have a reply this week; I will pass it on promptly.

And for the generous assist on your show last week, these many thanks. You're now the favorite broadcaster of our entire* family.

And congratulations on the award two weeks ago; you appear to have copped them all.

Sincerely,

C. B. HANSEN
Lt. Colonel, Infantry

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

*We're prolific; watch your Hooper!

Bradley 9,
phoned to WO
4/13

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

12 April 1950

Bradley

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Reporting to the American people on The Hague meeting, General Bradley will say in part:

> . . . . . "as these defensive plans develop, traditions will have to give way to reality. And even our own balance of United States forces—if we expand beyond the present levels—may have to give way to the theory of national specialization, which will fit into an overall balance for collective defense."

At a luncheon meeting of the Executives' Club of Chicago, Friday, April 14th, at 12:30 noon.

CBS will carry the speech on a rebroadcast at 5:00 p.m. EST.

I thought you might like an advance text.

Sincerely,

C. V. Clifton

C. V. CLIFTON
Lt. Colonel, GSC
Assistant to General Bradley

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

FUTURE RELEASE PLEASE NOTE DATE

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
Washington 25, D. C.

HOLD FOR RELEASE NO. 58-50S
UNTIL DELIVERY OF ADDRESS
EXPECTED AT 12:30 P.M. (CST) 1:30 P.M. (EST)
FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 1950 RE 6700 Ext. 3201-3176

ADDRESS BY
GENERAL OMAR N. BRADLEY
CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
BEFORE THE EXECUTIVES' CLUB OF CHICAGO
MORRISON HOTEL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
AT 12:30 P.M. (CST), 1:30 P.M. (EST), FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 1950

Whether we recognize it or not, the American people have decided to hold and save Western Europe for the free world.

In this decision, we are counting on the wholehearted cooperation of the other North Atlantic Treaty Nations. We especially require the utmost efforts of the peoples who live in Europe, and who must make the major contribution toward saving themselves.

Although we may not have realized it at the time, we Americans have been making this decision for the past nine years. In the Atlantic Charter in 1941, we announced to the world that Americans wanted peace, and wanted the world to be free from aggression. When the United States, and this principle, were attacked, we went to war to defend it, and ourselves.

While the battles raged in Europe and across the world in the Pacific, the basic premise -- cooperation for peace -- was stated again in the United Nations Charter in 1943.

At the end of the war in 1945, we assumed that the peace had been won, and that no participant in that war would again endanger the tranquility, or deter the economic rehabilitation of Europe.

With the agreements at Yalta, and the plans for the future made at Potsdam in 1945, Americans felt that they had assured the future cooperation of all nations who had been on the side of victory in World War II.

Almost immediately we disarmed. And to speed the economic reconstruction of war-torn countries, we fostered the Marshall Plan, inviting all nations of Europe to participate. Significantly , some nations in Eastern Europe declined the invitation.

MORE

Then in February of 1948, we were jolted from complacency to cold war by the seizure in Czechoslovakia. Americans were stunned. But we were not convinced that this meant any permanent disruption of our orderly program for reconstruction and peace. However, our friends in Western Europe were not so unwary. A few days after the Iron Curtain clanked down on Czechoslovakia, the Brussels Pact was signed for 50 years of collective security.

In April and May of 1948, the Italian elections began the cold war operations of that spring. Communism failed in that struggle, and Italy was aligned on the side of peace. But the line was drawn. From Stettin to Trieste, the boundary between freedom and aggression was established.

The American people were confused by all of these events. But our decision in favor of Europe and freedom was not revoked. In the United Nations, we continued to uphold the spirit of the Charter. In the Berlin airlift, we gave Europe a symbol of American determination.

Under the shadow of the wings of the airlift, the free nations of the West were drawn together, and in April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was born.

One year ago this month, we joined with eleven other nations in a pact for the collective defense of the North Atlantic area. For the uneasy peace needed a policeman. The political aggression which skulked under the cloak of a cold war had to be discouraged. It is our hope -- and the hope of the friendly nations in the North Atlantic community -- that this Pact provides the opposition to aggression -- both political and military -- which might disturb the peaceful progress we all desire.

For the American people, there is a great difference in the situation today and the situation nine years ago. At that time, our national attitude had not been crystallized. In 1950, however, this long succession of acts has given proof that the United States has forever forsaken isolation for international cooperation.

By charter, by treaty, by action -- with dollar after dollar -- the Western world has been helping to build a community of nations to establish peace in the boiling caldron of Europe. Germany and Austria -- former enemies of the allied nations -- remain in the category of unsettled problems. If our means have been less than perfect, and our policy less than steady, Americans can be excused by the lack of suspicion that was ours.

Today, the Atlantic pattern for freedom is unmistakable and almost complete.

MORE

Against this background of decision by the American people, your Secretary of Defense and I participated in the Defense Ministers Committee Meeting and in the Military Committee Meeting two weeks ago in The Hague. The Military Committee recommended to the Defense Ministers, and the Defense Ministers recommended to the North Atlantic Treaty Council, certain plans and organizational programs for the security of the Atlantic community.

Our discussions were rooted in the belief that the North Atlantic Treaty coalition could create a combined strength for collective security and, through self-help and mutual aid, build a greater deterrent to aggression than we have had so far.

Just a year ago, this Pact was signed in Washington. Four months later, it was ratified by the governments of all the signatory nations. Two months later, the first meetings of the Defense Ministers Committee and the Military Committee were held in Washington. At the second meetings in December, the Military Committee and the Defense Ministers Committee suggested to their governments a concept of military strategic guidance, which was accepted. It is the concept upon which our defensive plans are founded.

In four short months since that concept was first approved, the Regional Planning Groups and the Standing Group have drawn up the first general estimates of the forces which might be needed to deter aggression, and to hold the common frontiers in the heart of Europe. The plan includes provision to keep open the vital supply lines -- within the regions, and from nation to nation -- that must link these countries if all are to be protected. Each military chief who participated in this planning at The Hague realizes that this is merely a preliminary estimate -- a gross plan which needs much refinement.

Like any military plan, it must be subject to constant revision. Personally, I cautioned that the total forces prescribed -- air, land and sea forces -- were of such dimensions that the twelve governments of the North Atlantic Treaty might consider them beyond our reach. However, at every step the Military Committee pointed out that this first plan, drawn in bold strokes, only establishes a blueprint which can be modified as duplications are ironed out, and refinements are made.

Further, our exchange of information among the twelve nations -- and for that matter, among the five Regional Planning Groups -- could not be nearly complete in four short months. With an improvement in our security arrangements, and an improvement in the exchange of intelligence information, we may be able to scale down the requirements, and speed up the early implementation of the defensive plan.

MORE

It would be a mistake to lead the American people, or any of the member nations of this Pact, into thinking that we now have a complete master plan for the integrated defense of the North Atlantic area. But we do have a beginning from which we can work. The spirit of cooperation, and the profound dedication of these other nations to the self-help principle is most encouraging. They realize that they must not wait for the United States to carry the load and pay the bill. They realize the tremendous need for each nation to subscribe wholeheartedly -- financially, economically, and politically -- to the collective defense.

One of the small nations of this Treaty made the most significant suggestion. The spokesman said that in approaching the buildup of its armed forces, this small nation found that, even with the help which could be expected from the United States, its financial resources would be sorely taxed to make an adequate contribution to these defensive plans.

His statement was not preliminary to a further request for aid. Rather, it was made in the hope that all nations would realize the present shortcomings, and that those who were not wholeheartedly contributing to the implementation of the defensive plans would reexamine their efforts. It was even suggested that somewhere within the North Atlantic community of nations, a central body be set up to indicate to each of the partners the means, the rate and extent by which his armed forces must be expanded.

Just as the spokesman for that small nation indicated, as these defensive plans develop, traditions will have to give way to reality. And even our own balance of United States forces -- if we expand beyond the present levels -- may have to give way to the theory of national specialization, which will fit into an overall balance for collective defense.

For example, the North Atlantic Treaty defensive plans might require from us a greater air force, or a greater navy, than we ourselves would normally be willing to provide.

With such an arrangement, of course, a small bit of sovereignty is relinquished. But when I think that national pride and sovereignty are often paid for with the life and blood of soldiers, I feel that we must accept the more difficult alternative which comes with this joining of hands in collective defense.

The defensive plans made at The Hague, and submitted to our Government, need not change the balance of forces, nor decrease the appropriations requested from the Congress for the Armed Forces this year. The forces of the North Atlantic Treaty organization are so modest and so needful that every soldier, every ship, every plane, and every weapon counts, and will not be wasted. But in the future years, we must consider most carefully what our friends can best contribute before we decide what the American dollar should buy for the collective defense.

MORE

I feel that 1950 is the year of the turning point. A change in American thinking that began in 1941 has been confirmed by a series of actions -- the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Military Aid Program -- to the point that this nation, in its role of world leadership, can willingly make the first contribution of national sovereignty to the collective security of the Western world. If necessary, in future years we can identify our Armed Forces so closely with those of our allies, that we can achieve a collective force for mutual security. This is in keeping with the principle that each nation must provide that for which his resources, and his geographical location are best suited.

Step by step, and frequently working from crisis to crisis, we have developed a pattern of security for the Western world. It was like building a fence across Europe in the face of the Iron Curtain. With the Marshall Plan, we dug the post holes; with the North Atlantic Treaty, we have set the posts. If that fence is to be effective, it needs a strong mesh of wire that can only be provided by well-equipped, integrated military forces.

The military aid from this country to the armies, navies, and the air forces of our friends will help provide the strong mesh of wire for the allied fence. The first shipments have begun to flow; the organizations and the technical help are in place, ready to receive the equipment. Actually, however, it is too early for proof that this aid has already made positive contribution to the strength of our mutual defenses. It will take time and training, and further adaptation, before we can bring you a complete report.

Nevertheless, if there is going to be wire on this expensive fence that we have built with our friends around the land-holding of this community of nations, we will have to continue to aid these forces. We will have to maintain our present strength and improve it while each other nation steadily improves along with us.

Because the world is divided at the moment, we face the possibility of international aggression. It is the gnawing threat with which we must live. But it is my hope -- it is the American determination -- that the tendency for aggrandizement, and the use of force will gradually diminish. This North Atlantic Pact and the security plans which it has evolved -- is the world's greatest example of economic-political-military integration for peace.

History has shown us that a treaty can become a mere scrap of paper. So far, in its first year, this Treaty has been transformed into a living thing, an influence for peace, a deterrent to aggression.

We would be less than realistic if we did not realize that for the past two years, the atomic bomb, the American Air Force, and the tremendous industrial potential of this nation and its allies have performed miracles in discouraging aggression. But with our continued help and support, it is my firm belief that the North Atlantic Treaty and its organization for security and for defense can rapidly become a greater force for peace than any single nation can provide -- a greater deterrent to war than any bomb that ever existed.

END

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 11, 1950

Dear General Bradley:

The broadcast you did for me (or rather for that tolerant and long-suffering segment of the American public that listens to me) from The Hague was a masterful performance and I wish to say you my thanks.

Sincerely yours,

General Omar Bradley
Chief of Staff
Department of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Bradley

THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Bradley

9 March 1950

Dear Ed:

We heard "This Is Some of the News" last night and must admit that we all got a laugh out of your tongue-in-cheek presentation of the new approach.

Thank you for the grand treatment of the General's speech.

Sincerely,

Ted

Ted Clifton

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

MARCH 8, 1949

LT. COL. C.B.HANSEN
OFFICE OF CHIEF OF STAFF
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

COULDST SPARE FEW MINUTES TO SEE JOHN CHASE OF LONGMANS, GREEN CO., (PUBLISHERS) RE POSSIBILITY BRADLEY DOING CHAPTER ON PEACE AND WAR FOR THEIR PROJECTED BOOK "YEARS OF THE MODERN: 1928-1948". WILL LEAVE DETAILS TO HIM. [redacted] PERHAPS YOU WOULD WIRE HIM AT 55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK. REGARDS AND THANKS

ED MURROW

513 6..

RECEIVED

1949 MAR -9 AM 9:15

THIS IS A WESTERN UNION MESSAGE

C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU004 GOVT NL PD WUX NEWYORK NY MAR 8

EDWAR R MURROW

CBS

WCL20100 RPT WCL20100 SGD C B HANSEN WIRED CHASE TODAY PD

GLAD TO SEE HIM ANYTIME

SGS D/A WASHINGTON DC 082241Z.

152A.

WCL20100 RPT WCL20100 SGD PD SGS D/A 082241Z..

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

8 February 1949

Dear Ed:

I latched a ride from my boss man Saturday and scampered on home without amends for an early departure and without sufficient thanks for a delightful evening. I thoroly enjoyed it--especially those ad libs from the President on his VP.

En route home, I bearded the boss on the ritual about which you spoke at dinner. Because he is almost the only bird with any honest balance on this business of defense, he must sell his stuff more convincingly than he has done. He, of course, realizes this but he has also been a victim of that hot seat in which he sits. It leaves little time for thinking and a great deal less for moving around. We did make a start today, however, when the General accepted an invitation to meet with Association of Radio News Analysts on February 24th. Thereafter, we'll get together on the occasional briefing about which you spoke.

When you come to town, he does wish to see you. The name Murrow is as magical in the Pentagon building as it was in London during the war.

Again for a memorable evening, thanks.

If you find yourself with a vacant evening sometime in Washington, come out and have dinner with us. I have an attractive wife and talkative friends.

Sincerely,

C. R. HANSEN
Lt. Colonel, Infantry

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

November 22, 1948

LT. COLONEL C.B.HANSEN
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

HAVE ALREADY ARRANGED ATTEND ARMY-NAVY GAME STOP MANY THANKS FOR OFFER AND APOLOGIES FOR DELAY IN ANSWERING STOP HOPE TO SEE YOU THERE REGARDS

ED MURROW

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

9 November 1948

Dear Ed:

The boss has allotted me a thin handful of Army-Navy game tickets for a few of our good friends. If you want a couple, I shall be glad to send them to you. Unfortunately, there are no Annie Oakley's; we shall have to bill you at the going rate of $6.00 per seat.

Incidentally, the same this year comes on November 27th; it's Philadelphia again.

Sincerely,

C. B. Hansen
per ofgm
C. B. HANSEN

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

8 November 1948

Dear Ed:

"The way to win an atomic war is to make certain it never starts----"

"The world has achieved brilliance without wisdom, power without conscience. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants."

----from an Armistice Day speech by General Omar N. Bradley to be delivered in Boston at noon on Wednesday, November 10th. I thought you might like an advance text.

Sincerely,

C. B. HANSEN

Mr. Edward Murrow
CBS
New York, N. Y.

for speech see Program Material Upd (Nov Stuff)

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

8 November 1948

Dear Ed:

We checked again with Theater on the Rischel matter. They assure us Rischel will be tried on or about November 19. The entire business is in the hands of the Theater Commander and he has been fully informed of General Bradley's attitude in a letter, a copy of which I sent you.

We are beginning to get further inquiries on this business; I hope they lick it soon.

Sincerely,

C. B. HANSEN
Lt. Colonel, Infantry
Personal Assistant for
Public Relations

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

October 28, 1948

Dear Chet:

I must thank you for two letters, first for your generous comment on the album. I shall see that you get a set as soon as they are ready for distribution.

My thanks to you for the advance on the General's speech last night. I lifted a couple of paragraphs and also the quote on pessimism. I know I broke a release in doing it, but I hope that neither he nor you mind.

As ever yours,

Lt. Colonel C. B. Hansen
Office of the Chief of Staff
Department of the Army
Washington 25, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

26 October 1948

Dear Ed:

I heard your commentary on the fifteen years. Thrilled as we were with this replate of history, you help to bring it all back.

If history can be made as stimulating as this, please give us more of it.

Sincerely,

C. B. HANSEN
Lt. Colonel, Infantry

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

26 October 1948

Dear Ed:

"Pessimism in the guise of realism
dooms us to the prospect of war."

--an excerpt from a speech on unification
to be delivered by General Omar Bradley, Navy Day:

Wednesday, October 27th, 9 pm (EST)
Des Moines, Iowa

I thought you might like an advance. - See Pgm Material Used Now Staff

Sincerely,

Chet Hansen

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

October 19, 1948

Dear Chet:

Thanks for yours of October 13th. I had hoped to be in Washington before now to tell you the latest stories from Berlin, but it hasn't worked out.

Thanks for the excerpt from the letter to Keyes. Here's the latest from our man, Kendrick, in Vienna.

As ever yours,

Lt. Colonel C. B. Hansen
Assistant for Public Relations
Office of the Chief of Staff
Department of the Army
Washington 25, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

13 October 1948

Dear Ed:

You might be interested in this unrestricted excerpt from a classified ONB letter to Keyes in Austria. Come by sometime for lunch when you are in town. Our food's better than the conversation--but for you we'll make it worth the while.

Sincerely,

C. B. HANSEN
Lt. Colonel, Infantry
Assistant for Public Relations

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

of cable to E.R.Murrow from Alexander Kendrick, CBS correspondent in Vienna September 24, 1948

PROMURROW OUR RISCHEL STORYS HOT AGAIN STOP WE APPARENTLY DID SUCH GOOD JOB DEMANDING OPEN TRIAL THAT SOMEBODYS DECIDED IF TRIAL CANT BE SECRET THERE AINT GONNA BE NO TRIAL STOP ANYWAY LEARN BEST POSSIBLE SOURCE THAT TOP LEVEL MEETING HELD HERE TODAY AT WHICH AIRFORCE PEREMPTORILY DEMANDED ALL CHARGES BE DROPPED AGAINST LIEUTCOLONEL WALTER SALTY RISCHEL STOP AIR FORCE SAYS HES BEING MADE GOAT FOR WHOLE BUDAPEST BLACKMARKET SITUATION AND THAT WHAT HE DID HE DID UNDER ORDERS STOP THEY DONT WANT AIRFORCE SMEARED UNNECESSARILY AND THOUGHT TRIAL WAS BEST WAY OUT BUT SINCE THATS UNLONGER POSSIBLE THEN NO TRIAL AT ALL STOP AIRFORCE POSITION OBVIOUSLY ORIGINATED IN WASHINGTON AND IS ONE OF MORE SOUR FRUITS OF ITS PRESENT AUTONOMY STOP RISCHEL TAKING BETS HE WILL BE BACK IN STATES CLEAR OF ALL CHARGES INSIDE MONTH PARA THERES CERTAIN AMOUNT VALIDITY IN AIRFORCE DEMARCHE SINCE RISHEL WAS APPARENTLY MADE FALL GUY FOR LOT OF PEOPLE INCLUDING TWO GENERALS STOP BUT TO MY LAY MIND ITS HELLUVA ALTERNATIVE TO LET EVERYBODY OFF JUST TO PROTECT FEW GUYS WITH STARS ON SHOULDERS STOP THIS THING MUST BE PRETTY EXPLOSIVE TO HAVE SO MANY PEOPLE BACKING AWAY FROM IT STOP IN PRESENT SITUATION AND ALL THATS GONE BEFORE LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT USFA CHIEFS KEYES AND BALMER HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FOR OPEN TRIAL STOP THEY WERE SHORTCIRCUITED ONCE BY JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERALS OFFICE IN WASHINGTON AND NOW AGAIN AND APPARENTLY FOR GOOD BY AIRFORCE SECRETARYS OFFICE STOP WILL KEEP YOU INFORMED DEVELOPMENTS REGARDS

ALEX KENDRICK

Excerpt from letter from General Bradley to Lt. Gen. Geoffrey Keyes, CG, U.S. Forces in Austria, dated 23 September 1948.

****

You already know that Edward R. Murrow, CBS commentator appealed to me several weeks ago for guidance in his treatment of a story which trickled out from Vienna. As Bryant Moore has already informed you, the secrecy necessitated in the trial of Lt. Colonel Walter Rishel has roused a suspicion that the Army is deliberately concealing an unsavory scandal. It was also suggested that the secrecy stemmed from a desire of the Army to whitewash ranking officers that may have been involved.

Mr. Murrow certainly is not desirous of prosecuting the Army unfairly. However, as a newsman, he cannot voluntarily withhold information which he believes should be aired as a matter of public interest. And he has conscientiously considered the fact that any malodorous revelation would provide opportunities for propaganda and exploitation.

After discussing the case with the Secretary of the Army and with my staff here, I am convinced that the only sound policy to which the Army can adhere is to air as completely and freely as possible the facts as they are uncovered. Where information is suppressed without valid reason, the Army unwittingly subjects itself to the suspicious reasoning that we are trying to hide our faults and our thieves. Ordinarily the speculation engendered by this suspicion is considerably worse than the facts of the case might warrant.

Certainly you are best qualified to judge how the trial should be handled but I was anxious to have you understand our views and the circumstances by which we became involved in the Murrow broadcast.

****

July 31, 1978

MRS. JEFFERSON PATTERSON
3108 WOODLAND DRIVE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008

This letter is from Martha Biehle (now Dean of Stevens College in Missouri) who was at that time Acting Executive Secretary of the National Student Federation of America, while E. R. Murrow was President.

I believe that "we" refers to her and Ed - the earliest reference I have to his radio work.

Jean B. Patterson

an extremely interesting time in Mexico. Where are you, and what are you photographing this time?

Sorry, This afternoon we have had our fourth radio program. In fact, it was one of our best — but unfortunately the end of the first baseball game of the season was a tie and they played on for seventeen minutes of our precious forty-five. So we furiously rushed to

April 14th, 1930

Dear Marvin,

It was good of you to write us from the boat going to Mexico. I was sorry, too, that you could not stay in New York long enough to come to see us at the office for a while before you had to leave for our southern neighbor.

I hope you're having

cut our program to fit into twenty-eight minutes. We had to cut out most of our music which was too bad - for our singer was Miss Fjeril Hess, a Californian, who sings Russian folk songs in Russian and in English and plays her own accompaniment on the tupo (?) a native Russian instrument.

We've just recently heard from Chester Williams that Mr. Harry Chandler in Los Angeles has had to postpone his luncheon for the NSFA

until May! Naturally we're all swearing lustily! Now we're faced with a real predicament — raising real money here in NYC so that we can go on with our plans for next fall. Without money we can do practically nothing.

Within a day or two I'm going to reduce the list of advisors & send a short list out to the Exec. Committee again.

We enjoyed "A Month in the Country" very much and are looking forward with real interest to "Hotel Universe" this week.

Affectionately, Martha

PERSONAL DATA FORM
GENERAL CATALOGUE
OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE

DO NOT WRITE HERE

Please read this questionnaire carefully, complete it legibly without abbreviations, and return it as soon as possible to: General Catalogue of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011. Write your class on the outside of the envelope. Attach additional sheets if necessary; be sure that your name and class appear on each sheet. Not all the information requested applies to every respondent; nor will all of it appear in the General Catalogue. A draft of your General Catalogue biographical sketch will be sent to you for approval before it is sent to the printer. Please sign and date this form in the spaces provided.

NAME INFORMATION

Complete name Patterson (Last) Marvin (First) Breckinridge (Middle) ____ (Suffix (Jr., III, etc.))

(Mrs. Jefferson Patterson)

Bowdoin class Honorary LHD, 1975

Last name when you left Bowdoin if different from your present last name ____

ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE INFORMATION

Home address 3108 Woodland Drive (No. & street) ____ (Apt. no.)

Washington (City) D.C. (State) 20008 (Zip code)

Business address ____ (Name of firm) ____ (No. & street)

____ (City) ____ (State) ____ (Zip code)

Home phone number 202 (Area code) 333-5251 (Phone number) Business ____ (Area code) ____ (Phone number)

EDUCATION AND COLLEGE INFORMATION

High school or preparatory school Schools in New York, California, France, and Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts, 1923.

Please list colleges attended (including Bowdoin): earned or honorary degrees received

Name of institution	Degree	Yr. received or yrs. studied	Field of study
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	B.A.	1927	Modern History, Languages
New School for Social Research, N.Y.		1928	Politics and Literature
~~Clarence White School of Photography, N.Y.~~	~~Diploma~~	~~1936~~	~~Photography~~
Universitäts Berlin, Berlin, Germany		1941	German Language, Culture
Universidad Catolica, Lima, Peru		1942-43	Spanish, Peruvian Culture
~~American University, Cairo, Egypt, School of Oriental Studies~~	~~Certificate~~	~~1949~~	~~Colloquial Arabic~~
Bowdoin College	Hon. LHD	1975	

Please indicate which, if any, of the above study was done with the aid of a Rhodes, Woodrow Wilson, Fulbright, Guggenheim or similar fellowship or scholarship

____

If you were graduated from college with general honors, please check honors received

☐ Summa cum laude ☐ Magna cum laude ☐ Cum laude

If you received Bowdoin departmental honors, please check honors received

☐ Highest Honors ☐ High Honors ☐ Honors

Other relatives who have attended Bowdoin or the Maine Medical School. Please give complete name, Medical School or Bowdoin class, and relationship to you

If you have relatives who did not attend Bowdoin but (1) received an honorary degree from the College or (2) served on its Governing Boards, give name of each and relationship to you. In the case of an honorary degree recipient, give degree and year awarded; for Governing Boards member give inclusive dates of service

CAREER INFORMATION

Are you retired? ☒ Yes ☐ No

Occupation. If retired, indicate your last active occupation or the one which best describes your working career

~~Photographer, Photojournalist, Broadcaster (CBS), Volunteer: National Chairman~~ of the Frontier Nursing Service.

Please list the jobs you have held in chronological order since leaving college. Exclude military service unless it has been your career. You may enclose your résumé if you prefer, but make sure that it is current and contains the information requested

Job title	Name of employer	City & state	Inclusive dates
Film maker	FNS, AAVC and Self	Kentucky, Vassar College, etc.	1929-31
Secretary	Democratic National Comm.	Washington, D.C.	1930-32
Secretary	Congressman from Arizona	Washington, D.C.	1934-35
Photographer, Photojournalist	- Self	New York, N.Y.	1936-39
Broadcaster,	Columbia Broadcasting System,	7 European countries	1939-40
Wife of Foreign Service Officer/Ambassador		GERMANY Berlin, Peru, Belgium, Egypt, Greece, Uruguay	1940-58

Offices, directorates, and trusteeships held in any of the following with position and inclusive dates of service

Business organizations

Religious, educational, and charitable Beauvoir School, Member of Governing Board 1953-56

Frontier Nursing Service, Member, Board of Governors, 1955-75, Chairman, Board of Governors, 1960-75

Literary, scientific, and professional 1) Society of Women Geographers, member 1936 to present member of National Council 1972-78. 2) Corcoran Gallery of Art-founding member 1953 to present. of Women's Committee, Chairman of Women's Committee 1955-56. 3) Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., Member, Board of Trustees, 1962-65. 4) National Symphony Orchestra, Member of Board of Directors, 1968-69. 5) Smithsonian Institution Associates, Member of Women's Committee, 1971-74 and 1975-78. (Incomplete)

~~Offices in town, state, or federal government~~

College fraternity _____ Are you a member of Phi Beta Kappa? _____

Varsity sports in which you received a letter

- ☐ Baseball
- ☐ Basketball
- ☐ Cross-Country
- ☐ Field Hockey
- ☐ Football
- ☐ Golf
- ☐ Hockey
- ☐ Lacrosse
- ☐ Sailing
- ☐ Skiing
- ☐ Soccer
- ☐ Squash
- ☐ Swimming
- ☐ Tennis
- ☐ Track
- ☐ Wrestling
- ☐ Other sport(s) _____

Bowdoin activities

- ☐ Afro-Am Society
- ☐ Bachelors
- ☐ Bugle/Orient
- ☐ Glee Club/Choir
- ☐ Masque & Gown
- ☐ Meddiebempsters
- ☐ Quill
- ☐ Voluntary Service (Bermuda North, Pineland Big Brother/Sister, etc.)
- ☐ Other Activities _____

SERVICE TO BOWDOIN

Please check and include dates of service if you have served Bowdoin as

Alumni Council
- ☐ Member-at-Large _____
- ☐ Admissions Aide _____
- ☐ Campaign Worker _____
- ☐ Class Agent _____

Class Bequest
- ☐ Chairman _____
- ☐ Fund Director _____
- ☐ Placement Aide _____
- ☐ Overseer _____

☐ Trustee _____

FAMILY INFORMATION

Date of birth October 2 1905 (Month Day Year) Place of birth New York (City) New York (State)

Complete names of your father and mother (include maiden name); if father or mother is Bowdoin alumnus, give class year; if either holds an honorary degree from Bowdoin, give degree and year awarded

Father John Cabell Breckinridge

Mother Isabella Goodrich Breckinridge

Full name of your spouse before marriage Jefferson Patterson

Spouse's college, class year and occupation Yale '13, Harvard Law School '16, Diplomat (ret.)

Date of your marriage June 20 1940 (Month Day Year) Date of death if your spouse deceased November 12, 1977

Previous marriages, if any (same information) _____

First name, year of birth, and sex of each of your children; if child is a Bowdoin student or alumnus, give class year; if child has received an honorary degree from Bowdoin, give degree and year awarded

Patricia Marvin Patterson, 1948, Female

Mark Julian Patterson, 1950, Male

If you are a Certified Public Accountant, Chartered Life Underwriter, Professional Engineer, and so forth, please indicate your professional certification here

_____

If you are listed in any Who's Who, please indicate which one and year of latest entry

Who's Who of American Women 1958-59, Who's Who in America, 39th Edition 1976

MILITARY SERVICE (Career persons omit this section)

If you have served in the Armed Forces, please indicate branch _____

Dates of active duty _____ Highest rank attained _____

Rank and branch if you are currently in the active reserve _____

AWARDS, HONORS, DECORATIONS

List civic, educational, military, professional, and religious honors, with dates

Bowdoin College, Honorary LHD 1975

Frontier Nursing Service, Honorary Chairman 1975

Kentucky Colonelcy, 1975

NOTEWORTHY SPECIAL WORK

Research, inventions, publications (written or edited), outstanding artistic or architectural works, musical compositions, and so forth, with dates 1) One-man show of photographs in New York, 1937, and at the Corcoran Gallery Art School, 1973. 2) Photographs and Articles with photographs in many magazines such as LIFE, TOWN AND COUNTRY, VOGUE, SPUR, 1933-39, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING, etc. 3) Publications (edited) THE PERUVIAN WAY (1943), LIVING IN EGYPT (1949), AT HOME IN URUGUAY (1957)

Date 12 July 1976

Anne Breckinridge Patterson
Signature

THIRD ANNUAL CONGRESS

of the

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA CAMPUS
DECEMBER 15-17, 1927
LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

The National Student Federation of the United States of America

OFFICERS FOR 1927

President, MARVIN BRECKINRIDGE, Vassar College Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Secretary-Treasurer, JOSEPH T. OWENS, Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina, Kansas

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

New England, CHANDLER M. WRIGHT, Tufts College, Medford, Mass

Middle Atlantic, H. J. BUDD, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

South, SIDNEY CHAPPELL, North Carolina University, Chapel Hill, N. C.

East Central, J. WILLARD RIPPON, Uni. of the City of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio.

West Central, MILDRED BOIE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Far West, STANLEY WEIGEL, Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.

DELEGATES AT LARGE

H. CHAPMAN ROSE, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

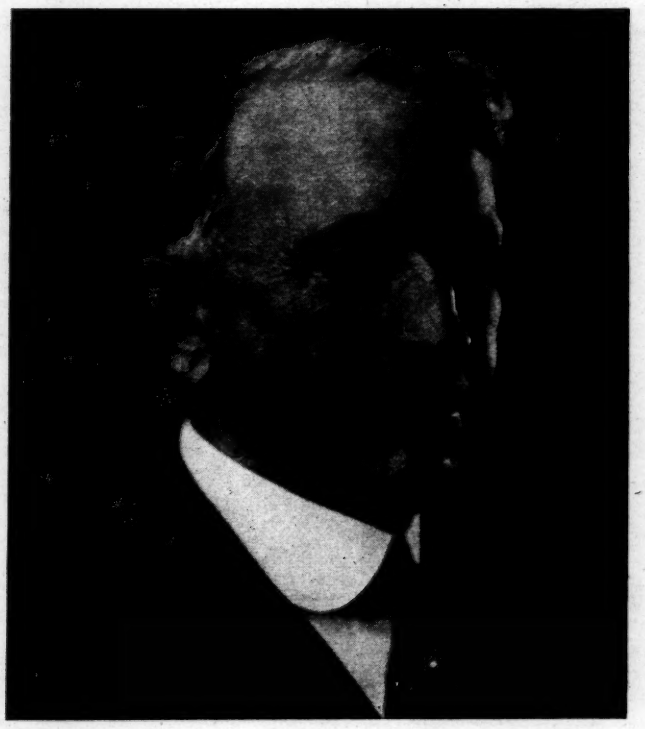
RHEA M. SMITH, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.

EX PRESIDENT

LEWIS FOX, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

CONGRESS COMMITTEE

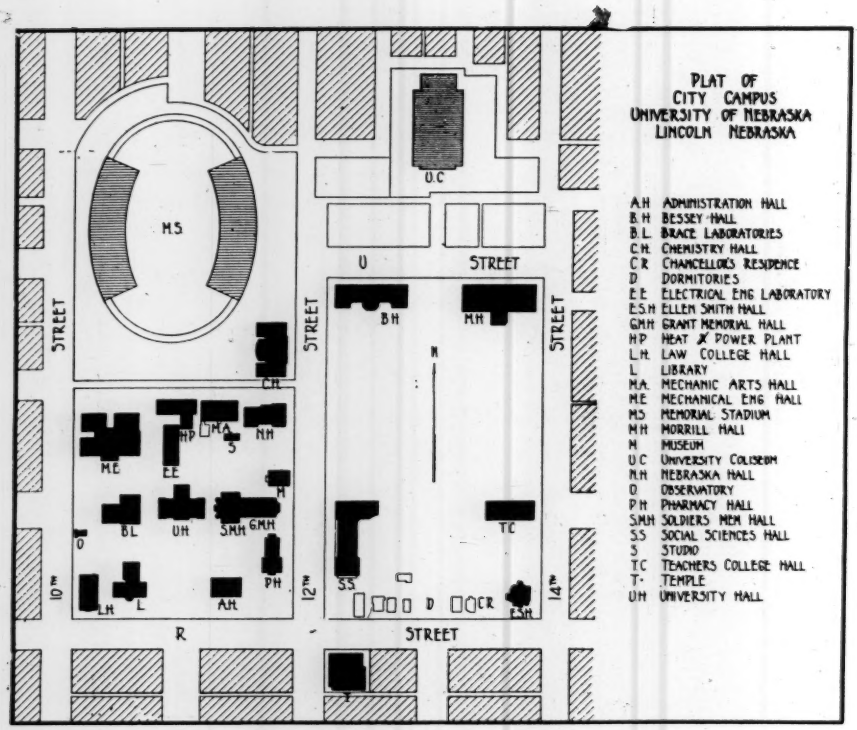
Chairman, CHANDLER M. WRIGHT
Nebraska, RUTH PALMER
Secretary, MARTHA WENTWORTH
Reception, DEAN HEPPNER
Railroads, THOMAS M. WILSON, JR.
Publicity, MUNRO KEZER



WELCOME!

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome on behalf of the University of Nebraska the delegates to the National Student Federation of America. You will find Lincoln a city of culture and hospitality and our great university ready to serve you in any way possible. I trust that your days here will be pleasant and profitable ones. The positions which you hold in your individual schools are positions of great responsibility and I hope that from your deliberations here your own institutions may derive worthy benefit.

E. A. BURNETT,
Acting Chancellor



NOTICES

Ellen Smith Hall will be the Convention Headquarters. Information Bureau here.

Morrill Hall will house all meetings, except the Thursday evening meeting, it will be held in MEMORIAL HALL. (Enter on the west side.)

Transportation will be furnished from Ellen Smith Hall to the Banquet on the Ag Campus Friday evening. At 6:00 o'clock sharp.

Transportation will be furnished from the Banquet to the Varsity Party.

All delegates will be expected to wear their delegate badges.

National Student Federation of the United States of America
Third Annual Congress, University of Nebraska,
Lincoln, Nebraska, December 15-17, 1927

PROGRAM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15

10:00 A. M. Arrival of delegates. Registration at Ellen Smith Hall. Guidance to lodgings.

10:00 A. M. Executive Committee meeting in Alpha Omicron Pi chapter room.

12:00 M. Lunch at lodgings.

1:30 P. M. Registration continues in Ellen Smith Hall.

2:00 P. M. Tour of State Capitol Building. Those wishing to go through the Capitol meet at Ellen Smith Hall at 2:00 sharp. Guides will be furnished.

2:30 P. M. Alternate program for the afternoon. Delegates wishing wishing to do so may be guests of the Lincoln Theater. Meet at Ellen Smith Hall.

6:15 P. M. Dinner at lodgings.

8:00 P. M. First session of the Congress in Temple Theatre. (Enter from west.)
Welcome by Merle Jones, for Nebraska Student body.
Welcome by Acting Chancellor E. A. Burnett, for the University of Nebraska.
Welcome by Governor Adam McMullen, for the State of Nebraska.
N. S. F. A. President's address — Marvin Breckenridge, Vassar, president, N. S. F. A.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

9:30 A. M. Congress meeting, Morrill Hall, Room 20.
Resume of past year. Treasurer's report.
Address by Miss Hermes, Representative of the International Confederation of Students.

10:00 to
12:00 A. M. Discussion groups. Meetings in Morrill Hall.
Honor system and student government .....Gallery A and Gallery B
Fraternities ..... Room 219
Curriculum ..... Room 212
Athletics..... Room 20
Training for Public Careers.....Room 204
GALLERY B

12:15 P. M. Luncheon, Venetian Room, Hotel Lincoln. Delegates meet in Ellen Smith Hall at 12:00 o'clock and parties will be conducted to the Lincoln by members of the Nebraska Council.

2:30 P. M. Preliminary regional meetings of Delegates in Morrill Hall.

New England.....Room 204
Middle Atlantic.....Room 212
South.....Gallery A
East Central.....Room 20
West Central.....Gallery B
Far West.....Room 219

3:00 to
5:30 P. M. Standing Committees.

1. Constitutions and New Members.....Room 20
2. Finance and Central Office.....Room 204
3. International Relations.....Gallery A
4. Travel.....Room 212
5. Curriculum.....Gallery B
6. Publicity.....Room 219

6:00 P. M. Delegates meet at Ellen Smith Hall. Transportation to the College of Agriculture campus will be furnished by the Chamber of Commerce.

6:15 P. M. Banquet, Student Activities building, College of Agriculture.

Nebraska — Dr. G. E. Condra, chairman of the conservation and survey division, University of Nebraska.

Address by Dr. J. H. T. Main, president of Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa.

9:30 P. M. Delegates will be guests at the "Varsity Drag," all-university dance in the Coliseum. Transportation will be furnished to the Coliseum by the Chamber of Commerce.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17

9:30 A. M. Congress meeting in Morrill Hall, Room 20.

Reports of Standing Committee.
Report of Topical Committees.
Election of National officers.
Address: "The Student Heretic," Prof. Arthur J. Todd, Northwestern University.

12:15 M. Luncheon, Ellen Smith Hall under the auspices of the Associated Women Students of the University of Nebraska.

2:30 to
3:30 P. M. Regional Meetings. Same rooms as Friday sessions.

Election of Regional Representatives on Executive Committee.

3:30 P. M. Meeting of New Officers to elect delegates at large.

4:00 P. M. Reception for all delegates, Morrill Hall. Dancing in Gallery A and B. Students and visitors welcomed to meet delegates.

7:30 P. M. Final Congress meeting. Morrill Hall, Room 20.
Old business.
Announcement of New Executive Committee.
Induction of new officers.
Choice of time and place of fourth annual Congress.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18

10:00 A. M. Meeting of Old and New Executivve Committees.
1:00 P. M. Lunch for Nebraska Student Council by N. S. F. A. Executive Committee.
2:30 P. M. Meeting of New Executive Committee.

NEBRASKA COUNCIL

President.....JAMES H. JENSEN
Vice-President.....RUTH PALMER
Secretary.....ERNESTINE MCNEIL
Treasurer.....RICHARD F. VETTE

ROBERT DAVENPORT	GEORGE HEALY	MARJORIE STRUDEVANT
DWIGHT FRENCH	CHABLES BRUCE	MAURINE DRAYTON
ELVA ERICKSON	ELDRED LARSON	DYLE DOWNING
RUTH DAVIS	EUGENE BACH	KARL SCHMINKE
GORDON HEDGES	MUNRO KEZER	

PUBLICATIONS

The following publications are being distributed at the congress:

1. The Yearbook for 1926 of the National Student Federation of the United States of America.

2. Posters " An Invitation to Europe " to take part in tours arranged by European students through the C. I. E. (Confédération Internationale des Etudiants—International Conferedation of Students.)

3. "An Invitation to Europe." A blue booklet describing the programme of ten tours, that have been arranged by the C. I. E.

4. " An Invitation to Europe." A single page leaflet with an application blank on the back for registration as a member of the tours.

5. Application blanks for the International Student Identity Card issued by the C. I. E. through the N. S. F. A.

6. A Handbook of Tours arranged for American Students by the C. I. E. during the Summer of 1927.

The " Handbook of Student Travel " (Europe) is on sale, Price, $1. Compiled and edited by the Commission for International Relations and Travel of the C. I. E. London, England, 1926. 169 pages with a map.

This handbook is valuable to any student traveling in Europe, whether alone or in a group. It contains an account of the C. I. E. and its activities, information on centres of higher education in Europe, general particulars on European countries and details of travel facilities and concessions available to students, who hold the International Student Identity Card.

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION *of* AMERICA

FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS

DECEMBER

12, 13, 14 & 15

NINETEEN TWENTY-EIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

FOURTH ANNUAL CONGRESS

Subject: "Quo Vadis"

OFFICERS OF THE FEDERATION:

President

E. H. Miller, Washington and Lee University and Harvard Law School

Vice-President

Martha H. Biehle, Wellesley College

Treasurer

J. Willard Rippon, University of Toledo

CONGRESS COMMITTEE:

E. H. MILLER.....*President*
Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge, Mass.

MARTHA WENTWORTH .....*Congress Chairman for the East*
Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge, Mass.

URSEL C. NARVER.....*Congress Chairman for the West*
500 East 52nd St. No., Portland, Oregon

MAURINE BOIE .....*Publicity Chairman*
218 Madison Avenue, New York City

GUY GREEN .....*Chairman of Local Arrangements*
University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

FRANK KNIGHT .....*President Student Council*
University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

BERNARD LIVINGSTON .....*Local Publicity Chairman*
University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

LEWIS FOX .....*Ex-President and Advisor*
Princeton and Harvard Law School

THE PURPOSE OF THE CONGRESS:

This is the one and the official national gathering of student leaders held in the United States during the year. The aim of the Congress is to provide an opportunity for the most prominent students in the country to discuss together their common problems, to decide on concerted action in regard to the responsibilities of the N. S. F. A. to the world federation of students, and to further student contact by meeting on a social as well as a business basis.

The aims of the Congress embody the fundamental purpose of the N. S. F. A. itself as worded in the preamble to the Constitution: "We would achieve a spirit of cooperation among the students of the United States of America to give consideration to questions affecting students' interests; we would develop an intelligent student opinion on questions of national an international importance; we would foster understanding among the students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace."

GENERAL PROGRAM — CONGRESS 1928

Tuesday—	2:30 P.M.	Meeting of Executive Committee
Wednesday—	9:00 A.M.	Meeting of Executive Committee
	12:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.	Registration and assignment to rooms
	4:30 P.M. to 6:30 P.M.	Tea, with dancing
	8:30 P.M.	Formal opening, with speeches by E. H. Miller and others
Thursday—	9:30 A.M.	First Plenary Session 1. Program 2. Reports a. President's Report b. Treasurer's Report c. Standing Committee Reports
	12:30 P.M.	Luncheon—Ensemble
	P.M.	Discussion Groups
	6:30 P.M.	Dinner
	9:30 P.M.	Dance
Friday—	9:30 A.M. to 12:15 P.M.	Meetings of Standing Committees
	12:30 P.M.	Luncheon
	P.M.	Discussion Groups
	6:30 P.M.	Regional Dinners Regional Meetings
Saturday—	9:30 P.M.	Second Plenary Session 1. Adoption of Reports 2. Election of officers
	12:30 P.M.	Lunch
	3:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.	Closing Session
	7:00 P.M.	Final Banquet
Sunday—	A.M.	Meeting of old and new Executive Committees
	P.M.	Same, if time permits

(Detailed programs and announcements will be presented upon registration.)

DETAIL CONGRESS PLANS

The Committee for the Fourth Annual Congress has arranged a program of discussions and entertainment for students to stimulate consideration of the actual problems of their colleges and to foster the frienships so essential between various sections of the country. The work of managing an effective Congress has been divided between Mr. Ursel Narver, Chairman for the West, and Miss Martha Wentworth, Chairman for the East. The constant attention, the concerete suggestions and the far-seeing imagination of Mr. E. H. Miller, President of the Federation, and Mr. Lewis Fox, Ex-President, have been invaluable to the formulation of Congress plans. A series of letters has been sent to the Presidents of Universities and student councils of both member and non-member colleges, and the enthusiasm and interest already received substantiate the promise that this year's plans merit for a particularly vital Congress. The program may be divided into the following phases:

1. *Business sessions* include the detail transactions of old business from last year, the election of officers, financial reports, and organization plans for the following year.

2. *Discussion groups* form the real life and achievement of the Congress. Their chief purpose is to consider practical problems confronting American college students. The Committee wishes to keep these groups flexible and if several students desire a separate discussion of a particular problem other leaders of wide experience will be available. Mr. J. T. Jackson, formerly of Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama, who has made an exhaustive and admirable study of the honor systems of practically every college in the country, will lead a discussion on that subject. Mr. Narver, who has had much experience with student organization on the Pacific Coast, will take the chair for student government in large colleges, and Miss Elizabeth Scarlett, President of the Student Body at Vasssar, will conduct the discussion for women's colleges. Fraternities will probably be introduced by Mr. Willhite, President of the Student Council at Washington University, and Mr. M. Adolphus Cheek, Captain of the Harvard football team in '26 is the provision leader for the group on athletics. Two members of the Committee who were largely responsible for local arrangements for the Nebraska Congress, Mr. Monroe Kezer and Miss Ruth Palmer, will probably conduct the table on journalism. The office of chairman on militarism in education will be shared by a student selected by Mr. Tucker Smith of the Committee on Militarism in Education and a man from the Missouri R. O. T. C. Both Mr. Gerhart Jentsh and Mr. John Rothschild of the Open Road will contribute to the discussion of international relations.

3. *The standing committees* will present reports of the studies made during the year on Organization, Curriculum, Finance, Travel and Foreign Relations, Student Government, Publicity and Debating.

4. *Three main speakers* of national repute and particular interest to students will discuss three general phases of the theme of the Congress, namely, the destinations and possibilities of literature, politics and education and their relation to college life.

5. *Social arrangements* for the Congress have been made on the same splendid standard of hospitality that characterized earlier Congresses. The local plans indicate the high interest of the University of Missouri in this Congress. Missouri students will be on hand to meet delegates at the station and introduce them to the sorority and fraternity houses where they will stay and probably have their meals. Registration will take place on Wednesday afternoon and a moderate fee of ten dollars will be asked from each delegate and observer to cover all the costs of the Congress. If the attendance is two hundred and fifty the return railroad fare will be reduced one half on round trip tickets. A court stenographer will make records of all the important meetings, and a printing press will be available for the use of delegates. Bulletin boards and literature tables will also present material about student activities and organizations interested in various phases of the work of the N. S. F. A. Detailed programs will be presented upon registration, and the public is cordially invited to attend all meetings and especially the plenary sessions.

HISTORY OF THE N. S. F. A.

The National Student Federation of the United States grew out of the Inter-collegiate World Court Congress which met at Princeton University in December, 1925. Two houndred and forty five colleges and Universities represented there adopted a temporary constitution providing for a year of experiment in organizing the students in this country and in planning lines of work. During the ensuing year it framed a permanent constitution, developed the internal organization of the N. S. F. A., established relations with the International Confederation of Students, and promoted European student travel for American students. At the Congress at the University of Michigan the constitution was adopted and various additional amendments were authorized at the Nebraska Congress in 1927.

The first years of the Federation's activities have been directed by two purposes: the stimulation and formulation of the ideals of American student thought, and second, the organization of a student federation that should be equipped in its executive and financial policies to work out those ideals. Any consideration of the work of the committees and offices of the N. S. F. A., especially during the last year, shows that it is now on a sound basis. The machinery for connecting the students of all parts of the United States and linking their organization with the student unions of the whole world, is running smoothly.

This is the year for the Congress to give serious consideration to its future aims, to be looking for concrete achievements by which to fulfill its obligations and opportunities to American college life. The theme of the Congress has been chosen to stimulate this determination of the future scope of the student's share in his own education. This integration of student interest and self-direction with experienced and progressive faculty and administrative groups can only be achieved through the study of certain definite problems. The success of the Congress depends upon the active participation of all the delegates, and the Congress Committee can only meet the student interests of which it is aware. Delegates are urged to come prepared with questions on the definite problems of their colleges so that the combined experience of students

from all the colleges may help solve these problems. What is the main problem of student life on your campus? Is it athletics, co-ordination between student and faculty bodies on disciplinary matters, rushing, raising campaign funds, regulations for building fraternity houses, the honor system, freshman week, or what? The Congress will succeed only as it meets the definite problems of the colleges represented. Upon each delegate's desire to solve the problem of his school and his willingness to pool with other students his knowledge of college life depend the success and justification of the N. S. F. A. and in a large measure the future share of the American student in his own education.

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE N. S. F. A.

1. In the fall an Executive Office was estblished at Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge, Mass., as the President attends Harvard Law School. A full time secretary has been employed and this office handles all general correspondence, plans for new memberships and cooperation with the Congress Chairman of the East on plans for the Congress.

2. The Foreign Relations and Travel Office has been established at 218 Madison Avenue. It is a self-supporting office, housed in two rooms, an office and a club room for the reception of foreign students and cooperation with organizations interested in them. Miss Martha H. Biehle, of Wellesley College, Vice President of the N. S. F. A., and Miss Marjorie Marston, of Vassar, act as executive secretaries. This office, through the kindness of Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, arranged a dinner and reception on November 20th, for prominent citizens, to make known the work of the Federation and consider possible lines for future development.

3. The Publicity Committee published the N. S. F. A. Yearbook, which has been sent to all student government bodies, the President of every accredited University, foreign student organizations and important public and all member-college libraries.

4. The student government questionnaire distributed at the Nebraska Congress to all delegates has been compiled and edited by Ursel Narver, and a report will be presented at the Missouri Congress.

5. Over one thousand International Student Identity Cards have been issued during the past year. These cards enable students to obtain reductions on visas, railroad, airway and museum expenses, and along with letters of introduction for private hospitality, introduce American students to students abroad.

6. The N. S. F. A.-C. I. E. Official Delegation to Europe this summer included fifty two students representing Harvard, Washington and Lee, Haverford, Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Connecticut, Mills and Barnard. Twenty-six of these delegates officially represented the N. S. F. A. and participated in the Xth C. I. E. Council Meeting at Paris.

7. Elaborate plans for the reception in this country of a delegation of European students were made in the summer, but owing to delayed publicity in Europe this delegation did not materialize. Plans are now well under way for the reception of a group of fifty South African students who will arrive in this country on January 5th for a month's visit of American cities, including New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston, Buffalo, Detroit, and also Canada. A German group is interested in coming in April and a C. I. E. delegation

plans to arrive next summer. In addition to these groups the Foreign Relations Office welcomes and assists numerous individual students from abroad who are visiting or studying in this country.

8. Did you know that all international debating was now managed by the N. S. F. A.? The Institute of International Education has turned over this responsibility to the Federation as being a logical part of the work of a student organization. Negotiations were concluded in England for the English Debating teams which come to this country and the organization of the tours has since been handled at the Foreign Relations Office. The British Universities Women's Team and the Oxford Team are now in this country. The Australian team is touring the Middle West, and a team from Canada will visit colleges in the North Central district in January. The Oxford team will broadcast over W. J. Z. and the blue network on December 15th, at 6:50 P. M.

ENDORSEMENTS

"I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity to endorse the foundation of the National Student Federation. It is gratifying indeed to find the youth of our land manifesting a deep interest in the development of an intelligent influence on questions of national importance and the fostering of an enduring world peace. If these worthy purposes are kept constantly in view, the Federation cannot fail to wield a very helpful influence on public opinion. I wish the Federation every success, with an ever-widening sphere of usefulness."

—JOHN W. DAVIS.

"I consider it vital to have the young men and women of our universities and colleges interest themselves in questions of national and international importance. I should prefer to see such an organization take form in such a way that it will not seem to be primarily interested in world peace or in any other single movement, no matter how great its significance may be. I feel that such an organization under proper leadership can stimulate student thought along national lines in a way that is not possible otherwise. There are of course many difficulties in the way of adequately handling such an organization but I feel that it is so worth while that those who are interested should make every effort to definitely formulate their plans, and make the attempt."

—RAY LYMAN WILBUR,
President, Leland Stanford University.

"I think it can only be fortunate that by forming the National Student Federation of America, the students of this country have endeavored to place themselves in some organized relation with students of other countries. Students everywhere have a common interest, and I can see nothing but good to come from spreading among American students an interest in the problems of students abroad."

—MANLEY O. HUDSON,
Bemis Professor of International Law
Harvard Law School.

The wisdom shown by the representatives of the students belonging to the National Student Federation in the programs they have discussed at their congresses and the excellent form of organization they have adopted go far to create confidence in their capacity to be of undoubted service in assisting in improving the administration of our higher institutions of learning."

—STEPHEN P. DUGGAN,
Director of the Institute of International Education.

TELEPHONE: CALEDONIA 3879

CABLE ADDRESS: CONFEDAM, NEW YORK

THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[FEDERATED TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF STUDENTS]

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
218 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

PRESIDENT:
E. R. MURROW
WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE

ACTING EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
MARTHA H. BIEHLE

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
MARJORIE MARSTON

June 14, 1930

Miss Marvin Breckinridge
455 East 57th Street
New York City

Dear Marvin,

As I may have told you some time ago, Ed Murrow, the President of the N.S.F.A. arrives soon for a visit of several weeks in New York City. He will be here for the Executive Committee Meeting the end of this month (June 25th to 29th), and he seems also to have picked up his belongings and come on to New York City for an indefinite length of time. He is planning to meet his own expenses in New York and will hunt for some kind of a job while here.

He is a boy who has worked his way through school and cannot afford any extra expenses. I am therefore, very eager to find some place for him to stay for a few weeks while he is trying to locate something to do to maintain himself here. If we can find some family who will be willing to give Ed room and breakfast for about two weeks, it will mean a great deal to him and will make the little money that he has go so much further.

Can you suggest any family who have a home in N.Y.C. and have the means to be able to entertain Ed in this informal way without it inconveniencing them any? Ed is a very charming boy who would be very pleasant company I think, and would quite agreeably fit in with any plans of his host and hostess.

Since we are expecting Ed to arrive the first part of this coming week,- perhaps by Wednesday, the 18th - we are very eager to locate such a home, if possible, within the next few days. If you know of anyone who would be willing to do this for us, we should appreciate it very much. Unfortunately my own apartment is much too small to permit any guests. I'll be grateful to you if you will phone me on Monday or Tuesday and tell me if you have any suggestions of families he might visit.

You'll be interested to know that the summer tour from the C.I.E. is definitely coming. We received a cable this morning from London informing us of ten definite registrations and a possible three more!!

Affectionately yours,

Martha

TELEPHONE: CALEDONIA 3879

CABLE ADDRESS: CONFEDAM, NEW YORK

THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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MARTHA H. BIEHLE

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
MARJORIE MARSTON

June 23, 1930

Answer please - Aug 4

Miss Marvin Breckinridge
455 East 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Marvin:

I have tried to get in touch with you by telephone several times in the last week. I understood you were to be in the city during the week and had expected to be able to reach you by phone.

You will probably recall my telling you that the Executive Committee of the N.S.F.A. would arrive in New York this week. Ed Murrow, our president, has already come and has been here for about three days. We are now working over the agenda and the program for the meeting this week. The Executive Committee will be here from June 25th to 29th.

I should like very much to provide a small amount of informal entertainment for the members of the Committee. I should also like an opportunity to have some of the group here in New York meet the Executive Committee. I wonder if it would be asking too much to suggest that if it is convenient for you, we should like to have you allow us to meet in your apartment on this Thursday evening. If you can do so, we should also be most appreciative to have you entertain for a very informal supper the members of the Executive Committee. There will be nine of them, including Marjorie and myself, and there is a possibility that there may be ten. The ideal arrangement, I should think, would be to have the Executive Committee meet at your apartment for a very informal buffet supper at about six-thirty and then to ask some of our New York Committee to come in at about eight o'clock for a discussion with the Executive Committee during the evening. We should like to use this meeting to discuss informally the business which confronts the N.S.F.A. and particularly those major problems which have concerned the New York Committee this spring. There will probably not be more than six extra members in this New York Committee present in the evening.

Miss M. B., 2

I hesitate to write to ask you to do this because I know that you have already given so generously to the Federation. This type of informal entertainment in your apartment would, however, add so much to the pleasure of the Executive Committee while it is here that I want you to consider whether you can do it. Please do not hesitate to tell me if it would be either inconvenient or impossible. I should like, however, to have word from you immediately so that I can try to make some other plans if you cannot do this. This is for Thursday evening, June the 26th.

With very kind regards,

Cordially yours,

Martha Biehle

Martha H. Biehle,
Acting Executive Secretary

MHB:ae

Notes for a book (never written) by Marvin Breckinridge 1952

see page 7 following

1939

TRIP TO EUROPE

As I lay in my peagreen inside cabin on New Amsterdam in July 1939 and wept - wrote breaking-off letters to three beaux - cut irksome ties - sad - off to make my place in a new world -

Never dreamt (in lonely exhaustion) that instead of six weeks trip to Europe, photojournalism for Life, Town and Country, etc. and joining parents to visit cousins in England for last fortnight, then home -

I would be abroad two years before returning to U.S., be on both sides of war three times (a record), have a new career broadcasting for C.B.S., and finally marry an American diplomat with whom I visited P.O.W. camps all over Germany, piling up a total of fifty air-raids in several countries, courtesy of R.A.F., Luftwaffe and French Air Force.

Well, so fancy-free, equipped with a dressing-case, two suitcases (one full of riding and evening clothes), hatbox, typewriter and Rolleiflex camera, I landed in France July 15, the day on which the German-Russian Pact was announced.

Paris? See diary - told not to go on - but

1939

SWITZERLAND

Stayed at Schweizerhof in Lucerne, well-situated and well-run, made contacts with tourist office, studied program for festival, planned photographs, wrote notes for articles (find and list some subjects) while political situation became gloomier and gloomier.

Friends from boat - Louise Mdvani and John Archbold, also attending festival and couldn't read German , so I translated notices posted in middle of shop windows every few hours - people couldn't wait for newspapers - often queues to read them - worse and worse - first choir of Sistine Chapel couldn't attend festival, then others, festival breaking down, tourists didn't dare travel.

Was in quandary - had planned to attend Nazi Parteitag in Nuremburg - secured for me by a Washington acquaintance, J.P., who was then First Secretary of American Embassy in Berlin. Finally it was cancelled, so my job there was off.

When the day came that my elderly waiter brought my delicious breakfast into the room, with tears streaming down his face and into his white mustache, saying chokingly "They've gone into Poland" - there was no need to ask to whom he referred - I decided to move westward. No music festival and no Parteitag to photograph, no point in traveling for pleasure in a continent at war, no point in risking getting stuck on the wrong side of such a war (for it was obvious to me then that Germany was the wrong side) and it wasn't MY war, so I'd better go home -

SWITZERLAND TO FRANCE

With an agreeable English girl, Olive, who was traveling alone and staying in the same hotel, we took the night train for Paris, three (or four) days after I had arrived. Officials were so demoralized that they omitted the usual passport and customs formalities - indeed, we didn't lay eyes on any French officials - this at a time when suspicious characters would actually try to cross borders. But we were not suspicious - only two of thousands of tourists trying to get home before the storm broke.

The trains were overcrowded of course - but by dint of one of us watching the luggage on the Paris station platform while the other got a cup of coffee and a roll, we were the only people we heard of who arrived in England with all their luggage - after sitting on it for hours on the densely packed platform, we got into a train for (the coast) and our fellow passengers near us were all French workmen called back into the Army - There they were, dressed in the overalls of workmen or corduroys of farmers (they told us they wore their worst clothes which they would mail home as soon as they got their uniforms, while keeping their best at home for after the war) and looking melancholy and dispirited. There was no spirit of crusade or even excitement about them - their country called them, and they went unwillingly, the more so because they did not see the point of France fighting just because Germany had invaded Poland. What do we care? We want to stay home and be left alone. They looked at us, smartly dressed and obviously foreigners, with slight antipathy. Perhaps they were thinking we were English (one of us was) who were putting them into the war they did not want. However, I started conversation in French, told them I was American, and asked for their

opinions about the war. That is always a good way to interest a Frenchman - ask him for his opinion - he always has one and is delighted to explain it.

FRANCE TO ENGLAND

These men, who of course had all done their military service, were experienced enough to bring hearty lunches from home, chiefly bread, great hunks of cheese, and red wine which they gallantly share with two hungry girls, and the hours passed as the train stopped, delayed, picked up more recruits, started and stopped again - They got off finally to join their units, and we remained in a thoughtful mood while the train took us to the channel steamer, crowded with pleasant, serious-faced tourists, but not overcrowded as so many didn't have the travel-ex perience and gumption to get on to a French train to the port -

The boat-train pulled into blacked-out London in the late evening. By good fortune, it turned out that Olive's father was a director of the Savoy Hotel, so we drove there and were immediately given two large, handsome rooms, recently redecorated in extremely good taste and already with blackout curtains, each with a marble bathroom complete with a telephone extension from the room telephone - no more running dripping to answer! Leaving our luggage, ~~we felt our way around the corner~~, we went out the Savoy door, draped in enormous blackout curtains to exclude the light, felt our way around the corner in the pitch black darkness to Simpson's for the traditional roast beef, and back to our fine linen sheets and much-needed rest.

Again a waiter brought the news - It was Sunday, September 3rd, and when our breakfast came, he announced that Churchill would broadcast at eleven o'clock which was the deadline for the Germany reply to the

British Note warning that if they did not desist in Poland, Britain would consider a state of war to exist. As we did not have a radio, the waiter came back with the news: the war was on! Our luxurious setting contrasted with the grim news of war, and with later settings in my experience: Meals in the basement gas shelter of an almost deserted house on the edge of London, a night sitting up in a compulsory and awkward life-jacket in the icy saloon of a steamer crossing the Irish Channel, a frigid night broadcasting from a concrete cellar in the basement of the incompleted radio station in Luxemburg, my legs wrapped in a blanket and my teeth chattering so that I feared the sound would carry all the way across America, and another cold, cheerless evening in a hotel in Kessel where, after inspecting the romantic-looking castle of Spangenberg and interviewing the British officers who were P.O.W's there, I spent six or eight hours (or was it all night?) in a large unheated,dimly-lit diningroom with the only American clergyman (an Episcopal Minister) left in Germany, who was later kicked out of the country. In fact, almost all unpleasant memories of physical surroundings are cold, but this third of September was warm and sunny, a pleasant day in contrast to the unpleasant (this is British under-statement) days of war that lay ahead.

First air-raid twenty minutes after war - in bath - porter knocked - couldn't keep that up - modestly dressed - Abraham Lincoln (?) - one plane did it.

The newspapers announced that a special service would be held at St. Paul's at three o'clock and the Royal Family would attend, so I went to say a prayer and to see how the English would take the distressing news. The enormous handsome building was full, people were calm but serious, no elation and no fear. The streets were deserted

most people stayed at home with their families, not knowing how soon they would be separated by war.

Five months later in Berlin, I compared notes on the first day of war in Berlin. The government staged a parade and hoped for some enthusiasm, but it was a warm, clear day there too, and most people went on picnics and fishing trips to the lakes, just like any peacetime Sunday.

ENGLAND

Gas Mask
Haymarket
Fleet Street - Black Star
Weekend at Easton
Move to Branham Gardens, gas in slot room (did Savoy story, blackout in rain) Chesham House, radio, view over city of air-raids, inspected shelter personally
Stories for Life (list them)
Towcester at war- describe slowness.
Seven airfields near Northampton - never mentioned to anyone till after war - discretion essential - Germans would no doubt have liked to know

Dinner Ed and Janet Murrow's - old friend since N.S.F.A. W.F.A. days, crossed together April 1937 for Coronation, when he came to take up duties in London as Chief for C.B.S. - didn't think of broadcasting - didn't ask for job - easy way to get one!
Describe then - start of broadcasting etc., B.B.C. place - censor -

War in slump - had been invited to Ireland to ride - suggested story on Irish neutrality as it baffled me and I wanted to know more about it, as I thought American people would too. Ed told me his program had 22 million listeners. Even now I meet strangers who remember not only my name and work, sometimes by my voice, as my name has changed, but also parts of some of my broadcasts - very flattering!
Ed said VPs listened to Irish broadcast if this good, would I like regular staff job on Continent for C.B.S. after Christmas?
My preparations - languages, tragel experience, studied modern history at Vassar, written magazine articles, social experience and contacts with Europeans, interest in all kinds of people etc. Had once travelled alone - first with family then with then with another girl
Glad I had.

IRELAND

Trip over uneventful - air or boat? Best Dublin hotel - old-fashioned but adequate - I thought food poor, but later Irish food was regarded by people in England as marvellous, because of meat and butter.

Had been there once before of Lambay, with Pendleton vagueness about train - drive to Cork.

Now Helen O'Mally - saw all kinds of opinion - the very Eir-ish, interview with Sir John Maffey, buns in a pub, tried to see Thompson, the German Consul (knew his mother later in Berlin - no letters for a year!) etc. --

Censorship - would not let me say that there were ~~these~~ more men from Eire in British Army than in their own.

Interesting to see what is censored - in England - only yellow light for grade two warning - anything else?

Studio over P.O. - green baize(?) clock ten minutes wrong I was allowed ten second error, five thirty if necessary - never more.

Message through censors - would I come to England next day and go to Sweden following day? I knew it was one chance for a job or not - said yes - begged off one day to visit Earl and Countess of Headfort at Kells - describe atmosphere and visit - British outlook.

Night on boat - station to C.B.S. office direct - looked as if I had slept in my clothes and I had (when I slept at all) - feet still ice to the knees - C.B.S. said: Oh, you're here! Not going to Sweden but to Holland! Can I come back for Christmas with cousins? Yes - but didn't get back for six years - Full time job, salary and expenses in best style of living available - never questioned.

Preparations - gave up nice new little apartment, returned rented radio, packed clothes in three pieces and one typewriter, had dogtag made (unkind to relatives if body not identified) left valuables with Ed - wanted niece to have my grandmother's rings if I were killed - gave brother's address as next-of-kin so he could break news of my demise to Mother gently - passport, visa, ticket, Black Star.

HOLLAND

At English airport - questioned camera, engagement book and address book, but telephoned friends in Foreign Office and Ministry of Information and got them cleared just in time to make plane.

Midday, but plane blacked out - no view - landed in comfortable easygoing Holland - Carlton Hotel in Amsterdam - Room clerk asked how long would I stay? Wasn't sure, but over weekend - Actually stayed six months, broken by trips to Germany, Norway, Belgium and Holland. and Luxemburg

(Brooding corner after Berlin - Sunday Dispatch)

From now on, no subjects given (fire house only one ever given)- telegrams "scheduling 11:48 - 20 11:52 - 10 - the rest were up to me.

Ed's talk - gave me instructions: give human side of war be honest, be neutral, talk like yourself a typical American. (French, and C.B.S. in France didn't understand be neutral. If you weren't for you were against. Matter of principle to me, liked job and why - adventure, quest for truth, contacts with people, independence, self-reliance. I liked it more than any job I ever had, with diplomacy second.

Dutch tried too hard to be neutral, but seem to have learned lesson now. Scripts wore thin when it got to demands.

Hilversum - Baron Tindall - Modern decor

Van Halls - one family of excitable close friends in each country.

Compare Heshettes, Van Halls, Grotes, Preaulx

Trip to border - heard big guns - followed by two men and a boy through snow - watched but not accosted - view over Aachen - Marken - slides on ice, pea soup etc., skating on canals

Life among journalists - brooding corner - How long should one stay? As long as one can get story out (refer to Berlin?) and Victoria Hotel of Germans - one (name) married American, studied in U.S., good-looking etc. Sawin Berlin after I was married when both came to lunch - He told me Rotterdam bombing was unnecessary - Holland had already given in two hours before, planes could have been stopped by radio. He never batted an eye while describing this unnecessary cruelty.

Christmas - describe Hague lunch with Minister George Gordon describe wife - stories about Gordon - threw inkwell at secretary - threw telephone out of window, saw row of bells (not using UP) on his desk - drove people under him to be nervous wrecks - polite to me. Story by American journalist - fourth day of invasion came to office looked up in book to see if he had called (?) previously.

LUXEMBOURG

New Year's - cold in bed in nice little hotel living on endive, good food, cakes, George Platt Waller - thirteen years there - After war I visited from Brussels to call on Grand Duchess and Prince Felix - He adored them

Broadcast - forgot where I was,!

BELGIUM

C.B.S. not interested in story from Belgium, although I tried to sell them on it, so didn't stay long - Editor of Le Soir? Dinner with Embassy friends(who?) Frances Willis appointed Ambassador to Switzerland in 1953, excellent choice and best woman ever in career service. What else?

HOLLAND

Jan 16? Ed and Bill Shirer (describe) arrive for broadcast - both thrilled with lights and food etc. fifteen minute broadcast so I chaperoned them to radio station almost one hour by taxi winter night) both had to think of censors in London and Berlin as they were going back. All friendly-at that time they liked, trusted and respected us. Snowball fight etc. just to release tension of war countries - they cooked up scheme for me to go to Germany to pinch hit for Bill while he went to Switzerland on vacation -

What else about Holland? See diary.

GERMANY

Describe tripup - crossing border where girl jumped out of window where she was held.

Asked by wife of British journalist to take tea to her sister - dumped it out before leaving - didn't want something planted on me, but O.K.

Brooding corner introductions to Jewish family

York - son in Chicago.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EUROPEAN OFFICES
14 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
EDWARD R. MURROW

TELEPHONE LANGHAM 1166 & 1167
TELEGRAMS COLBROSYS LONDON

18th December, 1939.

Dear Marvin,

Thanks for your two letters. There is time only for a brief reply. Your stuff so far has been first rate. I am pleased, New York is pleased, and so far as I know the listeners are pleased. If they aren't to hell with them!

I have written Dubois as requested.

By all means go ahead and have some cards printed. I suggest you use the London address.

Will let you know as soon as possible exact timing for the frontier show.

How would you like to go to Denmark for a few days and come back to Holland to do a piece on it?

Cordially yours,

Ed

Miss Marvin Breckinridge,
Carlton Hotel,
Amsterdam,
Holland.

Please tell Mrs. Sypard I've seen her sister twice and had a fine time with her —

Hotel Kong Frederik

Vester Voldgade 25-27
Raadhuspladsen
Telegr.-Adr.: Frederikhotel
Telefon 5902

København, d. 18 February 1940

From Marvin Breckinridge

Dear Meg, (Mrs ~~David Woodward~~ (Margaret Rupli))

Here I am in Copenhagen, much to my surprise, on my way to the Altmark in Norway, and I hope to do a broadcast from that country. I'm being flown up by the German government in a special plane with about ten other foreign journalists - two of them American, from A.P. and U.P., and 4 Rundfunk officials and 2 Foreign Office men - it is a great party — we are here overnight, due to darkness and blizzard, and we fly on tomorrow to Stavanger at 6:15 AM! We expect to return within four or five days - so don't tell anyone who might bump us off before Thursday!

This is a fine chance to write you without being 'misunderstood'; I've been meaning to write for ages but have been frightfully busy as Bill (Shirer) has been away for over two weeks and I've done lots of broadcasts - including six in one week (eight days, actually) I saw Jordan and told him you wanted something to do!

I did a marvelous story (not broadcast yet) on an Allied prison camp in Germany, and talked to officers & men from Stalag Luft III, & Rawalpindi etc. I have a lot more material than can go on the air in a limited time, and as I'm the only journalist who has been allowed inside any Allied prison camp, and the only person except welfare workers, I think I can do a swell article on it. Also I've got lots of material on various subjects, and some good jokes to tell you and David.

A package, which was probably the liebesgabe you sent, arrived for Bill but could not be delivered until he returns because it is registered. Would you mind sending me also a package each week for the next three weeks (I expect to stay longer than I first thought) containing coffee, bitter chocolate bars, and butter? And keep careful track of the cost so that I can reimburse you properly, as well as thank you heartily for your trouble.

George Kidd sent a message that David owes him nothing. He's in Copenhagen now, but I don't know where. 3 bags of David's clothes are under his piano in Berlin. I'll see what I can do about them legally, if anything! If you see Mr. Murray of Movietone, tell him his bill is paid. I'll buy the receipt with me. My love to all — and best wishes to the Brooklin Corner —

Affectionately — Marvin

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EUROPEAN OFFICES
14 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
EDWARD R. MURROW

TELEPHONE LANGHAM 1166 & 1167
TELEGRAMS COLBROSYS LONDON

9th April, 1940.

Miss Marvin Breckinridge,
The Carlton Hotel,
AMSTERDAM,
Holland.

Dear Marvin,

Thanks for the photographs; they're good. I'm glad you sent a set to New York. Incidentally, everyone over there is delighted with the stuff you've been doing, and the Altmark interview was first class.

I saw the articles in the News Chronicle and Telegraph, and thought they were good. In principle, I see no objection to such stories, so long as they don't contain material that would be censorable if it originated from the country concerned, and so long as it's not likely to get our representatives in one of the belligerent countries in trouble. It is often necessary, and wise, to trade a bit of information with journalists.

Where You Go From Where You Are I don't know. At the moment it looks like Scandinavia, and I fear it may be some time before you get those new dresses in Paris.

Cordially yours,

ERM:MH

5/25/40

Dear Gang:

First off I would like to take time out to send mass congratulations for excellent jobs turned in during the past few weeks. I think that without exception the Columbia staffers have performed nobly under the most extraordinarily difficult circumstances, and I want all of you to know that we here are deeply appreciative.

There are a few things, however, that have arisen and I offer the following suggestions in a constructive spirit:

1. I still am having difficulty with some of you getting the news put in properly ahead of a feature piece. One or two of you have used such a device as this: "There has been no news since my last broadcast four hours ago and so now I want to tell you about--." We simply cannot assume that the audience as a whole listened to the broadcast four hours before, and it will be helpful if you take time out to re-state the situation, even if there has been nothing new before getting to the feature. By that I do not mean that we want old news presented as though it were new, but we should have the latest available information on actual news situations before starting down by-paths.

2. I cabled you last week regarding the increased tendency to use horror and atrocity stories. I realize that you are going to hear more and more of them as the days go by and that many of them will be told you on what seems to be reasonably accurate authority. But in the main I would shy away from them unless (1) you have seen the incidents yourself; (2) they are officially announced; or (3) you have absolute confidence in the source. Drawing lessons from the last war, it has become clear that the publication of these atrocity stories frequently results in similar acts on the other side, and thus the stories, if not true at first, lamentably do become all too accurate.

3. At the risk of sounding like a phonograph record, I should like to stress again the vital necessity for objectivity. I wish it were possible for me to send you the reports by Shirer of his recent trip to the front. They stand out as masterpieces of reporting and created an excellent impression here. Not all of you perhaps would be as lyric as one Miss Liana Pomposini of Edri, Pennsylvania, who has inscribed for us a 40-line epic entitled "To William L. Shirer." At the risk of alienating Bill forever, I append the first two verses.

"Like a brooklet gently flowing
Over its rocky bed,
Its murmur keeps on going
Round and round in my head.

"Its dulcet tones are so haunting,
That whether awake or asleep,
My heart it seems to be taunting
To come, and its tryst to keep."

Only a great sense of pity prevents me from quoting the remainder, but I am sending it on to Mr. Shirer and on that happy day when you will be able to see him it may be that he will let you view the complete text -- for a price.

Certain national liquidations with which you are no doubt familiar have resulted in considerable concentration of our forces. As I write, Mr. Shirer and Mr. Hartrich are in Berlin; Mr. Grandin, Mr. Sevareid and Miss Breckinridge in Paris, along with Mr. Leseuer occasionally as he comes back and forth from the front; and Mr. Murrow and Mr. Echlin in London. Mr. Winston Burdett of the Brooklyn Eagle staff is protecting us in Stockholm.

You might be interested to know that we have started still another news service here -- this time to executives within the organization. The number of telephone calls asking, "What's new?" reached the point where as a desperate measure we started mimeographing three times daily a digest of press association and your reports and distributing them throughout the place. Of course, I suppose they could listen to our programs, but that might be asking too much.

That's about all for now. Please be assured that if you don't send me letters I won't think you are mad at me -- but if you do find time, we would all like very much to hear from you.

Regards.

Paul

(WHITE)
(CHIEF OF CBS FOREIGN NEWS OPERATIONS IN NEW YORK)

Talk to Professor Higgins' Graduate Class

"Broadcasting from Europe to America"
~~"The Press Since 1865"~~ 1939-1940

at The School of Journalism of Boston University

Wednesday, December 1, 1976

by Mary Marvin Breckinridge Patterson

Thanks to you, Professor Higgins, and to Ned Grandin for giving me my first opportunity to set foot in a School of Journalism, and, even more than that, to "set down" in a School of Journalism. I feel honored to be invited to speak to you on my experiences while broadcasting from seven countries in Europe on the CBS World News Roundup Program in 1939 and '40 while World War II was on but our country was still neutral.

I propose to tell you how I got into broadcasting, and my unpremeditated but useful preparation, my experience with Edward R. Murrow, war-time problems---including travel and censors, my scripts, and what it takes. I'll welcome questions afterwards

The job came to me quite by chance, through my friendship with Ed~~ward~~ Murrow. I had never thought of ~~media~~ radio work, though I had thought of attending the Columbia School of Journalism during the usual "sophomore slump" (Do you have it here, too?) at Vassar. My parents wisely gave me my head, and an allowance to cover either kind of education, and I returned to graduate from Vassar. I had an idea that I might go into diplomacy, but I did not realize that my courses in modern history, and modern languages (French, German, Italian) would serve me equally well in international journalism. Also, I was one of the founders of the National Student Federation (not to be confused with its successor which may or may not be still in existence). That is where I first met Ed Murrow,

at ~~the second~~ a national conference, and after I had bowed out as ~~Vice~~ President in 1928 he succeeded me. ~~and became President~~. The NSFA was a member of the International Confederation of Students whose political activities, curiously enough, foretold what their nations would do in the following few years. I was an observer at the conference in ~~Denmark~~ Copenhagen in 1925, and, after the NSFA was founded, as an ~~f~~ official delegate to conferences in Prague, Paris, Rome, and Budapest, where with other "chefs de Délégations" and the only woman, I met Mussolini. This experience of working with a large international group was a good preparation for dealing with foreigners, ~~including adults~~, and also gave me a few personal friends in several European countries who proved to be good contacts.

Ed did such a good job with the Student Federation that he was enlisted to work for the International ~~Institute~~ Institute of Education in New York. Occasionally when his work brought him to Washington he would take me out to ~~xx~~ lunch. I worked for two years for the Democractic National Committee and later on the Hill for a Democratic Congresswoman. (I don't talk about that much now, as I have switched to the Republican Party.) These jobs gave me some insight into national politics.

Then Ed moved to CBS, and I lost track of him. I went to Africa, from the Cape to Cairo by land and water, not air, in 1932-3, with a close friend and her parents Dr. and Mrs. Anson Phelps Stokes who were seriously studying race relations then, with a view to the future. They had introductions to government and university officials, white businessmen and settlers (big farmers) and to many missionaries, mostly working in education, through whom we met a few of the few educated Africans in South Africa. My ~~fix~~ friend kept a lively and interesting diary and I, after only a months schooling but many years of amateur photography, took the pictures for slides to illustrate Dr. Stokes' lectures. When I returned, I found that newspapers and magazines wanted to publish my photographs, as I had had the good fortune to be able to take

some unusual and ~~informative~~ interesting subjects. Some of the magazines said 'We like your pictures, but could not publish them unless you write an article to go with them.' So I had to write articles, and I am a bit lazy about writing. Also, I enjoyed the medium, so I took a serious professional year-long course in all phases of it at the Clarence White School in New York. The previous paragraph is not a digression, as it was directly through photojournalism that I got into broadcasting.

In the summer of 1937 I went with my parents, by ship of course, to England for the Coronation, and found Ed Murrow on board with his wife Janet who became a good friend of mine. He was enroute to London as Chief of CBS there to start the first network of American correspondents to broadcast from Europe.

~~Two years later, on the fateful~~

Two years later, on the fateful July 15 (the day of the German-Russian pact) I landed in Europe enroute to cover the Lucerne Music Festival for Town and Country, the Nazi Parteitag, and to do picture stories for other magazines which I had already chosen and lined up.

When the Germans marched into Poland I realized the music festivals etc. were no longer relevant and they and the Partei Tag were cancelled, of course. So I returned to England, planning to return home. But when I saw the long lines of Americans, many with children, leading from Piccadilly Circus to the American Express on the Haymarket, I realized that there was no hurry for me, so I checked in with my photographic agent who had an office in Fleet Street as well as one in New York. They were delighted to see me, as their English photographers had been mobilized and their German and Austrian refugees had become enemy aliens and were not allowed to carry cameras, so there were plenty of jobs ~~for me~~. When I went to register with the British Government as a photographer, I was told that there were only three other Americans, all of whom were staffers for

LIFE Magazine so they could not work for anyone else. I was a free-lance, so I could sell to anyone, including LIFE.

Sometimes they sent me on assignment--one of them was to do an interview with photographs of Neville Chamberlain, but more often I thought up my own stories, as I did in America, and they marketed them for me.

One evening when I was having dinner alone with Ed and Janet, ~~as I did from time to time~~, he asked what I had been doing outside London, as he had two shows a day and couldn't leave. I had been doing stories on An English Village Preparing for War, (I had been staying with cousins in Northamptonshire), the evacuated children, and things like that. He asked if I would go on the air that Saturday night, November 18th, and tell about them, and that is how I got into broadcasting!

Ed escorted me home in a taxi and said as he helped me out that he would send me a check in the morning. I did not expect a check for a one-shot like that, and had gone on the air partly because I knew that my parents in California would be pleased to hear daughter's voice (Ed had thoughtfully told CBS New York to telephone them, so that they wouldn't miss the show).

No check came, and that didn't bother me, but I got several telephone messages: please call the Columbia Broadcasting System, please call Mr. Murrow, but I was very busy with my own work. When I did call back he asked if I would spend the night shift in a Fire House in the City of London where they had recently recruited women to man (or woman?) the telephones and do other light work to free the men for firefighting, and find out what they thought about the War, how it had changed their lives, etc. -- the human story. He did not tell me until later that he had all the Vice Presidents of CBS listening in to see what they thought of me. (By the way, out of a total of 50 broadcasts that was the only time a subject was

assigned to me--the others I found readily or dreamed up by myself. My show must have been satisfactory, because when I proposed to Ed that he send me to Ireland as I'd like very much to do a story on Irish neutrality (and I'd had plans to visit some friends and ride) he immediately agreed, and said that if that story went well, would I like to go on the regular staff on the Continent after Christmas (it was then early December) and I said yes. I liked that kind of work, whose only tools are pencil and paper (and a portable typewriter) rather than lugging around cameras, films, flash, and contriving to have films developed or spending a lot of time developing and printing in a lab rented by the hour.

In Dublin I was on my own for the first time. I contacted officials of our Embassy and of the Eire government, representatives of the Anglo-Irish, the German Consul, and the people, rich and poor.

I had a run-in with the censor, who did not want me to say that there were more of his countrymen in the British Army than in the Irish, although he admitted it was true. An American friend who was at that time married to an Irish Republican Army type persuaded me to accept his decision, and the show went on.

The broadcasting studio was in an attic, hung in green felt, over the central post office. My instructions gave me the exact number of minutes and seconds that I would be on the air (such as scheduling you 12:50:10 to 12:54:40) and I was allowed a 10-second error, and even up to 30 seconds, but if I ran over I'd be cut off, since a couple of other capitals were called in too. The clock in Dublin was 11 minutes off! That scared me, as a neophyte, and I had no stop-watch. Luckily I also chatted with New York for a minute or two before my show, and that helped. Immediately afterwards I was called into the control room, and through technicians (neither Ed nor I was allowed to talk directly) I got

~~gax~~ the message: "Mr. Murrow wants to know if you will come to London tomorrow and go to Sweden the next day." This was it, the big job! But I parlayed a moment (thinking of my planned visit to Kells) and said "May I come day after tomorrow?" and it was agreed.

When I turned up at CBS, having sat up all night wearing an awkward but obligatory lifejacket across the rough Irish sea, followed by train to London, I looked as if I had slept in my clothes, and I had. Ed said that I was not going to Sweden the next day, but to Holland.

Since it was then the "phony" war, with little military action on land, I asked if I could return to spend Christmas with my English cousins in the country, and he said yes, but I did not get back for six years!

Then we discussed the full-time job as a staffer for CBS, with a salary ~~and~~ (he asked me what I wanted and I said too little) and all expenses in the best style of living available (sometimes splendid, sometimes very uncomfortable).

Ed's instructions were for me to give the human side of the war, to be neutral, to be honest, to talk like myself, a typical American. (He had known me long enough to know what I was like). He said that CBS did not lay down any policy to which its reporters must adhere, and I admire that freedom.

Ed Murrow was a man of intelligence and principle, and in the two years he had been in London he had achieved easy access to the really important leaders, who respected him and his work and were aware of his influence, as the World News Roundup, which went on at 8 a.m. and 7 p.m. E.S.T. had an estimated audience of 22 million. Those who are old enough to have heard him will not forget his way of saying: "This -- is London." He had a sense of the dignity of his profession, and would not do commercials himself. He also disapproved of nicknames (so often artificially used)

such as Ed, Bill, etc., so on the air he was always Edward R. Murrow, others were William L. Shirer, Eric Sevareid. When I started broadcasting from Berlin he suggested I use the name Mary Marvin Breckinridge, instead of just Marvin Breckinridge.

I found him to be a very good "boss". The only time he had to correct me he did it with kindness and humor. Almost at the end of one of my first broadcasts from Holland I had a great urge to cough, but managed to suppress it until the end of the sentence, and the broadcast. He telephoned me the next day and said gently "When you feel like coughing, go ahead and cough!" SM

And while preparing for this talk I looked through my papers of the period which a professional from the National Archives had sorted for me (the Archives wants all my papers, films, movies, phonograph records of speeches I made, etc., and I have so deeded them in my Will, and my husband has done the same with his.) Among them I found two letters from Ed which gave me great encouragement at times when I felt far away and lonely and wondered "How'm I doing!" In one, he says "Your stuff so far has been first rate. I am pleased, New York is pleased, and so far as I know the listeners are pleased. If they aren't, to hell with them!" and in another: "Incidentally, everyone over there" (meaning CBS in New York) "is delighted with the stuff you have been doing, and the Altmark interview was first class." That is the way to boost morale of the staff!
When I flew off from London in a plane which was blacked out in full daylight, to the war, not knowing what might happen to me, the Murrows took charge of a couple of family rings that I wanted my niece to have, and my good dresses and riding clothes that were no longer appropriate, and returned them carefully after the war.

On my first broadcast he changed not a word of my script, and his only instruction was to pitch my voice low. Speaking of voice, I have been told that mine comes over well on the radio. I owe this to childhood training by my mother, who would not accept guvamunt for government, nor jenamun for gentleman. During a college vacation I studied briefly with a speech teacher in New York, and later took the Dale Carnegie course in public speaking which brought with it, in the forty sessions, experience in communicating with men and women whom I might not have met in my usual social life.

The command of one's voice is important in radio work, first for clarity and comprehension, and especially when writing through censors. The shading, the timing, fast and slow, the pauses, the stress, all serve to bring out the meaning. For instance, I did a story from Berlin on German newspapers. When I showed it to the mediocre little censor for the Propaganda Ministry he read it and said "You can't give any of it! Knowing that I was due on the air in twenty minutes or so, and feeling deeply worried, I said very innocently "Why not?" He had some reasons, we discussed them, he made some cuts, and he stamped the script so I could go on the air. However he left in my punchline about the Völkischer Beobachter, Hitler's official newspaper, which went as follows:

"The motto of this paper is Freedom and Bread. There is still------- bread." No American would miss the implication.

I had little trouble with censors before arriving in Germany. There Bill Shirer, a past master in writing through them, gave me some good instructions. One example he gave me was his description of a scene on Hitler's birthday. He wrote "A crowd of about 65 persons was massed outside the Chancel-

persons was massed outside the Chancellery."

I wrote out my scripts longhand, revised or corrected them, then ~~xxxx~~ copied them on the typewriter. Bill said I should learn to write directly on the typewriter, but I never could --I need to see the words, to smooth them out and to put things in correct order--I suppose the importance of the visual is due to the photographer in me.

It was part of my technique to say something favorable and true, of course, in each story --such as in The Brides' School which was clean and tidy, but the point of the story is the indoctrination into Nazism which they are fed, in addition to their training in housekeeping.

I even found two good things to say about Hitler's regime, though I did not have occasion to use them in my broadcasts. One is that the official newspaper was printed in clear Latin type instead of Old German, and was thus much easier to read, and the other that unoccupied taxis (there were few) showed white lights on their roofs and were easier to find in the blackout. Now many of our taxis do the same.

To get back to Bill, he mentions me in his book "Berlin Diary" but only briefly as we overlapped only for a few days, since I took over from him while he was on vacation.

My "mediocre" censor in Berlin knew the English language well, but not all American expressions, such as "man bites dog" so I could get by with saying, "this story has all the validity (meaning improbability) of man bites dog."

In Berlin there were usually three censors, representing the Foreign Office, the Propaganda Ministry and the Military, and when I spoke on the Women's movement I had four, who all had to approve my scripts and stamp them in the broadcasting office in Adolf Hitlerplatz. Then I would take two copies out the back door into the blackout, down a steep, slippery, icy path, past ~~a guard with a police dog, into a shed where there were several small~~

a guard with a police dog, into a shed where there were several small cubicles. There, I sat at one desk and a technician sat at another with a copy of my script and his fingers on a button to cut me off if I departed from it in any way. That is where I saw my first tape, as he also tape-recorded every word I said.

My usual military censor was a Naval officer and a gentleman who was serving his country this way. I feel sure he was not a Nazi, but of course I would not have said this, for fear of getting him into trouble. When I was having difficulty putting into accurate English the long name of an organization, he suggested we go next door and ask Herr Fröhlich, and that is how I met Lord Haw Haw, an Englishman whose real name was Mr. Joyce.

My greatest shock from a censor came in Holland, when I had carefully worked up an interview with the Dutch Nazi Mussert. One of the conditions for granting the interview was that I must write it up in his headquarters (they let me use the Council Chamber of the Dutch Nazi party, and a terrible old typewriter) and have it approved by his right-hand man, who was brainier than he, incidentally. Mussert spoke English fairly well, and I persuaded him to take a stand on what he would do if Germany should invade Holland. He replied "I would sit with folded arms like this." (What he did do, when that happened three weeks later, was to run through his orchard which led across the German border just before the police came to arrest him.) I wrote carefully, to get by his censor and later the government's. When I got out to the broadcasting studio, the government censor firmly and definitely forbade me to give any of it! However, after showing it to a friend in the Foreign Office the next day I was encouraged to give it in a slightly different form, under the title "Dutch Nazis" as they hoped to trap him. This broadcast brought

large headlines on the front page of leading Dutch newspapers and even questions in Parliament. As a result, I was well regarded, and given a reward in the form of an all-day inspection trip on the Dutch cruiser Sumatra along the coast, the only woman except the Queen who had been on board a naval vessel except at parties in port.

If you are interested, in question time I'll read you both the banned version and the encouraged version of my story.

Now that I have discussed censors, I think I should get back to my story and tell you how I got to Berlin.

One cold day in mid-January, Ed Murrow came over from London and Bill Shirer down from Berlin to make a joint broadcast from neutral Holland. They enjoyed the bright lights and the good food, and I conducted them to the studio, about an hour away by taxi from our hotel in Amsterdam. In their broadcasts of 15 minutes each, they compared notes about conditions in England and Germany and spoke carefully, well aware that they had to return to their countries and their censors. We returned to the hotel about 1 a.m. in a beautiful snowstorm, relieved that the show had gone well, they excited by the ~~xxxx~~ street lights, and we had a friendly snowball fight! Then Bill asked Ed if he could have some leave to visit his wife and little daughter in Switzerland before the ground would be ready for the German invasion in the spring. Ed, always the good boss as I said, agreed and turned and asked if I would fill in while Bill was away. Of course I quickly answered yes.

While waiting for the date to go I continued with my broadcasts, though I began to run out of interesting subjects and had to fill in with Diamonds, and Flowers, Fruits and Fish. I also went to the Berlitz School to brush up my German and to learn the correct words for arms of various kinds, aircraft carrier, cruiser, destroyer, etc.

Ten days later I took a long and trying journey by train to Berlin--22 Hours, 4 changes, overnight at the border. In Germany, because of the crowd, I was wedged against the glass window on the platform of the train, so that the sleeve of the trench coat which I wore over my overcoat (it was the coldest winter in many years, and I had come abroad in July for 6 weeks with only summer clothes) was frozen to the window, and I almost had to tear it to free myself. When we arrived, Bill met me on the platform, thank goodness, and escorted me to the heated Hotel Adlon. The next day he introduced me at the American Embassy, the Foreign Office Press Section and the Propaganda Ministry, got me permits, passes and food stamps, and in the evening I covered a big Nazi meeting where Hitler spoke. Bill guided me around midnight to the Rundfunk, several miles away by subway. After feeling our way up the stairs holding on to the railing, we took a half-turn to the right, crossed the snow - covered street avoiding the piles at the sides, past the armed guards, into the lighted and heated offices where I met the officials and censors. They were all polite and agreable and said Heil Hitler while I said Grüss Gott. - The next day Bill was off on his vacation and I was on my own.

Despite many telegrams "scheduling you 12:54:10 to 12:58:50" or some such time, I did have time for some social life, operas, theatres, with a few Germans, my fellow American journalists, and the personnel of the Embassy, one of whom changed my life and career.

After six weeks in Berlin I returned to my regular post in Amsterdam, and to my western journalist friends in the bar of the hotel which we called the Brooding Corner. There are many references to it in my engagement book, and I strongly recommend that you each keep one, to insure accuracy of names, dates, and places. However I never put my personal views in it, nor information which might incriminate anyone, if it were

found by the police.

There were several occasions when the German invasion seemed imminent, which were called "periods of tension," and we in the Brooding Corner would discuss how long we should remain if the country were overrun. The best answer seemed to be "as long as you can get your story out." In early May CBS sent a correspondent to Amsterdam, enroute to Berlin, and I left for Paris on the last train that got through--the next day's train was cut off in Brussels by the invasion.

In Paris I helped out Eric Sevareid and Tom Grandin who were trying to get their families out on the last American ship which left from Bordeaux. When I heard through a French friend in the Foreign Office that the government was moving south the next day, I took the train for Genoa, having foresightedly obtained an exit permit ten days before. It was the last train to reach Genoa, as Mussolini gave his famous "stab in the back" speech the next day. Except while I was in Berlin, I had been in constant contact by telephone or letter with Ed Murrow, but after ~~leaving France~~ January, 1940 I did not see him again until after the war. Upon my return to Amsterdam from Berlin, almost three months before, I had telephoned him to check in. I told him I was "going to follow Tom's example" which meant nothing to the censors, but Ed knew that Tom had recently married. He said "Whee"! and I said it was an all-American affair (I didn't want him to think I was marrying a Nazi). So he had plenty of time to find a replacement. People in Holland and France would have been very apprehensive and wary of me if they knew that I was planning to go back to live in Germany.

After a week for visas, enlivened by shelling from the sea and a little bombing, having been chased all around Europe by the German Army, I returned to Berlin and married a career diplomat, the No. 3 man at the American Embassy. Although CBS and Bill Shirer wanted me to continue broadcasting the State ~~Department would not~~ p

Department would not permit it, even under my maiden name, so that ended that career.

Six publishers have approached me to write a book, from 1940 on. At that time I was forbidden to do so by the State Department, and when the ban was lifted some years later my husband was in charge of an Embassy, which meant increasing duties as well as rewards for the wife, and I did not have the time.

Perhaps you would like to hear a very "Cablese" cable which I sent to CBS from Berlin on February 22 when they asked me for material about myself:

Read cable

This book show black book contains copies of my 50 broadcasts, and I had not reread them all in the past 36 years until I began preparing for this talk. Some are xeroxes of the originals, showing what was cut by censors and what I had to cut for lack of time. Others were re-typed as given because the originals were too messy or too faint to xerox. If you are interested, please ask me about them afterwards. One of my favorites is the story of the Altmark.

In conclusion, I would sum up my broadcasting experience by saying that I was very lucky to get the job, I was fortunate in having friends in several countries, and making new ones, and I could not have done it without languages and a general knowledge of Europe.

One must have a liking for people, a sense of adventure, self-reliance, a curiosity to find stories apart from regular news, and a desire to find the truth and express it clearly and fairly. I wish you all well in this great profession.

END

R A D I O S C R I P T S

by

MARY MARVIN BRECKINRIDGE

1939 - 1940

for the

WORLD NEWS ROUNDUP PROGRAMS

of the

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Broadcast Number	Date	Subject
LONDON, ENGLAND	1939	
1	Nov. 18	War Time in the English Countryside
2	" 25	Women in a London Firehouse
DUBLIN, IRELAND		
3	Dec. 2	Irish Neutrality
AMSTERDAM, NETHERLANDS		
4	" 10	Impressions of Holland
5	" 16	Foreign Journalists
6	" 21	Holland's Frontiers
LUXEMBURG		
7	" 30	Luxemburg
AMSTERDAM	1940	
8	Jan. 12	Shipping
9	" 15	Ice
10	" 23	Diamonds
11	" 25	Flowers, Fruits, Fish
BERLIN, GERMANY		
12	" 30	Nazi Meeting
13	Feb. 4	First Impressions of Berlin
14	" 6	The Cold
15	" 8	The Polish War
16	" 8	German Newspapers
17	" 10	Interview with Russell Hill
18	" 11	The American Embassy
19	" 15	The Brides' School
20	" 17	Shopping
STAVANGER, NORWAY		
21	" 19	Funeral, and Interview with Captain of Altmark
22	" 21	The Altmark
BERLIN,		
23	" 25	Prison Camp
24	Mar. 3	The Führerin
25	" 5	News
26	" 5	News
27	" 6	News
28	" 9	News and Substitutes
29	" 10	Memorial Service

Broadcast Number	Date	Subject
AMSTERDAM		
30	Mar. 26	Holland's Defences
31	Apr. 1	Spies in Holland
32	" 4	Contraband
33	" 8	News
34	" 11	News
35	" 14	News
36	" 20	News
No number given - All censored		Interview with Mr. Mussert
37	Apr. 21	
37	" 28	Dutch Nazis (includes Mussert)
38	" 30	East Indies Defences
PARIS, FRANCE		
39	May 10	Last View of Holland
40	" 14	Refugees
41	" 17	Defense Passive
42	" 19	Shopping and Alerte
43	" 19	Evacuation
44	" 21	News and French Women and War Work
45	" 22	The Refugee Problem
46	" 26	Comité Amèricain de Secours Civil
47	" 28	News - Fall of Belgium
48	" 31	News and Retraining Women Workers
49	June 5	News of Attack and French Village at War
BERLIN	Feb. 22	Cable requested by CBS

RADIO BROADCAST NOVEMBER 18, 1939 No. 1
From London

by Marvin Breckinridge

Every part of England is conscious of this war, and baffled by it, but not dismayed. The activities of each community and the life of each citizen is changed from its usual channel.

A short time ago I went to Oxford, a large provincial city as well as a great university center. A Chinese man from the Limehouse district of London, his cardboard gasmask box over his shoulder, went up with me to see his two little daughters who were evacuated there with the rest of their Catholic school. Their classes were held in a Canadian log camp on a fine estate overlooking the town, and they were billetted in a model workman's house. Their father took them down to see a much changed Oxford. Brasenose College has now an Air Raid Warden's Post, and the ancient Gothic-arched entrance has rows of gasproof uniforms that they call decontamination outfits, rubber boots, and scoop-shovels for removing incendiary bombs. The students of Balliol have moved into a corner of their college to allow the Royal Institute of International Affairs to move in from London. The staff sits in the musty library and cuts clippings from foreign papers and prepares digests for the Foreign Office, and even its women eat in the stately dining-hall hitherto reserved exclusively for dons and undergraduates. The most surprising change is that of Ruskin College from the workingman's college to a Maternity Home, full of brand-new babies of mothers evacuated from London. Always famous for the number of its bicycles, Oxford now has even more, because of gasoline rationing, and they have white tailpieces.

For Britain is black -- not only in cities but also in country villages. A woman in a London suburb paints keyholes with luminous paint, and gave me a luminous gull for my buttonhole which frightened me the first time I saw it glowing in the dark. In London, ladies who go out in evening dress, which isn't often, put luminous powder in their hair. The new style of hairdressing is practical, if not always becoming. It calls for shingled neck and rolls on top of the head to cushion the tin hat.

Let's take a quick look at a country town in the shires. The Lord of the Manor is Chairman of the Rural District Council, the Food Executive Committee, and almost all the other committees; his lawyer is Air Raid Warden; his eldest son and heir is an officer in the Scots Guards and the younger son is an instructor in a searchlight battery. The daughter is a volunteer nurse in the local hospital, her husband is in a former Territorials Regiment, and the old nurse, aged 90, knits khaki socks for soldiers. In this town is the oldest wool business in England, now commandeered by the government but still run by the fourth generation of owners. The local engineering works have given up part of their production of milk separators to produce shell-lifters. This is fox-hunting country, and some neighbors have converted their horse-van to hold six stretchers. It is driven by the Head Chauffeur, a wounded veteran of the last war, and 'manned' by the two daughters of the house who are in the Ambulance Brigade. The town has bought a new fire engine, just in case----

At a village on the Thames, on one of the oldest cricket pitches in England, a game of baseball is played every other Sunday afternoon. On one side are diplomats from the American Embassy, with some wives and a child or two; on the other, all in correct uniform, are officers of the (censored: Grenadier Guards) Army, the Navy, the Air Force, a couple of Eton schoolboys, and the ex-Governor of Nigeria who plays in a monocle. And it's not always the Americans who win!

Radio Talk, November 25, 1939
by Marvin Breckinridge

Every night 15,000 women watch over London.

A few nights ago I went on night duty with the women of the Auxiliary Fire Service. Twenty-five hundred of them do night work throughout London's carefully planned fire districts. My station was the chief one in the center of London, which includes the big business and newspaper offices, the theatre district, the Bank of England and St. Paul's Cathedral.

The girls, who are mostly between 18 and 25, live in the fire-house with their officers who are somewhat older. Their work includes telephone communication, record keeping, and driving staff cars, in order to relieve the men for fire fighting. Before the evening shift went on at six o'clock, I went to their quarters where they live tidily, four in a room on mattresses on the floor. They came in from little shopping trips or visits to their families, if they were within seven minutes walk of their fire station. They put on fresh lipstick and adjusted their dark blue caps with red piping, like our lumbermen's caps, to cover their back hair in the rain. Their uniforms consist of dark blue coat with bright buttons that don't need polishing and skirt, (the drivers and late night shift may wear slacks), lisle stockings of maple hue, and black shoes. Then, with tin hats and gas masks in great khaki knapsacks over their shoulders, they clattered down four flights of fire-proof stairs in the great brick building to their offices and control rooms.

One wall had a row of pegs for gas masks and helmets where a waggish fireman drew caricatures of faces with chalk on the shiny tin hats. The girls took their places at telephones, typewriter, and green baize covered table, and the preceding shift picked up their knitting bags and tuppenny novels and went upstairs. The first hour or two was a busy time, with a chimney fire, an explosion in a hospital, a burning taxi and a mobility test, where London taxis with trailer pumps behind were sent to certain points around the district, and their movements were directed, reported and recorded through the A.F.S. They had little time to get on with their knitting or to read their notebooks about fire fighting which are filled with abbreviations for secrecy. Then the telephone was calmer and it was time for the girls to go up to supper, half of them at a time. I was invited to share their macaroni and cheese, bread and butter, pickled onions and tea to the tune of German choral singing on the radio.

While I was helping them dry the dishes afterwards, for the cook was sick, they talked gaily about the food, the movies, and their boy friends, never about the war. Several were engaged, some to A.F.S. men, one to a policeman. A volunteer who had just come in for the evening, after working all day as a stenographer in an office, was knitting a patchwork blanket for evacuees. Now there were no small calls to receive, direct and record, for the lines were kept clear for the (censored: white) signal meaning evening planes over London, and the work they would bring. We could hear the fire engines being warmed

up across the hall. The girls are not allowed to smoke on duty, so they picked up their knitting. Their thoughts went back to the last war. One was a schoolgirl in a convent, one a telephone operator at the Admiralty, one was a child in Portsmouth and remembered only soldiers and sailors always marching by, another was a volunteer nurse, the man officer had been torpedoed in a merchant ship, and the very young girl at the typewriter added brightly "I wasn't here"!.

I went down through a maze of sandbag walls to the district control room in the basement where two girls and a pet cat were watching seven silent telephones, and joking with two of the men officers of the London Fire Brigade. The telephone rang, and it was the 'all clear'. The girls ran down the row of telephones passing on the news, which took six seconds for each call, including the inevitable thank-you.

The night shift was still on duty, but others could go to a school across the street to play badminton or to rehearse for their Christmas pantomime.

While I was still in the Control Room the chief officer, head of 700 women AFS in the district, came in for a brief visit. The girls stood at attention, but did not salute, because that is only done when both women, officer and private, have hats on, and the officer had no hat on her hair which is waved regularly by a hairdresser who comes to do all the officers. She had been a leading advertising woman at a high salary until she chucked her job to take on the A.F.S. at the same £ 2 a week, now about eight dollars, for officers and privates alike. Although she is addressed as 'Madam' by everyone under her, she is not too dignified to join in the weekly dances for men and women of the A.F.S. and do the 'palais glide' and 'boompsy daisy' with hearty good spirits.

The next shift came in, wearing slacks, carrying blankets, pillows, novels, and a thermos of coffee. The one whose turn it was took the only comfortable chair, another lay on the floor, a third passed around a jar of candy and settled into her novel. They looked peaceful, but they are always watching....

By Marvin Breckinridge

RADIO TALK
From ~~Holland~~ DUBLIN

Number 3
December 2, 19

When my ship left England at four o'clock in the morning every porthole was covered by an iron shutter, canvas was hung along the decks and only a faint glimmer of light lit up the gangplank which led from the London train to the boat, for all of England is blacked out.

Three hours away lies neutral Ireland where they stopped blacking out a couple of weeks after the war started as it was unpopular and unnecessary. The six northern counties of Ireland are strictly dark I am told, but Dublin, a plain city by day, seems cheerful by night with bright shop windows and and illuminated signs, to one who has just come from London. I also noticed the lack of sandbags, airraid shelter signs, and gasmasks, and the sound of sirens still startles me, as in England they are used only for air raid warnings. There are quite a lot of automobiles in the streets, although gasoline rationing is approximately the same as in England, but some horse-drawn vehicles still remain. As I drove about Dublin in a horsecab, rich in odor and atmosphere, with a driver to match, and saw a little train loaded with beer barrels crossing the street, a few soldiers from Ireland's army of 15,000, who are now increased by an unannounced number of volunteers wearing lighter uniforms and side caps, women with children in bright red or green raincoats and hats shopping in the stores, where prices have gone up since the beginning of the war. Sugar has gone up nearly 50%, coal about 25%.

The feeling of the great majority in Ireland has been in favor of neutrality, which was declared and recognized in the first few days of the war and the government is determined to stick to it. This is the first time that Ireland has had the opportunity of voting on a war. (Censored: The people feel it is not their war, and while there is little sympathy with German principles there is at the same time a historical feeling toward England that prevents sympathy for her side.) Irish nationalists, a German Legation spokesman, and the Anglo-Irish agree that Great Britain has not brought pressure to bear to force Ireland to join the Allies, although it is the only part of the British Commonwealth nations not to do so. As John Maffey, Special Representative of Great Britain, said to me yesterday: Since England's attitude in this war has been to lead the field against all forms of aggression and to stand for the liberty of thought and action of small countries, it recognizes the right of Ireland to decide for itself.

Although Ireland is neutral and intends to remain so, the war has affected her national life. The cost of living has gone up 6-1/2 percent, income tax is up to 6 shillings and sixpence on the pound, compared to 7/6 in England, shipping except to England has practically stopped, the last American ship left last week, and the Irish merchant marine consists of about three or four ships to Holland and Belgium and a couple of cattle ships are practically inactive.

The completion of the new broadcasting station has been delayed because of the difficulty of obtaining iron and steel from England.

The government has taken measures intended to preserve its neutrality, including the increase in the size of the army, (Censored: the purchase of one torpedo boat,) the establishment of a small air force, and the intensification of the self-supporting policy whereby Ireland can already feed itself and may later export to the English market, given time and a satisfactory

price, butter and bacon, the two foods which will be rationed there next month. Already "four little pigs go to market, and six little pigs stay at home"'.

(Censored: Because its currency is controlled by England, Irish people have to get permits, which have so far never been refused, to take money out of the country.) Strict censorship has been enforced since the beginning of the war, letters are opened, and newspaper dispatches censored. (Censored: In warring England, my radio script is checked by one censor in the broadcasting station, in neutral Ireland it is checked by two government departments in different parts of Dublin.)

There is still a German Minister and Secretary in the Legation here, who told me this morning that there were only between 200 and 300 Germans in Ireland now, and there is no direct connection whatever with Germany. They are evidently planning to stay, because they have just repainted the front door of the office.

Dublin people are interested in the war in varying degrees. A young waiter in a downtown restaurant has a number of schoolfriends in the Royal Air Force and Navy, (Censored: and there are Irish regiments formed in London, but none over here.) I asked two little boys on their way to confession what they knew about the war. The 9 year old knew that there was a war on, but not who was fighting; the 8 year old knew that England and Germany was fighting, but no more. Their elders are better informed, and the central library reports a large demand for Hitler's Mein Kampf, and a lesser demand for other books on contemporary European politics.

Yesterday I went into the newsroom of the library, where about fifty men of the poorest type were reading periodicals. All around the walls were desks with spread-out newspapers, almost all from England, and one or two men standing to read each paper. All but two of the men were reading about the invasion of Finland, and those two were reading about markets and positions vacant.

Despite these preparations, life goes on calmly enough. In the country there is still hunting, though fewer people join in. One can still read in the local social columns that a young lady "will not hunt for the present, owing to the death of her grandfather" not the war! At the beginning of the war, several whole stables of English race horses were sent here for safety.

In Dublin people are interested in the Christmas Fair which will be held at the Mansion House next week; in the well-known theatre companies and the numerous amateur groups; in the farmers strike which has just been settled; in the "caileys" or dances which are held by social and political clubs; in Irish products such as tweeds, bath salts, lace, tinned food, and whisky, and hats; in the meetings of the Dail, where I sat behind the fence in the visitors gallery like a monkey in a zoo, and listened to a discussion of the pig marketing board, aided by an illuminated scoreboard for committees, order of business and amendments.

The Anglo-Irish people who derive their traditions and culture from England are loyal to that country. Those who are in the Services cannot now return to Ireland for the duration of the war, because they are not

allowed to wear anything except their uniforms, and the Irish government has just announced an order today forbidding the wearing of all except Irish uniforms.

The rest of the population is quite as much interested in the union of northern with southern Ireland as in the fate of European countries. Their own history has absorbed their attention to the exclusion of other countries and their futures. That is the explanation of her neutrality.

We return you now to Columbia, New York-------

Radio Talk by Marvin Breckinridge #4

December 10, 1939 Holland Final Draft

Holland cannot feel really free while a state of war exists all around her. Everywhere are soldiers in green uniforms, guarding airports and stations, riding bicycles stiffly around the Rembrandtsplein, joking with passengers on trains. I saw one passenger give a soldier a helpful shove when he got stuck in the door of a crowded train because of his regulation load of four knapsacks, blanket, bayonet, helmet and rifle.

In the parks are covered trenches for air raid shelters, but one Dutch woman, who did not believe war would come to her country, told me she much preferred to stay in her spotless tiled kitchen than to go to the earthy shelters.

Food rationing, to prevent hoarding, began here about four weeks ago, but so far only sugar is affected everywhere. Gasoline is not rationed, so the streets of Amsterdam are full of cars, and at night their brightly-lit windows sparkle with new merchandise. Ski clothes are featured and I am told that people will go to Switzerland, rather than to Austria this year.—The finest paintings of the Dutch School are stored for safety in the basement of the great Rijksmuseum.—Children have just celebrated St. Nicholas' Day, when he rides around the canals on a barge and they receive presents in their shoes.—The Delft china factory is still running, but on half-time.

Hollanders are not very nervous, but they are taking care in little ways and great to preserve their neutrality. In a newsreel theatre, I noticed that among Dutch and other subjects, there were two from Germany, two from France, two from England. The Russian orchestra leader at one of the leading hotels told me that he had been requested by the management not to play the English song-hit "Hanging Up the Washing on the Siegfried Line" for fear of offending some of the guests.

Holland has armed all her frontiers, and she has refused to use convoys and to arm her merchant ships. The Dutch have felt the limitations of the British blockade, and now they are annoyed by their threat to stop all exports from Germany, for their shipment is an important part of Holland's business.

A pretty girl of twenty, daughter of a Captain in the Merchant Marine, told me that besides helping with the housework and studying to be a dancing-teacher in the daytime, she gives four evenings a week to Air Raid Precautions work. Neither she nor any of the 8000 other volunteer women in the Hague wears a uniform, because Dutch people as a whole dislike them.

One of her sisters is a nurse, ~~and~~ her aunts knit socks and caps for soldiers. ~~I asked whether she had any friends at home to take her to the movies, and she said they were all~~ her friends are all in the Army or Air Force "otherwise they are not my friends."

At the Hague, I saw two squads of sailors marching, and passed an iron pillbox labelled 'Manchester, England' on my way out to the Peace Palace, home of the Court of International Justice. Its treasures of painting and tapestry have been stored for safety. The porter told me that a conference between Belgium and Bulgaria had ended this week, the judges had gone, and even the secretaries moved out yesterday. Soon I went too, and left the porter alone in the Peace Palace, in the cold rain and deepening darkness.

We return you now to ~~Columbia, New York~~ LONDON.

RADIO TALK #5

BY Marvin Breckinridge

December 16, 1939
From Holland

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

Holland has become the crossroads for the news of the world. Before the war, there were only about seventy journalists representing foreign newspapers here, and a third of them were Dutchmen, none Americans. Now there are about sixty new foreign journalists here, including American, English, French, and German, of whom the Germans are the most numerous.

Only one new correspondent stays at Rotterdam. A few are at the Hague, including a German woman who reports on cultural matters. The only other foreign woman journalist in Holland is an Englishwoman who, as she said to me, "specializes in wars, aviation, and personality interviews", distributed through her own syndicate. In the Hague also are the Press Attaches of several legations, whose task, ~~consisting of interpreting their countries to Holland and vice versa, has not been altered much by the war,~~ has changed little except that they are sometimes called upon to get their journalists out of trouble.

But the main center of world news is Amsterdam. Our big agencies have sent Americans to augment their staffs. They sit shirt-sleeved in steam-heated offices under electric light by day and night, and gather news from all Europe to relay it to other points, mainly to the United States.

The biggest foreign agencies have their offices on the edge of a canal, in an old Dutch building belonging to the semi-official ~~and only~~ Dutch agency. Here on the top floor are two doors facing each other. On one side is the dnp - Deutches Nachrichten Bureau - the semi-official German news bureau. Across the hall is a room for the English representative of Reuter's and the four French representatives of Havas. Each office has a teleprinter which is constantly typing out news of the world from seven agencies ~~from all the world~~. Dutch boys carry messages to one side of the hall, and then to the other, for there is no direct contact between the two sides. None of these three agencies is allowed a representative in an enemy country, of course. So what they have done, like many individual English and German papers, is to take men, ~~often the heads,~~ from the bureaux in the opposite capitols and send them to Amsterdam. That means that the G[illegible] England

and the English come here to get news of Germany. One German correspondent told me that he subscribed to all the leading English papers and magazines, and used that material, together with agency and radio news, and reports of neutral travellers, to write his articles on England for eight large provincial German papers.

There is only one Frenchman representing a single newspaper-group. He was formerly editor of the Sports Section and travelled continuously for sporting and semi-political news. He told me that, measured by kilometres, he was the greatest sports-writer in Europe!

About two hundred more journalists, including among them Italians, Japanese, and Hungarians, have come here to do special articles and then left . Some have gone to Helsinki, much of whose news comes back via Amsterdam to the outside world. The writers who are left here sometimes get restless at the lack of dramatic news in Holland itself. They meet almost daily at their regular table next to the black and white bar at the Carlton, ~~when I joined them this afternoon~~, to drink a large beer or a small 'bols', (which is a Dutch gin,) where I joined them ~~this afternoon~~ today. Rumor has it that when there is no news, this group arranges some. The Germans do not join this group; they go to another hotel, but most of them are in the Hague anyway.

~~For their expenditure, newspapers expect a lot of news, and they get masses of it.~~ The German and English reporters telephone their messages to their papers. The French and German agencies have teleprinters direct to their capitols. Cables from the Netherlands have increased 60 to 70 percent since the beginning of the war, in spite of the drop in ordinary business. About a month ago, Press Wireless opened an office in Amsterdam, the only one in a neutral country, which I visited night before last. While I was there, telephone calls came in from Helsinki and Bucharest, and were sent by teleprinter to London. Other messages go by Dutch Radio to the United States, and every day about 28,000 words go through this office; ~~in a crisis many more~~.

Netherlanders have boasted to me that there is no censorship in their country. However, ~~most European countries feel that some supervision is necessary in wartime, and~~ the Dutch are anxious above all things to preserve their neutrality, and They are occasionally embarassed by the activities of some of the foreign journalists, (notably about five weeks ago,) so they have installed a kind of censorship whose purpose is 'the security of the State'. Telegrams and telephone calls are censored by the Post Office which despatches them, and other quick methods of transmission are watched. No letters are opened by the Dutch, the idea being, and it seems true enough, that mails are so slow in wartime that nothing is 'news' which arrives by mail. Radio has always been ~~censored~~ supervised by the Post Office ~~for public welfare and morality,~~ and now there is a military censor as well.

Tomorrow morning, when you open your newspaper, think of this hive of words buzzing in and buzzing out when you read the dateline: December 16th, Amsterdam.

We return you now to Columbia, New York.

Off at 12:19

HOLLAND'S FRONTIERS

Number 6

By Marvin Breckinridge

December 21, 1939

From Holland

The three frontiers of Holland are all fortified, as evidence that she is truly neutral in this war, and I have just returned from visiting them to get a tourist's-eye view.

First, I bicycled from the Hague to Scheveningen on the coast, across the North Sea from England. Here three old fishermen in black corduroy trousers and wooden shoes were smoking their pipes outside one of a series of pillboxes. Where the entrance to the smart beach club is in summer, there is now a neat trench camouflaged by wire netting and bearing a sign meaning 'Photography Forbidden'. Some pink-cheeked young soldiers were digging another trench while others played football on the tremendous beach below. The people paid no attention to the granite monument to the mobilized forces of the years 1914-1918. They are living that period again.

Later I crossed the partly-frozen water-barrier which protects the Central part of the country and made a three-hour train journey to southern Limburg, a hilly section of Holland which reaches south between Belgium and Germany.

(Censored: ?? In this section a kind of martial law prevails and suspicious foreigners are deported within half a day of their arrival.) Though undoubtedly well defended, this country shows few signs of guns, trenches, and supply depots. The fortifications are heavily guarded and fields are mined. The towns have air raid shelter signs here and there, but no sandbags or other signs of warfare. Notices have appeared in the Dutch papers requesting civilians not to travel by train on Saturday or next Wednesday, to leave room for the soldiers coming home on Christmas leave. The German soldiers across the way, it is reported, are not getting any leave this Christmas.

After bicycling through the cobbled square of Maastricht, with its new forest of Christmas trees, I went out through frosty fields to the Belgian border. A brand-new concrete pillbox stood in an orchard, others were outlined on the tops of surrounding hills. On the Belgian side were sentries in groups of three around every corner, guarding the Albert canal, and politely forbidding all foreigners, including me, to cross the bridge.

In the opposite direction from Maastricht, across the river Maas, or Meuse as the French call it, lies the German border, less than twenty miles away. All the bridges on the highway to the border are barricaded by rows of concrete cylinders, and sawhorses draped in barbed wire. (Censored??: Each bridge has a guardhouse midway across, with fully-armed sentries outside.) There are also a number of tank traps consisting of rows of short steel girders sticking out of the ground, or cobblestone walls across the road, leaving just room enough for my bus to squeeze through.

At Vaals the snow fell on men who were decorating this frontier town's Christmas tree, as high as the inns around the old square, and fifty yards from the frontier were the Nazi flag was flying. Two military police, white braid hanging from their shoulders, were patrolling the town slowly on bicyles. I saw only a couple of other soldiers here, and learned later that they are not allowed near the frontier.

In another town, Kerkrade, life was going on much as usual: the baker's wife was putting big gingerbread hearts in the window, and little girls went home from school carrying the Christmas presents they had made for their parents. Yet in the middle of this town is a street bisected lengthwise by the German-Dutch frontier. Soon after four the street-lights of neutral Holland went on on one side of the street, but the German side remained black, for they observe the national blackout of all belligerent countries. So the town is still divided, and Holland is still bright.

go ahead Luxemburg

RADIO TALK #7

by Marvin Breckinridge Dec. 30, 1939

LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg has more pastry shops than any city I've ever seen! This means two things: first, the people work hard every day to earn their bread; and second, it is not only bread but cake. They took literally the advice to 'Let Them Eat Cake'! For this is one thousand square miles of the most prosperous country on earth.

But now Luxemburg is on the spot. Belgium lies on the west. France's Maginot Line borders her on the south, and Germany's Siegfried Line on the east, and they both meet at the southeast tip of the country, twelve miles from the capitol, where actual fighting goes on from time to time.

Day before yesterday I motored down there, ~~[illegible] 25 [illegible] remaining here. [illegible] French border~~. Across the which is the bord ravine, French villages had been evacuated, and the little stone bridges were barricaded by farm implements, ~~one, by a single telegraph pole~~. I saw only one French soldier over there. But on this side I had to show my permit to visit the area to 2 per cent of the entire Luxemburg army! For the whole army numbers only 300, and their task is to prevent incidents which might endanger their neutrality. It was a cold day, well below freezing, so the weather was fine for killing pigs, and I saw several farmers working on great white corpses spread on ladders. ~~[illegible] down into the Moselle valley, the grapevines stand out in black designs against the snow, and~~ In one of the villages in the Moselle Valley within sight of the German border, ~~where they were probably doing the same thing,~~ men were washing out large vats for the famous Moselle wine. In a field overlooking the German and French borders I could see little in the cold grey light but I stopped to listen. Very far away was the sound of big guns. Nearby, there was only the sound of church bells ringing through the frosty air.

Luxemburgers near that crucial point have been evacuated, but a village schoolmaster told me that elsewhere in the country nothing was changed. I have asked a number of people here in the city if daily life has changed since the beginning of the war and they all answered 'No'. But people are more depressed, or nervous, they say.

There are now a certain number of unemployed, where before the war there were none. New houses are not being started, so masons are out of work. Banks and holding companies, for which this is a great center, are handling less business, or temporarily moving their headqu and therefore dismissing employees. And the well-known Radio Luxemburg, which subsisted on advertising from English, French and Belgian firms, has been closed by order of the government to preserve the country's neutrality.

But more people suffer from fear of the future than from present circumstances. The owner of a leading piano renting store told me that 34 pianos had been returned within one week. A secretary keeps her good furniture in storage, instead of putting it into her new apartment, because she would be sorry to have to leave it suddenly. My hairdresser said that business was all right, but that she now had to pay 2 francs 20 for soap instead of 1 franc as before the war.

The cost of living has gone up, especially the cost of gasoline, but nothing has been rationed. Life is quiet here, and the four movie theatres, the restaurants and cafe-concerts all close at eleven since the war began. More serious is the future of the important iron and steel works for possible lack of German coke to burn, and French freight cars for transport.

There are no measures for military defence (beyond the army of 300!) but the Grand-Duchy is working on Passive Defence. Neat little red and white signs indicate Air Raid shelters, and there are fifteen miles of passages under this rocky fortress where hundreds of people could take refuge. Red Cross posts have been established, and distribution of gas masks began last week. Yesterday afternoon I went into the auditorium in the basement of the City Hall and watched an official and two firemen fitting gasmasks, made in Belgium, on the handfull of people who were ready to pay fifty francs (about two dollars) for them. On a fine square, behind the French Legation, stands a monument dedicated by Foch to all the Luxemburg volunteers who fought for France last time. [~~There will be no monument after this war, because now Luxemburgers are not allowed to volunteer in any foreign army.~~ forbidden to fight on either side.]

But many things continue as usual. Yesterday The local Rotary Club held its weekly lunch meeting in my hotel, and ~~yesterday~~. * Two business men ~~officials~~ whom I went to see had taken their dogs ~~and hunters~~ and gone hunting, for this is the season for hare and wild boar. ~~pigs~~ Others just stay at home and read the local newspapers, four in German, and one in French. Everyone here can read.

This morning a big market was held outside the Cathedral. On the altar inside is the figure of Our Lady of Luxemburg, who, they say, has saved this Catholic country from destruction for over four hundred years, in answer to prayers. In early November, 1918, when the country was in danger of destruction from the retreating Germans and the pursuing Allies, women prayed before this altar night and day, and the country was saved by hours, by the Armistice. Yesterday morning, when I went to see Our Lady, the sun streamed through ~~bright~~ stained-glass windows on three nuns, praying.

We return you now to Columbia, New York

* the population of about 300,000 was increased by 15 births and decreased by two deaths.

4 min 40 sec as written.

RADIO TALK #8

by Marvin Breckinridge — Shipping in Holland — Jan. 12, 1940

[We take you now to Amsterdam]

The war has seriously affected Holland's leading industry, that of shipping. Rotterdam was formerly the greatest port by tonnage on the Continent, three quarters of it foreign. As it is the natural port, via the Rhine River, for the German hinterland which provides more than half of its trade, it has suffered most heavily from the British two-way blockade of German goods. The delays and restrictions of the blockade annoy the Dutch, but they regard it as the lesser of two evils.

A few days ago I rode around Rotterdam harbor on the deck of a little open tug plowing through acres of churned-up ice to return sailors to their ships. I saw a few Dutch ships laid up, a couple of Swedish ships, a Greek, and several Italian ships taking on cargoes of coal. One of their sailors chatted gaily with the Dutch master of the tug in English, ~~the language of the seas,~~ before climbing up the ladder of his ship encumbered by his bundles. Modern grain elevators and countless cranes stood idle, for all shipping has decreased by 75 % since the beginning of the war. This has thrown three-quarters of the dockworkers out of their jobs, who ~~Supported by minicipal relief, they spend~~ spend their time fishing, or nowadays skating on long, turned-up skates. *

Dutch ships, now chartered by the government but operated by their owners, are all busy bringing supplies for home consumption, but it is not very profitable because of the higher cost of operation. ~~Companies are barely holding their own, or losing money slightly, because of higher costs of labor, fuel, and above all war risk insurance, and they expect to lose more.~~

Although the two biggest passenger liners to America are not in transatlantic service, the other ships run full westbound, to the extent of 2000 passengers monthly, ~~90%~~ 80% of whom are German refugees. The biggest westbound business was when this line repatriated over 4300 Americans who rushed here from Germany and other neighboring countries at the beginning of the war. The ships return now practically empty, due to war conditions and our new neutrality law, and they carry some mail which is searched in the ~~English~~ Downs. ~~The American Government has recently made a formal protest against the interception of the mail from neutrals to neutrals, but~~ by the British, both ~~still~~ despite our protest do it in order to stop the tremendous

flow of dollar bills to Amsterdam bankers, and thence, with a profit of course, to Germany where they go to pay for new submarines.

Amsterdam is the port for traffic with Holland's colonies which are sixty times larger than herself. But her fine ships no longer brave the North Sea; they sail from Lisbon and Genoa; the passengers join them by train, and cargo is brought by tenders equipped with paravanes for cutting off attached mines. ~~They are useless against magnetic mines, of course.~~

The Harbormaster of Amsterdam welcomed me into his map-hung office in the ancient tower, built about 1450, whence Henry Hudson sailed to America. He told me that only half as many ships called as before the war, and unemployment had increased by a third. ~~As I walked along the quay, its cobbles covered with ice, I saw boxes from Italy and flour from Texas being loaded into canal barges for the interior of Holland.~~

~~No American ships are allowed in Dutch waters;~~ A few English ships come as ~~far as Amsterdam~~, but no other ~~foreigners~~. German ships go only to Delfzijl, a small port in the north near their boundary. It is near here that the minefields of Germany, Holland, and England meet, or maybe overlap. The sailors who cross the North Sea talk little, but all say they have seen floating mines, and sometimes they explode them by rifle-fire. Holland has lost seven ships by uncharted mines, and two by torpedo.

I was in the little harbor of Maasluis one afternoon when three minesweepers came in to join ~~the~~ a bright red lightship, ~~(for all lightships have been kept in harbor since the war,)~~ and I talked to the young naval officer who was checking them in. The Netherlands have a purely defensive navy of some 15000 men, with no battleships or aircraft carriers, and 75% of the navy is in the East Indies. Here, its task now is ~~directing the installation of~~ putting paravanes on Dutch ships, minelaying and -sweeping, and rendering harmless the dozens of mines that are washed up on beaches by a westerly gale. I am told that the Minister of Defence says he will take up some of the minefields near bathing beaches next summer.

In spite of bloakade and mines, which are ruining its ports through elimination of foreign ships and cargo, this seafaring nation continues to run its own ships all over the world, with 'Holland' in eight-foot-high letters on each side and a spotlight on the Netherlands flag at night, professing their belief in the safety of neutrals.

We take you now to London

RADIO TALK #9

by Marvin Breckinridge ICE IN HOLLAND Jan. 15, 1940
Morning

Yesterday at midday it was announced here that no new leave for Dutch soldiers would be given and that the road and railroad communications between Maastricht in southern Holland and Liege in Belgium had been cut, because of a rumor of a foreign army assembling near Holland's frontiers. Just before Christmas I travelled through this part of the ~~country~~ Netherlands. Then I saw crowds of villagers skating on parts of the water barrier, against a background of misty windmills, like an old-fashioned print come to life. For this has been so far an unusually severe winter, and the remarkable ice has affected the military and economic life of the country and delighted its sportsmen.

Attacks over the ice were unsuccessful when tried by the Russians in the last war and again in this one in Finland, because of lack of cover and because artillery fire from either side has a devastating effect in breaking the ice under the advancing army. Now the Dutch are controlling their unique defenses by sending soldiers to break up the ice and by moving the water from one section to another of the water barrier by windmill and pump and thus leaving cracks six feet wide, and great blocks of upturned slanting ice, most difficult to cross. They say that none of the ice will support tanks, except in the marshy country of North Brabant, where it will pack hard and make a better roadbed than the soft, shallow marsh water. Last week a newsreel was released showing whole battalions of water-barrier troops drilling on ice-skates. This is not new, for when the Spaniards attacked them on foot about three hundred years ago, slipping on the ice in their heavy armor, the Dutch had a good laugh first, and then came up on skates and easily defeated them.

On the former Zuyder Zee, now called the Ijsselmeer, which forms part of the defense of central Holland, the ice ~~was~~ is over a foot thick, and strong, for I saw a dozen cars parked near together off the shore of the island of Marken. I spent Saturday there- a beautiful, sunny day, when thousands of Hollanders come to skate with villagers in native costumes. I set off on my Dutch wooden skates with steel blades along the smooth, well-swept iceway which extends for three miles to the island, accompanied by a young

soldier, an air observer, formerly a baker. He told me he had been out there the day before when five weddings were held on the ice near the island, with two hundred couples in costume, and tables on the ice for a gigantic wedding feast. Fishermen swept by us on long skates, often over socks, the shoes sticking out of the pockets of their spacious Dutchmen's breeches. Women with long locks of hair falling from under white caps were serving pea soup and hot chocolate and chewy gingerbread at little stands on the ice. The usually-serious Dutch become gay and lively when they play on the ice, and there is a saying "When Holland freezes, the Dutch thaw". Ice is also a means of transportation, and one child psychologist I know skates from her home in Leiden, our pilgrim fathers' temporary home, to the Hague for committee meetings.

Now that the canals are frozen, many barges are stuck. Some are used for storing supplies for safety from possible bombing, since they can be moved about when it thaws, Now even the Rhine is frozen, and Dutch ships cannot get as far as Mannheim, their wartime limit, since beyond that the Rhine forms the frontier between France and Germany. The ice in the ports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam and their waterways is kept broken by special icebreakers, and by tugs with red flags over the bows to warn that steel blades are cutting under water. There is little water to be seen — only vast stretches of ground-up ice.

Yesterday's defense measures have been taken calmly by the people here, and there are no further developments reported today. Last night I had Sunday night supper with a charming Dutch family. After the two little children had come in in their blue woolly wrappers to kiss us goodnight, we turned on the radio for news and heard about the curtailing of leave and the closing of the Belgian-Dutch frontier, which did not worry my hosts much as similar measures had been taken repeatedly during the last war. We also heard the announcement of the meeting of the Dutch Cabinet indicating that demands had possibly been made, which was more serious since it paralleled recent history in other parts of Europe. Still my friends, like the rest of their countrymen, were calm, ready to face the future, and confident that ice does not help the attacker.

But now we have the first thaw in many days, the temperature this morning is 38 degrees. It has discouraged the sportsmen, who have had to postpone their biggest skating race today, when 3000 men and women were to have skated well over a hundred miles between eleven towns. But the thaw has not yet freed the barges, nor weakened the thick ice which girdles central Holland, for better or for worde.

And if the enemy attacks, it will find determined resistance, for "Holland on Ice" will not be a present.

We return you now to Columbia, New York.

DIAMONDS IN HOLLAND

By Marvin Breckinridge — From Holland — Number 10 — January 23, 1940

One luxury business that has not lost by the war is the diamond industry, whose headquarters for some three hundred years have been in Amsterdam.

Excepting a few from South America, all the rough stones come from South Africa. When I was there a few years ago, I peered into the Big Hole, a giant' well, famous for the richness it produced. I also went into the sorting room of the great De Beers company in Kimberly and saw spread out on a long table beneath bright windows enough diamonds to fill the world market for five years. The discoveries of more of these jewels lying on the shores of African rivers threatened the industry, by reducing values, so the various companies formed a syndicate which now controls all important diamond lands.

But now the war has increased the uncertainty and added to the expense of transporting the rough stones from South Africa to London, the great center, where Holland gets 98% of her supply. One result has been an increase in price This morning a Dutch diamond executive told me he had telephoned London and found that in the market the 'tendency was firm'. As a war measure, England will not allow any rough diamonds to come to Holland without guarantees that they will not be re-exported for industrial purposes. The important industrial use now is, of course, in the making of armaments.

Today I visited Asscher's, the greatest diamond polishing works in the world, employing a couple of hundred workmen. It is a family business, run by the many sons and grandsons of the founder. Though they are now the manager and representatives for Paris, London and New York, they all started by working with their hands in the shops at the age of 14 or so, like the apprentices in the school for diamond cutters which gives part of its training here.

In this factory I saw the three big stages of polishing. First comes sawing, in a room with 300 machine saws revolving at the rate of 5000 times a minute. As 'only a diamond can work a diamond', the copper saws are edged with diamond-dust in oil. Cutting comes next. Finally it is given to the polishers, middle-aged men who have been with the company an average of 22 years. They sit at a bench in a long, light room made even brighter by the snow outside. Most of them wear grey linen coats and smoke the potent Dutch cigars. Their job is to cut the facets, with hand and machine under accurate eye. 58 facets in a round diamond is called the classical form. I was surprised to see a few playing cards on the workbenches, and was told they are used for making minute changes in adjustment of the holders instead of for games No, the suits were not all diamonds--

The famous Cullinan diamond, largest ever found, weighing uncut over 3000 carats, was brought here to be cut into eleven pieces and polished, and the largest two are in the Crown and Scepter of the King of England.

In Amsterdam is the important 50-year-old diamond exchange, the only one in Europe except for Antwerp. Here buyers with magnifying glasses stuck in their eye-sockets lean low over tables to examine the jewels, or weigh them on little scales. Forty to fifty million dollars' worth a year go through their large, modern safe. The wholesale price may be anywhere from $3 to $300,000 per stone. Prices for small diamonds have gone up 40 -50% since the war started, and the merchants say they will be higher.

In Europe now people buy some diamonds for investment, but as a whole the sales here have fallen off. However, the business has not suffered because the best market in this international trade is the United States, and the Netherlands look to us to keep alive the bright sparkle of diamonds in a murky world.

We return you now to London.

RADIO TALK #11

BY Marvin Breckinridge

Jan. 25, 1940
Morning

HOLLAND'S FLOWERS, FRUITS, FISH

This is the story of the flowers that wont bloom in the spring. For Holland, which has been the nursery of Europe for many years, has lost all her best customers through the war. England used to buy half of the 50,000 tons of bulbs grown every year; now it takes none. The 20,000 acres where they grow are lying under snow, but in the spring many of the bulbs will be burned, and beets will be planted in their place, for sugar. Bulbs were brought to Holland from Persia almost four hundred years ago, and together with cut flowers and plants they form an important export industry.

Yesterday I went to the flower capitol at Alsmeer, through little villages that all had posters urging people to "Support Finland" by the collection which will be made on Saturday. I drove past miles of greenhouses, some with double-glass walls and icycles hanging from the roofs. This week we've had the coldest weather since 1897, which makes it more expensive to heat the glass houses. And when the many small nurserymen finally bring their flowers to the cooperative auction, there will be very likely no bidders for them. In the blue and white auction-room, I sat near the top of the steep row of benches with one of the leading orchid-growers of the country, who has 30,000 plants in his extensive greenhouses. We watched the double-decker trucks about twice as big as stretchers, piled high with lovely white lilacs like the snowdrifts outside, being pushed into the center of the room. The coffee-drinking buyers below us pressed buttons at their desks to record their bids on a stalk of none of them bids as much as three cents per stalk, the truck was wheeled out and another brought in to meet the same fate of immediate destruction, or possibly to be given to a hospital. Tumbril after tumbril of lilacs rolled by. Seventy percent of these used to go to England, and now because of currency regulations, and probably less interest in flowers, none of them go. And France no longer buys her favorite roses, nor Germany her favorite daffodils, and it is small comfort that Switzerland still wants her tulips, and Scandinavia still buys her orchids, sent by air.

2

In a packing-room off the warehouse, a man was filling each orchid to be shipped with cotton, and wrapping each part in soft tissue-paper for safety. Outside the window was a bicycle pushcart piled high with yellow, red and blue wooden shoes which

the pedalling salesman was selling to the workers. These workers and gardeners have their own brass band, and play in the large carnation warehouse after hours. But they dont need to blow to keep their courage up -- for although the flower business which used to be worth four million dollars a year there has now been cut in half and is steadily diminishing, the Dutch accept the situation and face the thought of poverty without grumbling.

And there is no substitute that they can turn to, for the indoor fine vegetable business has also collapsed, because England and Germany can no longer buy the crop due to currency regulations, and the added expense of transportation. When I drove from Rotterdam to the Hoek a couple of weeks ago I passed dozens and dozens of greenhouses empty of their vegetables, while outside grew patches of a kind of kale, a favorite food among Hollanders, which is only good to eat after a frost. Last night, sitting around the stove in a little country house I had a national dish called BOERE KOL, which is this kale, chopped and cooked with potatoes to make one soft green mass, and served with a great Dane of a hot dog.

The impossibility of export has hit the grape industry heavily, has brought oysters down to a quarter of their former price, and has left a comfortable surplus of butter and cheese, supplied by cows who wear burlap raincoats! As a matter of fact, Holland does not need to depend on her colonies for food -- she can raise everything she needs except wheat and fodder, which she gets from the Americas. She is now adapting herself to new conditions by planting flax for her textile mills.

The fishing business, which used to employ 16,000 men and had over 3000 boats, has been discouraged by mines. Some of the trawlers have been turned into minesweepers, and others have steered inland to the great waters of the Zuyder Zee, where, when there is no ice, they drop their nets for a new freshwater fish called a snoekbaars, a kind of pike. These dont get a chance to 'swim night over the dam' the 26-mile dike that divides the lake from the sea. A favorite tale here now is that people who skate over the Zuyder Zee see schools of fish frozen stiff in the ice, waiting for the spring to release them for the fishermen's nets, when they will be more popular, though less fragrant, than the surplus flowers of Europe's garden.

We return you now to Columbia, New York

Breckinridge CBS

Number 12
Jan. 30,1940
From Berlin

NAZI MEETING

It was my first Nazi mass-meeting. As I walked across the beaten-down snow to the doors of the Sportpalast, the vague moonlight showed up groups of men with a lot of flags standing and knocking their feet together in the cold night, and outside the doors two lines of men in black uniforms and caps with shiny visors - the noted SS men.

Inside, men in the brown uniforms of Storm troopers directed me to my place, where I looked down on rows of bald heads with a smattering of solid-looking women. The hall was packed with fifteen thousand people half an hour ahead of time. A band played and suggested to my mind the prelude to the greatest show on earth. The audience rose and held the Nazi salute when the flags were borne in solemnly and settled on the red and gold draped platform, marked by stark swastikas. A German behind me was pointing out Hess and other dignitaries on the platform to his girl.

Suddenly the band's efforts stopped, and a large band of men in uniform walked rapidly down the center aisle. The third man, and only one without a cap, was Adolf Hitler. He looked small among his stalwart bodyguard, and just like his pictures, forelock and all. He received a tremendous ovation of Heils, given loudly and rhythmically, from everyone except the foreigners in the press gallery. Dr. Goebbels introduced him in a brief speech ending with "The Führer speaks". Another round of regular cheering, and the Führer began. While he was talking, a photographer in uniform photographed him from all angles. The Führer paid no attention to anything except his notes and performance, which had variety of tempo, tone and gesture. He aroused derisive laughter more than once when talking about the English, and cheers and stamping when he described Germany's might and determination to help herself. His climax was well given with a fine crescendo and the audience was delighted with the picture of their power which he presented to them. Thenthe striding procession marched out and the audience sang their national anthems and the popular new tune about We March Against England, and some of them kept on whistling it as they went home.

Breckinridge CBS Feb. 4, 1940

#13

This is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

The German High Command reports that nine armed merchant ships, four patrol vessels and one minesweeper were sunk and other ships severely damaged when German planes made an attack on English merchant ships yesterday. This is their third attack ~~on English merchant ships~~ off the English coast in a week. The attackers report that defence fire of the ships and the English pursuit planes was stronger than before. Three German ships failed to return. There is no mention of how many German ships went over, but it is probably quite a large number.

There is no other news today, and I am going to tell you about my first impressions of life in Berlin, where I have recently arrived as Columbia's travelling reporter.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS Feb. 4, 1940
Morning

Outwardly Berlin does not look warlike, except for the soldiers in the streets. Everywhere are Storm Troopers and uniformed men rattling tins of change and asking for contributions for the Winterhilfe, or winter help. Yesterday morning an SS man in black uniform with swastika on his arm crossed the street to ask me for money, and rewarded me with a little head on a pin of one of the comic characters made by the author of Max and Moritz who is very popular here now. When I had trouble pinning it on the lapel of my trenchcoat with my heavy gloves, he did it for me, and then smilingly gave me a casual Nazi salute as I went my way. At night the collectors are even more ardent. One evening I went dining and dancing in crowded restaurants and was asked nine times for contributions. ~~As the officials say that there is no unemployment in Germany, and that there is a decent minimum wage, I didn't see the need for all this help, for the campaign goes on for six months. However, several people have told me that the money goes for armaments, and perhaps also for subsidies for the export trade which are sold cheaper abroad.~~ censored

This crowding of amusement places is found everywhere in the evenings in spite of the blackout. One night I went to one of the three opera houses to hear and enjoy Traviata. One woman in our party brought a pair of shoes in a paper bag to give to the other woman. They were too small for the owner, and as shoes are almost impossible to buy, these were handed around among a group of friends until they found their Cinderella at the opera who was delighted with them. Only a handful of people were in evening dress and there was none of the kid-glove elegance that we usually expect at the opera - these were mostly sturdy working folk, dressed simply

without regard to style, who seemed to prefer opera to the movies. Afterwards our party went on in one of the half dozen cars waiting outside to a popular nightspot that still keeps its French name. Swing music is forbidden, and the orchestra is allowed to play only 30% of foreign music, but they used some of their quota to play Dixie and Old Folks at Home in our honor. ~~Here we paid to draw lucky numbers from Storm troopers for the Winterhilfe, but without any luck, and at one o'clock the place was closed by police rules and we went home.~~

The restaurants and nightclubs are properly heated, and my hotel is unique in having satisfactory central heating and constant hot water, but private houses are not so lucky. I went to tea one day with a charming German lady who has an apartment in the best residential district of Berlin. She received me wearing two sweaters, a fur coat, and overshoes, her usual costume at home now. She showed me her attractive, book-lined drawing-room, where the thermometer on the wall showed a temperature of 46 degrees F. and then led me into her large bedroom where we sat around the big white porcelain stove, the only method of heating, and she proudly offered me real tea. She told me that Germany had a very strong army (her son is an officer) and plenty to eat.

I have found plenty to eat, but not much variety. A housewife took me to a big, brick market building one morning when she went to do her shopping. ~~She took with her her ration cards for meat, fats, bread, starch foods, marmelade, sugar and eggs (one a week) special foods, soap and clothes.~~ A wrinkled old woman was trying to warm her thin shoes by the stove inside the door. The butcher and his wife, in knitted caps and whitish coats on top of their overcoats, had several kinds of sausages strung in front of their booth, but little else. They had been trying to get some lamb for my housewife for three weeks without success. At the vegetable stalls were baskets of carrots and cabbages and sometimes frozen cauliflower, and rows and rows of empty boxes. One stall had a dozen cans of food on a high shelf, but they were only for decoration because it is not allowed to sell tinned food, as it is all kept for the army.

For travelers like myself there are coupons for bread, butter, margarine, lard, starch foods, and meat. As I have now been here almost a week, I can figure out how to order a meal, for each item on the menu has listed under it the number of grams of coupons required for it. A typical menu in a leading hotel has one cream soup, made of flour and water and flavoring, one fish and two meat dishes, unless it is one of the two meatless days a week; potatoes and cabbage for vegetables, and three kinds of dessert, all apple. At every meal at least one dish is exhausted, and must be replaced by sausage or apple. A friend of mine who sent me orchids in America gave me an equally nice present when I arrived here: coupons for 75 grams of butter, 35 grams of margarine, 150 grams of starch food, and 300 grams of meat!

Not only food, but also books are regulated. Yesterday I went into a leading bookshop. In the window were twenty recent

books about England, and twice as many about contemporary politics and German history mixed together. Inside were half a dozen newly-prepared books about "Our War in Poland". There were also some books left from former yearsabout horses, skiing, and art. The new edition of Mein Kampf issued for the soldiers after deleting certain out-of-date passages about Russia, was there in all its 700-odd pages of fine type. I wonder how many soldiers read it all. I asked for a book in German by one of my favorite authors, and the bookstore clerk told me that his books had been forbidden for several years, for although he was not a Jew, he had said something that had made him unloved.

On the surface Berlin looks fairly normal, but actually one finds the effects of war in every part of daily life. At a friendly cocktail party to which I was invited yesterday, the girls were talking about the right color nailpolish to wear when your hands are purple with cold. The men were not in uniform yet and there was no feeling of bloodthirsty joy in the coming combat. Three of them tried to keep up their hopes by wishfully thinking that a peace would be arranged in a couple of months without launching any great offensive. Of course, they will all join up immediately when called, but without enthusiasm for this war. A German officer on the Western Front near the front sent a Christmas card to a friend of his with the illuminating saying of Tagore: "I slept and dreamt that life was Joy; I awoke and found that life was Duty".

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS

Number 14
Feb. 6, 1940

This is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

The Four-Year Plan is being extended to include the occupied territory of Poland. The Governor-General has announced in Cracow that a Board of Control for iron and steel has been set up. This organization is authorized to give directions about procedure, distribution, storage and disposal of these goods. This will be under the German Four-Year Plan committee.

THE COLD

A report has come through this evening over DNB, the German news agency, that the Gulf of Riga is frozen over, and that it is possible that the Baltic from Latvia to Sweden may freeze too. If it does, it will be the first time in 600 years.

Berlin is completing six weeks of cold weather. It's still hard to get coal because of transportation difficulties. The canals are still frozen, and as it requires a train fifty cars long to take as much as a barge, and as there are more demands on the railways because of the war, and the brakes and parts freeze in the terrible weather, it is very difficult to move the coal where it is needed. Also, more is needed this year than before, because it has been the coldest winter in eleven years. Here in Berlin wagonloads of coal are dumped on the sidewalks and people, some of whom have never touched a piece of coal in their lives, come to collect it in baskets and household utensils. One of the American diplomats is closing his house and moving to a hotel so that he wont have to ask for special rations of coal when it is scarce. I was interested to learn that many public buildings have been closed, including most of the schools, ~~the University~~, the State Library, and the Food Administration Headquarters. Some concerts and the Lent Cantatas have been cancelled. Churches are not allowed to burn coal, so that it may be kept for more useful purposes. Today I went to the daily press conferences for foreign journalists in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Propaganda Ministry. They were very comfortably heated, as usual. Coming home in the blackout I made the mistake of walking on the west side of the Wilhelmstrasse, and was reminded by ~~soldiers~~ SS guards that it was not allowed after dark. On the west side is the Chancellerie where the Führer lives.

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I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Number 15

Breckinridge CBS

Feb. 8, 1940
Morning

THE POLISH WAR

This is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

All of Europe is wondering when the real fighting will begin in this war, but for Berlin this is a lull between two fights. Yesterday I had a chance to see something of the last campaign, the undeclared war on Poland, and to talk to some of the German soldiers who were wounded there. They and that country were dismembered last September.

An interesting film told the story to the Press Conference of foreign journalists, consisting of about 100 men and four girls. We sat as usual in brocade-upholstered armchairs in the elegant white-and-gold ballroom of the Propaganda Ministry. The show started an hour late because the projectionist was ill and his assistant could not find the door to the projection room. Finally the rich red curtains on the stage opened to show a full-sized screen, and the film began with a German talkie synchronized to give a consecutive story to a collection of newsreels lasting about an hour. The voice and maps explained that Germany had asked Poland for Danzig and the right to construct a highway to East-Prussia across the Polish Corridor. No mention was made of a demand for the Corridor itself. Then, as Poland, encouraged by England, foolishly refused to grant these demands, the Germans marched into Danzig. As the Poles fought for the city, the German troops had to proceed into Poland. Animated diagrams showed grey units of Polish troops like amoebas inside the Polish frontier, and white strips of German troops which crossed the border into Poland, and divided and crushed the amoebas until they vanished. The pictures themselves showed German soldiers advancing on foot, motorcycle and tanks, and firing cannons (~~on apartment houses, and bombing towns from the air.~~ omitted) The most exciting sequence was taken from a plane that was flying high until it made a sudden and sickening dive on a railway station to drop its bomb and fly away. There were also scenes of soldiers cleaning guns, shaving, and eating. The only picture of Polish soldiers showed hundreds of them laying down their guns and marching off to their prison camp looking tired and depressed. In some towns, piles of rubbish, damaged streetcars and destroyed buildings were shown. There was no sign of wounded men, nor of any German losses. At Danzig, and at the end near Warsaw, Hitler came to review his troops who marched past him goose-stepping, and the film ended with a large seal showing the German eagle, the swastika, and the word "Greater Germany".

In the evening I went to see one of the results of this campaign. Over a hundred wounded soldiers have been moved into a part of a big children's orthopaedic hospital, the Oskar-Helene Heim, on the outskirts of Berlin. Most of them have lost arms or legs, and this hospital has its own workshop for making artificial limbs.

Since the World War they have further developed artificial arms whose fingers can be manipulated by moving the shoulder.

Two wholesome looking German girls, with flat hair and no makeup volunteered to visit the soldiers regularly, ~~to write letters for them, play games, read loud, and that sort of thing. This is organized under the Deutsches Frauenwerk, the large Nazi women's organization that I am going to tell you about next week. Last night these girls~~ gave a party for all the men who were able to get out of bed, and invited several officers from the War Ministry and a few local Nazi officials. I was the only Foreigner. Five long tables bordered by grey-green army uniforms and the white blouses of the visitors interspersed made it look like a real party, but crutches stood by the door, and many arms were in slings. A group of soldiers from a neighboring searchlight battery put on a burlesque performance of Shakespeare's Pyramus and Thisbe, explaining jokingly that although it was by an Englishman, it was still allowed. The audience was in gales of laughter at the lively horseplay on the stage, and the genial Colonel on my right chuckled all the way through. Afterwards we talked to two wounded privates across the table while we all drank delicious hot mulled wine and ate cakes, without having to give up bread coupons. One of them was a professional soldier who had been in the Army for four years and who wore a medal with silver braid which he had won for marksmanship. He told me he had been wounded on September 9th, so he unfortunately had to miss the fine climax of the Polish War. ~~A piece of shrapnel had pierced his lung and broken two ribs and finally was stopped by an enamel canteen on his back which he got in the Sudetenland. He lay in the field only two hours and was then taken care of in a Polish schoolhouse for two weeks before being sent here to Berlin where he was received like a prince. Another wounded man had his hand paralized, and my colonel lit his cigarette for him with his lighter and they chatted back and forth in a friendly tone. The private said that the Polish villagers were quiet at first, but as they got further into the country, Polish soldiers in civilian clothes used to fire on them from behind.~~ The soldier on my left, a 24-year-old farmer's son from western Germany with twinkly eyes, said he had seen three young Polish girls shooting a machine gun from a window on German troops, and he had seen a Polish town burned to the ground though no German soldier had been there. His opinion was that the Poles would never have resisted if they had not been pushed to it by the Jews and the English. This boy had been in Czechoslovakia too, and when I asked him what he thought of that march said vaguely that he did not know, that soldiers just did what they were told. They did not know where they were going, but he had rather enjoyed the trip, except that the barracks were full of insects, but then Poland was still dirtier!

One of the girls started playing the accordion, and everyone sang cheerful ballads - no patriotic songs and no hymns of hate. We all linked arms, and I linked mine through the artificial one of the soldier on my left and the arm of the Colonel on my right, and the long lines of men and girls rocked back and forth in time to the song.

Finally the party started to break up, and people were saying goodnight when the Nazi District leader remembered his part just in time. He jumped up, called the party to order and in a tremendous voice said that the Führer had led them well so far and would lead them on to victory, and led three well-timed Heils for Hitler, and the party was over. I shook my neighbor's only hand, and wished him good luck on his farm.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS

Number 16
Feb. 8, 1940
From Berlin

GERMAN NEWSPAPERS

German newspapers are distinctive in the world today because, although they serve a well-educated people, ~~they allow no exchange of ideas, and leave little to the reader's judgment.~~ (the censors hand out) In our Columbia broadcasts from Europe, we tell you the news and our experiences impartially and honestly and as completely as we are allowed by the censors in each country, and then leave you to draw your own conclusions. In Germany, the people are not allowed to listen to foreign broadcasts nor to read foreign papers, with a few exceptions. The only ones I can get at my hotel are a couple of Swedish and Italian papers, and all foreign papers in the German language are barred. ~~The result is that the newspapers in this country can print anything which the Government thinks is advisable without fear of contradiction.~~ There is no opposition side of the press, ~~to demand the unpleasant side of the truth.~~ I was surprised to find, for instance, that the German people have ~~never been allowed to know~~ not heard that the British ship Ark Royal was not sunk last Autumn, nor had they any definite information about any German submarines being sunk.

Just now the papers are full of the executions of the two Irishmen who bombed innocent citizens. The papers here say that these men died for the freedom of Ireland but ~~neglected to say that most of~~ Ireland has been independent for several years and ~~that~~ its independence has been recognized by Germany who now has a Legation there. ~~When I called at that Legation in November, I was told by an official that England had not put any pressure on Ireland to enter the war and that the country is still neutral. Yet here the papers say that Ireland is in slavery.~~

This ~~complete~~ press control simplifies the task of preserving a unified attitude of the people toward the war, since they hear only one side of every question. The most intelligent paper in Germany is probably the Frankfurter Zeitung, whose articles show more careful thought than some of the others. Its language is more complicated, in the old style, and it is therefore less popular than the simpler modern papers.

In Berlin all but one of the papers are tabloid in size, and thinner than before. The advertisements are small, and most of them are for movies and other entertainments. No German papers have any society columns or funnies, but they all have political caricatures, usually of Winston Churchill or Chamberlain. The target for articles, photographs and cartoons is still England rather than France.

The most-read paper in Germany is the official Völkischer Beobachter, which styles itself "The fighting paper of the National Socialist Movement of Greater Germany". Almost every day it runs a three-column article against England at the top of the front page, with biggest-sized headlines underlined in red. Today France shares

with England the whole top of the front page concerning the execution of the Alsacian autonomist. At the bottom of the first page there is a small story from New York about a demonstration in Philadelphia for the IRA men. Four short dispatches from Amsterdam about shipping disasters and one item giving the usual High Command notice of "No news to report", complete the front page. On the other seven large pages are more foreign news, a serial story entitled "The Worker", a whole page of movie and theatre ads and half a page of their reviews; half a page of war pictures; and a page each of financial news in Germany and of death notices and Help wanted, listed side by side, and prominently boxed. There is only one real advertisement, and that is a half-page ad for cigarettes. The German papers never carried many ads even before the war. ~~This paper is supported by a prosperous publishing firm which does a lot of official business, and in which Hitler and other government leaders have large interests.~~ The motto of this important official paper is Freedom and Bread. There is still bread. We return you now to Columbia, New York.

Sensible thing for them

censored

Breckinridge and Russell Hill CBS

Number 17
Feb. 10,1940
From Berlin

INTERVIEW

Hill Good evening, Marvin, I see you managed to get out here to the studio all right, although as a newcomer to Germany you must find the blackout confusing.

Breck Well, after all, Russ, I've been here almost two weeks and I'm beginning to get used to it.

Hill I always find the hardest part of getting here is finding my way from the subway through the great piles of snow on the Adolf Hitler Platz to the radio station.

Breck The eerie part to me is coming down across the lot under dim blue lights to this little studio and having the SS men pop out of the shadows with tin signs like decanter labels around their necks, asking to see my permit and lighting the steps for me with their flashlights. But now that we're here, have you got some news?

Hill Today has been pretty quiet like most days recently. I've been trying to find out what the Wilhelmstrasse has to say to Secretary Welles' projected visit to Berlin.

Breck Did you find out anything?

Hill Just a couple of hours ago I got a statement saying that no opinion is going to be given.

Breck That does n't sound like very much.

Hill No, I guess it is't. But it took a long time even to get that official statement, because all such matters must be thoroughly discussed by the government leaders, and that often includes Hitler himself, before any news can be released. As you saw, the newspapers have not carried a word about the matter. Evidently, the Wilhelmstrasse wants to find out whether Secretary Welles' visit should be treated as a peace effort before saying anything about it. Even if it is regarded in that way, we must remember that the Nazis have been saying they will only make peace if it is a German peace. I dont know whether that is the kind of peace our Government would be interested in helping to negotiate. But I'd like to hear about some of the impressions you have picked up since coming to Germany. I know you have been meeting lots of Germans lately, and I suppose they may have changed some of your ideas about Germany?

Breck That's true about some things. For example, I find that Germany seems to have more moral staying-power than I thought. Of course, no one can tell how large the reserves of food and oil are, but at the moment very little is allowed to be used. However, the people here dont seem to resent the numerous restrictions as much as Americans would.

Hill I'm sure the Germans dont exactly like these restrictions either. You have probably noticed that too.

Breck On the whole I think they take them as a natural consequence ~~affliction like growing pains and accept them with resignation.~~ On Tuesday, for instance, a waiter in one of the best old restaurants in Berlin apologized to me with a charming smile because he had no meat, no fish, no green vegetable, no dessert, no fruit. and of course no eggs, tea, coffee or chocolate. My Nazi friend and I laughed with him - and left a bit hungry.

Hill* (see bottom of page)

Breck Not many really believe it though they would all like to.

Hill Yes, naturally they would and undoubtedly many believe it will be a short war because they hope so. Only yesterday I spoke with a German woman who said the war cannot last longer than six months, but she couldn't or wouldn't tell me how she expected it to end so soon. Maybe she was thinking of Hitler's New Year's message in which he said that 1940 would be the decisive year of the War.

Breck Perhaps that is why everyone here expects Germany to start a big offensive in the spring. They dont know whether it will be a tremendous air attack against England or a big land offensive. No one expects the army to tackle the Maginot line for that would cost too many men.

Hill Have you found many people who think that, if there is a great air attack, the Germans would try to bomb London?

Breck No, I believe they think that would be unwise because they would meet united and strong resistance and partly also because such an attack would sway american opinion unfavorably, and they dont want to risk any action on our part.

Hill Yes, I imagine the air attack, if it comes, may not be an attack on large cities at all.

Breck I have heard it suggested that they might rush for several ports and harbors all at once, thereby dividing the Air Force defences. They would try to cripple England by destroying her vital life lines to the outside world. That would be a more drastic continuation of the present policy of sinking all shipping that is bound for England.

Hill Do you get the impression, Marvin, that people in Berlin really hate the English?

Breck No, the only bitterness I have noticed against England is in the press and in the popular new song against England.

*Hill The food situation may be a little hard at times but dont you think the Germans cheer themselves with the thought that the war will soon be over?

Hill It's interesting that you who have been in Berlin only two weeks and I who have been here all through the war should reach the same conclusions about German public opinion.

Breck Yes, but I think it is time for us to stop talking about it!

Hill All right---------We return you now to Columbia, New York.

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY

Our American Embassy in Berlin is in a unique position at the moment, due to the changing map of Europe and to the war. In less than three years the size of Germany has greatly increased. This means that part of the work which was done by our Legations in Austria and Czechoslovakia and our Embassy in Poland is now done or directed by the Berlin Embassy. In addition, the present war has brought to the Embassy the task of handling British and French interests, and looking after their war prisoners. All this is managed from the fine new building, formerly the Blücher Palace, into which the diplomatic and consular services moved almost a year ago. It is centrally located beside the famous Brandenburg Tor, near the Wilhelmstrasse, and within a couple of hundred yards of the Chancellerie where Hitler lives, Goebbels' new house, and the lemon yellow house which Ribbentrop is doing over.

The old palace is now beautifully adapted to its present job. In addition to the wide halls with red carpet which one rather expects of an Embassy, it has well-equipped and attractive offices. A few more changes have been made recently, like making a skating rink out of the tennis court, and adding bathrooms for the women employees so they can get hot baths which they cant get at home. A couple of days ago they opened a commissary near the massive front door. The neat new shelves lined with American canned food and fresh supplies brought mainly from Denmark and Holland were shown to me with some pride by the officer in charge, who has become in a sense the butter-and-egg man of the Embassy. He has handled a similar store in the Moscow Embassy, the only other one that needs such facilities just now. It serves only American Foreign Service officials, of course. The Embassy is trying to become as self-sufficient as a ship at sea, so they have their own repairmen, and have just bought a car and trailer to cope with the transportation problem.

Under the same administration department come all questions of practical workings, like special couriers, the diplomatic pouch, care of buildings, etc. and now the new job of issuing ration cards, which means sorting and stamping two or three thousand pieces of paper each month. These are for the staff which consists of 160 persons, about a hundred of whom are American citizens. The most unusual thing about the personnel, however, is that it is an Embassy without an Ambassador, for we have not had one here for almost a year and a half.

The present chief is an exceptionally able man and universally respected, and he is always accessible to the Americans who need to see him. To save transit time and coal, he has moved into a pipe-lined porters room in the basement of the Embassy and lives there much of the time. He sets an example for hard work which is followed by all of his staff, both officers and clerks.

Toward the bottom of these classifications we come ~~at~~ to staff members with unusual qualifications such as a receptionist who is a professional guitar player, and a night watchman who is also an American dentist.

Embassy life is not all parties, as some people seem to think. There has not been an official dinner since the war began, and the officers work until about seven every night. One of them always sleeps there in turn. Another popular illusion is shattered when you learn that only a handful of officers are directly concerned with international politics, but all are charged with obligations contributing to that work.

The biggest section is the Consular. Naturally there are not many of our citizens in Germany now, but they have all had to have their passports validated under the new Neutrality Act, and two of the officers have dirty thumbs as a result of all the thumbprinting. This should have been done by the end of December, but in January the German police sent in about a hundred tardy Americans for validation. Few American businesses are left. They were diminishing even before the war. Many Americans, many of them naturalized Germans, want to return to the States, but the difficulty is the currency problem. Even though they have plenty of German marks, they are not allowed to change them into foreign currency, and they cannot buy steamship tickets with Marks. The Consulate sends cables to friends in the UnitedStates to get money, and it helps all Americans to leave Germany, as it did the four blonde roller-skaters who were caught here at the beginning of the war. The only Americans whom we allow to travel here now are those that come for philanthropic, journalistic or very special business reasons.

The Visa section of the Consulate is always busy. The quota of Germans allowed into our country each year is 27,000. At the moment there are 248,000 names registered of people who want to go to the United States, but a few of these have gone to neutral countries already. Ninety-eight percent of the total list are Jewish, and as less than half a million Jews are left in Germany, that means that about half want to come to the United States. Of course, a lot of people who are registered would never pass our severe examinations, which are not only physical, but also financial and political. Under the Consulate also come the protection and welfare of our citizens in Germany and the liquidation of American interests such as property taken away at the border, and that sort of thing.

In the Chancery, the workshop of the Embassy, there are five sections. The Economic Section continues its work much as before the war, and sends back reports on finance and trade. The Press Section is mainly concerned with studying the German press and reporting on it to Washington, and it also is available to help the twenty American journalists in Berlin. The Polish

Section has charge of questions pertaining to German Poland, where American Poles may need assistance, or want to find their relatives.

The interest of the Allied prisoners of war is taken care of by a special section. There are several hundred of them, relatively few for a major war, and more French than English. It was explained to me that the English seem to drown promptly instead of being taken prisoner. They are stationed in two groups of camps, one in southern and one in western Germany.

The last, and one of the most interesting sections, relates to our handling of the interests of French and British nationals, all except the South Africans who have put their interests into the hands of Sweden. One part deals with government properties from the two Embassies nearby, and the cultural institutes in Berlin, through all the consulates throughout Greater Germany, and the residences of all their foreign service officials. At the beginning of the war, a tall, dignified American diplomat went around personally with his pocket full of thumbtacks and posted on each door a notice in English and German, with a large red seal, saying that it was under the protection of the UnitedStates of America. Then they set about the task, practically completed now, of ending leases, paying bills, storing furniture, and otherwise winding up the affairs of both governments. They are now trying to arrange a reciprocal exchange of property between German and English officials.

This section also takes care of British and French Nationals who are not diplomats, finds where they are, gives them messages from home, and provides relief where needed, though it is complicated by the difficulties of money exchange. There are a couple of thousand each of British and French here, and only about a hundred of each are interned. There are a few British women interned, but no French. Our Embassy has already arranged some exchanges with England, and is working on exchanges with the French. A number of British women and children have been allowed to leave Germany without exchanges.

An unusual case is that of several hundred lascars, Indian seamen who worked on German boats. About half of them are interned in their own camp with their own food; the other half have been released by getting them jobs on neutral ships bound for the East.

The work in this department is carried on in English, German and French, and translations are only used in connection with reports to the State Department.

The Military and Naval Attachés have their offices in our Embassy, and have work of more than usual interest during a war. The Navy Department transmits a daily Radio bulletin from

the State Department to keep the officers in touch with important affairs at home. It is received directly in Berlin, Paris, Rome and London, and then mimeographed and mailed to all the consulates in Europe. This contains nothing confidential, and is sent in straight English.

Any code messages, which number about forty to fifty a day, go through the Code Room, which is guarded like a bank vault and plastered with No admittance signs. I barely got a look through the peephole when I went to send a cable; for they send important cables for Americans as we are not allowed to telegraph to foreign countries without very special permission. Six people work in the Code Room, some of them even on Sunday, and the Chief Clerk lives there so he is always on call.

Although it keeps in touch with America, it prefers to work quietly and not blow its own horn, so I am glad to have this chance to tell you about it in the first broadcast on the subject.

We return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS

Number 19
Feb. 15, 1940
From Berlin

THE BRIDES' SCHOOL

Twenty-five brides, nine of them already married and the rest engaged, are taking a six weeks' course at the Brides' School which I visited this week. There are eight other similar schools in Germany, all started by the National Socialist Party since 1934. They have a double purpose: to make the girls into useful wives and mothers, and good Nazis.

The school I went to is in an attractive private house on a hill overlooking Wannsee, a lake near Berlin, where the girls now ski over the snow-covered ice. ~~Both it and the house across the street where Propaganda Minister Goebbels' family lives, used to belong to Jews.~~

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The Director. a tall, thin, alert young woman in a practical plaid dress, led me into the reception room of the attractive country house which was hung with photographic portraits of the Party leaders ~~and furnished in larch wood of simple design. One of the brides, a smiling round faced girl who had been a Post Office employee in Thuringia, brought in some hot currant syrup. She told me she was very lucky to be admitted to the course so quickly because she was only enrolled for six months. She is engaged to an SS man, and~~ The course is obligatory for the wives of SS men, as it's designed to produce the perfect German woman: useful wife and mother and good Nazi. The girls who are mostly between 19 and 21 don't have to be members of the Nazi party but they must be of pure German stock and have letters of recommendation from their local Nazi headquarters showing that they come of good, well-disposed families. The Director told me with pride what a wonderful change these few weeks make on the girls' political outlook, for they learn to see things with new eyes from the Nazi point of view, and are usually keen to join the Party at the end.

Every morning at seven thirty they all go outdoors and stand in a circle with arms raised in the Nazi salute to the German flag, and sing a song, and then the Director reads a quotation, usually from Hitler, or from Frau Scholz-Klink, who is the Women's führer, ~~or sometimes from some old writer who is still timely. The flag is taken down again in the evening with the same ceremony. After breakfast of malt coffee, butter and marmelade, they sing folksongs and children's songs for half an hour before starting~~ After breakfast they work on housecleaning, cooking and sewing where cleanliness and orderliness are stressed. In the sunny sewing-room one chatty bride-to-be told me that since dresses were hard to get she was learning to make over an old dress of her sister's who was much fatter than she was. Another, a tall, thin girl with pale face and hair, proudly told me she was being married this coming Saturday to a soldier who had two weeks leave from the West Front. Then she would go back to her previous job of teaching fifty children ~~between the ages of six and ten,~~ for the Reich is short of teachers now.

In the pantry two tables were covered with neat rows of plates piled high with fancy cookies, the product of the baking class. Each plateful was to be sent to a fiancé at the front, in the SS Corps or the Storm Troops. The kitchen girls were working in wash dresses and aprons for none of these Mädchen are in uniform. They carried the great tureens of thick soup, dumplings (for this was a meatless day) and apple sauce into the dining room where the brides sat in ~~orange-covered chairs around spotless white oilcloth covered tables. There was~~ perfect silence during lunch for they were all listening to the radio news which is part of the course. It came only from a local station, naturally, for no German is allowed to listen to foreign stations. I tiptoed out to see the efficient laundry and the three rooms of a sample bride's apartment. The government gives a marriage loan of 1000 marks to suitable couples, and these rooms were designed to show how you could furnish a newly-wed's apartment simply but practically on 1500 Marks. Above them are rooms for the four teachers of cooking, sewing, gymnastics and housecleaning, and handidrafts and health. Among other courses taught in class are Child Care, First Aid, Household Questions, Mending, and Teaching Children, including political theory. The brides do all the work so they have no servants except the gardener who keeps the house filled with flowers in season.

The girls pay 135 Marks each for the course, and some get scholarships if they need them. The rest of the running-expenses are paid by the Deutsches Frauenwerk, the big Nazi women's Organization.

Since the girls are purposely chosen from different parts of Germany and don't know Berlin, they are taken on a free Sunday to visit Potsdam Castle and Church, or into town to see the new Government buildings. Last weekend they went to the theatre to see Saint Joan by Bernard Shaw, which they thought excellent.

The Director told me that ~~since the purpose of the course is to make the brides into good German mothers interested in politics as well as in their usual birth and death notices~~ she conducts a special course after supper in how to read the newspapers (~~only German, of course~~). ~~She discusses the news with the girls~~ and tries to instil in them a certain viewpoint which, she said, they really get all day long. Then the brides sing an evening song, fill their hot water bottles and climb up to their dormitories. Each room has four neat white iron beds and beside each one is the photograph of the fiancé in helmet, cap with visor, or overseas cap. I saw only two books in the dormitories, both in German naturally. One was called "The Belief in the Nordic State", and the other was called simply "Men". And when they complete their course in the Brides School and are married, the Reich will give them the same wedding present as to all German brides: instead of a Bible as it used to be, it is now a copy of Hitler's "Mein Kampf".

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Number 20

Breckinridge CSB SHOPPING #20 Feb. 17,1940
Morning

From Berlin

Day before yesterday afternoon I decided to do some shopping. Transient foreigners dont get clothing cards, so I knew I could not buy any clothes without a special permit secured through the American Consulate or, as I'm a journalist,through the Propaganda Ministry. I didn't realize at first how far-reaching the clothing-control was until I lunched recently with an American banker. He was very pleased because he had just bought a six-year old overcoat from a diplomat. Now all he had to do was to get a permit from the Consulate to buy some material to patch the lining, and a permit to buy some thread, and then a tailor could make it whole again.

Shoes are not listed on any clothing cards, so everyone has to get a permit to buy a pair and show that it's necessary. The only shoes that dont need permits are old models costing forty Marks or more, but the keeper of a dignified old shoe shop told me yesterday that there weren't any of these left. He said he had enough of the finest leather from France and England to last for ten years. It has not yet been taken over by the Government like the stock of luxury leather for purse-making that belonged to the cousin of one of my friends. Although his civilian business is practically dead, this shoemaker is kept busy making boots for officers, who get their permits from the Army. No soldier gets clothing cards, so they cant supplement their outfits for extra comfort without convincing the right officer of their need.

Shop windows in Berlin are full of merchandise, but the keepers are forbidden to sell things out of the window. A friend of mine tried to buy some wine that she saw in the window, but found it couldn't be sold because it spoiled the decoration. Some of the store shelves are still lined with tinned food, but that cant be sold because it has all been requisitioned by the Government. And even if the shops are losing money and cant pay the rent, they are not allowed to close. A drugstore here was evidently bothered by too many questions for it put a sign on the door "Paper Handkerchiefs Sold Out".

Some articles are reserved for export, like the best cameras. In the biggest photographic shop in the city, I could not buy accessories for my Rolleiflex camera. The salesman said he had not received a single Contax or Leica camera to sell since Christmas, for though they are still being made, they are all kept for export, to help the foreign exchange situation.

In an attractive specialty shop, I saw a paisley wool scarf and asked how much it was. The salesgirl answered "Eight Marks and five points". She meant five points out of the hundred on a German person's clothing card. When you see a large sign on a counter saying "Free", it doesn't mean that the store will give you the things for nothing, but only that they dont require points. In this category I saw some bathing suits, including a bright yellow one with large red polka dots, and some silk handkerchiefs. Real silk is "free", if you can find it. There is still

taffeta and chiffon in some of the better shops, but it's quite unsuited to the climate and people almost never wear evening dress now. By the same token, men can now buy without using their points, morning coats, dress suits, and dinner jackets. If this war goes on much longer we may find all of Berlin going formal and office boys wearing morning coats and truck drivers dinner jackets! Already I noticed yesterday a man who looked like a respectable butcher shopping in a silk hat.

The idea in Germany now is to discourage buying so as to conserve the present supply and prevent hoarding, and the quality of goods and the atmosphere of the big stores help to promote the idea.

The AWAG, which used to be Wertheim's, is about the biggest department store here. The furniture department was practically empty of buyers. In the commercial stationery, there was a fine display of holders for rubber stamps, which is indicative of the needs of the times. Nearby was a counter piled high with cardboard boxes about the size of a book for sending presents to the men at the Front. In this big store the only pencils I could get with erasers on them were fancy little bridge pencils. I guess they are keeping their rubber for other purposes than correcting mistakes.

On my way home it was getting dark and snowing hard. Near my hotel I could distinguish about twenty persons in line outside the door of a smart candy shop, which always has pretty lavender boxes in the windows, though it has no chocolate to sell. The shop was full, and these people were waiting patiently for their turn to squeeze in and buy something. I asked a middle-aged woman what she wanted, and she answered with a beaming smile that one could buy a quarter of a pound of pralines there, just that afternoon, and she advised me to get in line so I wouldn't miss the treat. If she got in before the supply gave out, she'd be lucky and would consider her shopping trip a great success.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Number 21

Breckinridge CBS

Feb. 19, 1940
From Norway

FUNERAL AND INTERVIEW WITH CAPTAIN DAU
OF ALTMARK

Good evening, this is Mary Marvin Breckinridge speaking from Stavanger, Norway. I came here to attend the funeral of six German sailors who died as a result of the English attack on their ship, the Altmark, on Friday night.

The funeral was held this afternoon in a little country burying-ground a few miles from Jössingfjord, where the ship is. It was attended by a couple of hundred persons, including German and Norwegian officials, the officers and a detachment of sailors from the Altmark, half a dozen foreign journalists who flew up with me from Berlin, and all the farmers' families from miles around. The funeral was more ominous than sad. The Germans held the Nazi salute as each white and gold coffin covered with the German flag was lowered into the frozen ground. A chorus of sailors sang a song, and the Evangelical minister in long black robe and white stock read the service and threw a spadeful of earth on each coffin. Then the German Minister to Norway, Mr. Brauer, in diplomatic uniform, made an address, half of it directed to Norway, the other half about his deceased fellow-countrymen. Captain Dau of the Altmark, a tall man with a white goatee who has been at sea for fortyfive years, spoke briefly. Finally a Commodore representing the Norwegian Navy spoke, and then removing his pince-nez, he dropped a wreath into each of the six graves, and saluted each one. Before he had finished the German Minister was adding another wreath from the German Navy to the two dozen or so of artificial flowers which were piled on the upturned earth. The service was over, and the people who had been stamping their half-frozen feet, crossed the field through snow almost knee-deep to return to the road. The open farm trucks which had brought the coffins were filled with country children and their skis; the officials found their cars, the sailors piled into their busses, and all went home as the winter sun was setting. There was no mention at the funeral of the names or ranks of any of the men who were buried in Norway, across the icy sea from their Fatherland.

Tonight the Captain of the Altmark, formerly Captain of the Deutschland, is here with me in our little studio, and I'll ask him some of the questions you and I would like to know.

Breck: Captain Dau, we would like to hear your story of what occurred on Friday - so let's begin at the beginning. Where were you bound for when you unexpectedly ~~got~~ put in at Jössingfjord?
Dau: I was bound for Germany in completion of my voyage.
Breck: How many interned British seamen did you have on board?
Dau: There were 303 in all.
Breck: Were they all from ships sunk by the Graf Spee?
Dau: Yes, all of them without exception. There were 228 Britishers, 8 negroes and 67 lascars.

Breck: Were they all from merchant ships or did some of them belong to the Navy?

Dau: They were all from merchant ships, without exception.

Breck: When did you realize you were being pursued?

Dau: Even when three English planes flew over us we did not feel pursued at all, because we felt perfectly safe in neutral territorial waters, only about three quarters of a mile from the coast.

Breck: Did the English Captain send you any message or signal?

Dau: One of the English ships asked me to alter my course to the west.

Breck: Were there any guns on the Altmark?

Dau: No. we had no guns aboard the Altmark.

Breck: How were the men killed whose funeral I've just attended?

Dau: They were shot from the rifles and pistols of the British, boarding-party as well as from the destroyer itself. Some of them were killed where they stood on the deck of the Altmark, some while they tried to escape over the ice or swimming in the water. One of them was so badly wounded when he had already reached the shore. He was hit while on Norwegian soil.

Breck: I hear one Englishman was found drowned the next day?

Dau: No, that is not the case. I have only heard that one of the boarding-party fell overboard when he tried to climb over the rail. I would like to mention that I had given strict orders to my crew to offer no resistance. None of my men fired a single shot. I was determined to respect Norwegian neutrality at all costs.

Breck: What did the English do after the shooting was over?

Dau: They took the English seamen aboard the destroyer and left the Altmark hurriedly. They appeared to be in a very nervou state all the time. The internees, however, took the time and opportunity, before leaving my ship. to express their thanks for the treatment they received. I may mention that they had the same rations that my own men had and the same medical attention. The internees quarters had been fitted up as well as possible under the circumstances. we laid out carpets, that had been taken from one of the captured ships for the purpose.

Breck: Did you talk to any of the English officers?

Dau: No, I did not.

Breck: How long were they on board?

Dau: For about an hour and a half in all.

Breck: What did the Norwegians do during this time?

Dau: They stood back and did nothing as far as I could see.

Breck: Thank you so much, Captain Dau. It's been very interesting to hear your first-hand account of this extraordinary adventure.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS THE ALTMARK Number 22
Feb. 21, 1940
From Norway

Good evening, this is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Stavanger, Norway. I've just been visiting the Altmark in Jessingfjord, eighty miles from here and I'd hoped to tell you last night what I saw, but I was caught on a mountain road by a terrible blizzard and had to stay overnight in a farmhouse, ~~and came on today, when it took us twelve hours to cover thirty miles.~~

Jessingfjord is a beautiful little inlet on the southwest coast of Norway. I flew the length of it in a German plane coming up from Berlin, and we dove way below the tops of the steep rocky mountains that encircle it. A Norwegian gunboat is still anchored there, and a torpedo boat was nearby.

The Altmark is grounded, stern first, about two thirds of the way up the fjord. This was done by the Captain's order, as he told me, to prevent the ship's being removed by the men of the British destroyer Cossack when they boarded it last Friday night and rescued the 303 interned fellow-countrymen.

The postmistress of the hamlet whom I saw yesterday, is the local heroine, now, for when the British began firing in the middle of the night, all the villagers fled up the cliffs while she stayed behind and received into her warm house the German sailors who fled over the ice. Fresh snow has since covered the ice, so I could not see any tracks, but there was a red patch on the shore where I was told a man was hit while climbing on land.

~~The First Officer received me as I climbed up the steep gangplank from the snow-covered shore~~ On board. I had a long talk with the ~~Dr. Tyrolt~~ and ~~with Mr. Weichert,~~ the Fourth Officer, who was put in charge of the prisoners because of his good command of English, and they showed me all over the captives quarters which they said had been left untouched.

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The Altmark is a combination freighter and tanker of 11000 gross registered tonnage, carrying a crew of about 125. It was built only the year before last by the Howaldt-Werke at Kiel and used by the Graf Spee as a supply ship. The internees, who came from six merchant vessels sunk by the Graf Spee, filled the space left vacant by supplies delivered to the pocket battleship.

I climbed down on an iron ladder from the main deck, the sixth from the bottom, to the third, which was the lowest one used, where the smoking room was. The holds had no portholes but had some artificial ventilation, and there were pipes along the iron walls for heating, electric lights, and a mirror in each hold, where about sixty men lived. The iron floors were covered with thick rugs, taken from the ships that were to be sunk, and the men slept on them wrapped in blankets close together. ~~In one hold a special division was made for eight negroes, and the single mulatto slept in a hammock there.~~ The 67 Indians had a room and sick bay to themselves.

Each hold was about ten yards square and had either tubs of washing water or a special washing room available. The officers hold had twotables where about ten of their books were scattered, and one of the men's rooms had a table and two benches, otherwise there was no furniture. Homemade checkerboards were left about, and I also saw several pounds of real butter from Germany, three loaves of bread, odd bits of clothes and shipmade sandals. The pink-cheeked, brown-eyed young Fourth Officer told me that the British seamen got exactly the same rations as the German crew, except for a little less sugar, ~~all cooked in the same pots in the only kitchen,~~ and the got the same amount of water and cigarettes when they had to be rationed too. ~~They also got the same special little cakes for Christmas. He himself visited them twice a day, the doctor once a day, and the Captain every two weeks.~~ The nice Tyrolian doctor told me that British and German were treated alike in his hospital, and showed me a wooden shipmodel named Altmark on the medicine cabinet which a British seaman had made for him. The two captured captains had the two-berth outside cabin of the Fourth Engineer, and instead of the three quarters of an hour on deck each day like the men, they were allowed the run of the ship, except at night.

On the port side of the after deck, I saw a couple of dozen bullet holes big enough to put my little finger through. The Germans said that they were 11 MM. bullets from repeating pistols, and showed me the lead still left in some of the iron supports. The doctor ~~said these are like dumdum bullets, and make a spreading wound, much bigger inside than at the entrance. He~~ dressed ~~such~~ a wound in the arm of a British officer who was carried to his cabin after being hit by one of his own men, for the Altmark men had no arms. The Fourth Officer said he was shot at though not hit when he returned from the hospital with bandages for the wounded Englishmen. All the German officers said the British seemed very jumpy and nervous, "kolossal nervos", as the Captain expressed it, and they thought that might account for the wild and pointless shooting.

Under the gangway along the middle deck I saw a line of frozen blood and a lump of flesh which fell through the slats into the snow where a German sailor was fatally shot. A little later the doctor was walking there when a searchlight from the Cossack, then alongside, caught him, and a bullet whizzed by his ear. He could hear some of the rescued Englishmen now on board the Cossack shout "Don't shoot, that's the German doctor". The firing stopped immediately, and he told me he leaned against the rail with folded arms until the searchlight was finally turned away.

Many of the captives said goodbye to him warmly, and the Indians said "Salaam, Sahib". Many shook hands with Captain Dau and with Mr. Weichert, and one of them gave him some cigarettes which he'd got from a Cossack man, as they thanked him for decent treatment, and said they'd see that they were well treated too when they were interned in England, but afterwards the raiding party gave up the idea of taking the Germans back with them. These officer

were surprised to find that the British had taken many things with them, including the Fourth Officer's uniform jacket from his cabin. He apologized to me, the only woman to come on board the Altmark in seven months, for appearing in a sweater when we had coffee in the Captain's cabin yesterday. The Captain said they had taken a silver inkwell from there, and his fountain pen, and his best blue suit. Another officer told me they had taken his most cherished possession, a photograph album full of pictures of his children growing up.

I gathered from the officers, and the few men that I had a chance to speak with, that they were amazed at the attack in neutral waters, they were shocked and resentful at the shooting which was entirely unnecessary, and hurt that the English sailors should stoop to pilfer their little private possessions. Of course, they are deeply disappointed at the catastrophe so near the end of their hitherto successful trip, and more dismayed than angry.

So there lies the Altmark, grounded in a lonely little Norwegian fjord, its rudder and screw broken, some of its men dead, the others confined to their ship, its captives gone, its future uncertain, and the ultimate effects of its adventure still unknown.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS PRISON CAMP Number 23
Feb. 25, 1940
From Berlin

Recently there was a story in the offical paper that Churchill had sent notices to the wives of four of the men from the submarines Undine and Starfish to say that their husbands died in action. The wives were annoyed but not sad, according to the account, because they had already received reassuring letters from their husbands who are now prisoners of war in Germany.

I talked to some of these prisoners of war when I visited their camp IX A recently, where 120 Englishmen and 55 Frenchmen are imprisoned.

It's misleading to call the place a 'camp', because the enlisted men live in a kind of stone dormitory building, carefully guarded of course, in a picturesque village in the middle of Germany. Tall, yellow, half-timbered houses border a steep street where children were coasting on the icy roadway. At the top of the cone-shaped hill is the 700-year old castle where the officers live, complete with drawbridge, turrets, little courtyard and fine view. It was modernised and used as a forestry school before the war, so it had central heating, which was a good thing ~~since the temperature outside was five below zero Fahrenheit~~.

As we crossed the dry moat, guarded by only three sentries, the German officer who escorted me leaned over the railing and began calling 'Gustav! Gustav!' A sentry took up the cry, but Gustav, who turned out to be a pet boar, although he lived in the moat and couldn't get out, still kept his independence and refused to come out to meet me. The Allied officers inside were just as independent in manner, but much more pleased to have a visitor, for they had seen no one but a Red Cross worker and the representative of the American Embassy who has charge of Allied prisoners of war, until the day I arrived. I talked to many of them freely, except that I was asked not to give them any recent war news. They asked me, for instance, if the English had really lost so many merchant ships lately. as they were told, but I didn't know the real answer anyway because I'd already been in Germany a couple of weeks and had seen only German newspapers. I sat on the table in the center of a dormitory with eight beds, and the British officers gathered around to chat. Many wore Czech uniforms which were given them by the Germans when they were fished out of the water, and had bushy beards, and eight or ten had shaved heads, in the German style. I asked one of them quietly if it was a punishment, and he roared with laughter and said no, they'd just got bored a couple of days before because they have absolutely nothing to do, so they shaved their heads for a pastime. ~~And they pointed out a young Canadian who had shaved his a long time ago and now his hair has grown in thick and curly~~. I must say that luscious beards and shaved skulls look funny on the same head!

One of these men was a pilot who had dropped leaflets one day at the door of the Captain's house, whose little son brought them in; soon afterwards, German soldiers brought the pilot in as a captive to the captain's camp! A fair, young South African pilot told me he was brought down by an anti-aircraft

gun over Sylt. The plane fell to bits at 3000 feet, and he landed by parachute, but the other three men were killed. ~~Another prisoner is the son of an old friend of the German captain from Shanghai days.~~ They all cracked jokes and kidded each other, and included my smiling German officer in the general conversation from time to time. This Captain, who was the Adjutant of the General in charge of the camp, speaks English and French fluently, and was himself a prisoner of war in England for two years last time, captured while returning from Africa in a little sailing boat. ~~A welfare worker told me that prison camps on both sides are now being run by former prisoners of war and as a result the treatment is definitely better. Because of its situation and moat it requires only three men at a time and very little barbed wire to guard Camp IX A. The sentries are all veterans, and some were prisoners in Siberia. None of them stay in the Castle, and only two officers are there in the daytime and I think one at night.~~ My captain, who knew most of his prisoners personally, their names, homes, ranks, and adventures, showed me their registration cards in his office, each with a photograph taken immediately after his capture. The expressions were of men who had been through a terrific ordeal and were apprehensive. The Captain said he didn't understand why the British officers had seemed so terribly nervous and jittery at first, and I replied that it must be because England had heard so much about the concentration camps of Dachau and Buchenwald (~~and didn't realize that the Army was different.~~) In the early days the men wanted detective stories and thrillers to take their minds off their own adventures; now they are calm again and looking forward, and asked for books about love, advanced photography and electrical and mechanical engineering, in the order named. Their favorite games are bridge and monopoly.

The complete crews of the Undine and Starfish are there. The Starfish men told me that they were down on the bottom for nine hours and received 32 depth charges before they had to give up. Then they were able to get only the stern of the submarine up, and they all crawled out an emergency exit. One of these ratings wrote a typical letter home to his father:"Dont worry about me, we are treated very good. We get cigarettes every day and the food is alright".

I was shown around the castle where the officers can roam about freely. In the little Reading Room there was a rowing machine and an accordion, and on the door were carved the names of Frenchmen who had been prisoners of war there in 1871, and of Germans from other states who had been here before. In a big room nearby two Frenchmen were playing pingpong. On the whole, the French seemed more depressed than the British. Wisely the management has made the Frenchmen do the cooking, and in the kitchen I tasted the cutlet, turnips and potatoes that were ready to be served for lunch. Later I had lunch at the inn where the German officers eat. The food was practically the same, but not so good. While I was in the kitchen, an English prisoner came in with a lump of macaroni in tomato sauce which he'd got in a tin from home, to have it heated by the special cook who's assigned to cook individual dishes.

Looking through the window, I saw a yellow cart from the Post Office piled high with bundles mostly from the Red Cross pushed into the courtyard by four prisoners, followed by two guards. Later I saw them distributed unopened by an English sergeant to each individual. One man showed me with glee a hand-knitted glove he'd received. Its hand extended from my fingertips to my elbow! My Captain and the Commandant stood aside dignified but amiable as the captured officers, including two from the Rawalpindi, opened packages containing not only towels, underwear and socks, but also tinned food, soap, chocolate, and coffee, all now unobtainable in Germany. The only people I've seen with these things here are prisoners of war and diplomats. Later these same officers, who never take anything from the prisoners, accepted with unusual pleasure half a piece of chocolate and a few teaspoonfuls of coffee that I happened to have with me.

Two things are especially noteworthy about this camp. In the first place, the Germans are here observing an international agreement, and conduct the camp according to the Geneva Convention of 1929. In the second place, there is here a unique spirit of tolerance and respect for the other fellow's standards. It was shown when I attended a communion service, the first one held at the camp, and sat on the backless benches of the common room with all the British prisoners who wanted to come. (The French, being Catholics, had separate services held by their own two captured priests). Paper decorations hung about, left over from New Year Eve, and a half-finished puzzle was pushed into a corner. The Anglican service was read by the only Episcopalian clergyman in Germany. He was asked not to discuss political subjects in his sermon and he wondered if he should include the usual prayer for the King. So he asked the Lieutenant who brought us in the car. This man had no objection but said he'd better ask the Captain. The Captain didn't mind but said he should ask the General, and he said "Why not? After all, he's their King!" So in this ancient castle, these modern prisoners of war from England, Borneo, Canada, Singapore, New Zealand, Allahabad, and South Africa, bowed their heads and prayed for their King.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS

Number 24
March 3, 1940
Morning

The Führerin

Good morning, this is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

This morning the front pages of all the newspapers are covered with an account of the German successes in the first six months of the war, given out as a special communiqué by the German High Command. Among the accomplishments listed are the sinking of two million tons of shipping (they don't say how much of this is neutral shipping) and of one British battleship, one airplane carrier, and 8 destroyers, and the damaging of two battleships, one battle cruiser, 2 heavy cruisers, and a large number of destroyers and submarines. They also claim that the Air Force damaged 2 battleships, one airplane carrier, and two big cruisers, and destroyed 335 enemy planes. They announce that they have lost 11 u-boats, and other naval vessels and they point with pride to the preparation of the Army which is now ready to make a strong attack.

This talk of attack has been more pronounced during the last couple of days since the arrival of Under-Secretary Welles in Berlin. He saw Field-Marshall Göring this morning and will leave tonight for Switzerland. Whether the talk of military strength and readiness is for bargaining purposes, or whether this country feels it must force a military decision soon, one can only guess.

A question which interests me particularly is "What frontiers does Germany want in order to remain at peace?" Day before yesterday I asked this of the most prominent woman in Germany, Frau Scholz-Klink. She is the Führerin, or leader, of organized German womanhood and could therefore be called the feminine Hitler. Her answer was that the question of the independence of the central part of Poland was still undecided, that Bohemia and Moravia will remain Protectorates of Germany, and she said most forcefully, the Fatherland would have to get back its colonies which were stolen from it after the last war. The attitude of Frau Scholz-Klink is significant because she is the essence of the Nazi spirit, and works closely and loyally with Hitler who has charged her with bringing the women of the country into sympathy with his principles. She is the only woman among the hundred men of the directing committee of the Nazi Party, and she holds the honorary rank of Cabinet Minister.

I went to call on her at her headquarters, a former hospital now taken over by the Deutsches Frauenwerk which combines all the women's organizations in Germany, under one large Nazi directorship. No individual club can survive outside of it. It has subdivisions for various interests, such as social work, art, educational work, international affairs, and all ideas and activities are supervised by the three hundred busy young women in this clean, efficient-looking building.

As I waited in the office of Fräulein Paul, a trained nurse, who is second-in-command, and noticed her oil-painting of a soldier in helmet, her radio, and map of the western front on the wall

the Führerin herself came in with outstretched hand to invite me into her office. One wall was covered with a gigantic map of Germany, and on the table were numerous photographs of Nazi leaders. The color-scheme of the pleasant room was green, as I had noticed in her other offices when I visited a Mothers School and a Brides School, for in every building she has an office with her name on the door, ready for her in case she ever drops in.

Frau Scholz-Klink sat in a deep chair by a tall window, a small figure, with blond braids wound about her head, wide face, small mouth, and no makeup. She wore a white tailored shirtwaist, a red chiffon tie and dark blue skirt, and looks too young to have four big children living. As her organization is occupied largely with helping mothers to run their houses and bring up their children well, I had asked if I could interview the leader in her own home, but I was told that she prefers to keep her private life separate from her public affairs. She is an untiring worker, and has little time left for homelike pleasures. Her eldest daughter, who is eighteen, is training to be a children's nurse, the other daughter is taking a course in a housekeeping school in the Rhineland, and the two younger boys are in a special cadet boarding school which trains leaders for the ~~Nazi Party~~ new state. All four are of course members of the ~~compulsory~~ organization for boys and girls called Hitler-jugend and Bund der Deutschen Mädel. ~~After their father died, their mother married a Dr. Scholz who is not in the public eye.~~ Frau Scholz-Klink joined the Nazi Party in 1928, and did such good work in organizing around her home in Baden and later in Hesse, and in starting the women's labor corps, that she was asked to come to Berlin to create and fill her present big job. Since then she has made her first trips outside Germany, to Italy and Finland, and last year to England. She understands a few words of English, but speaks only German. Now she leads the Frauen~~schaft~~werk and the National Socialist Frauenschaft which guides it. They have together between three and four million members, not necessarily members of the Nazi Party, but all Aryan, of course. She also has the titles of head of the Women's Department of the German Labor Front, which is the local form of ~~compulsory~~ trade union, and head of the Federation of Nurses, and she is responsible for women's work in the German Red Cross.

The Führerin told me that her Frauenwerk really functions efficiently, that because they follow authority, they command respect, and must give support. She emphasized that they are not working against the men, but rather for them, in woman's own sphere. As an example, she said that whenever a meeting of one of her groups took place, men were present officially to represent the Army, the Navy, the Nazi Party, the S.S. and the Storm Troups.

In the work of her organization, she says that one must work through reality to ideas. ~~Her ideal is "politische Erziehung durch praktische Arbeit"~~. In other words, if a woman sees that you can make her baby more healthy and her war rations go further, she will be more likely to think that you know how to run her country too. The practical work takes the form of mothers training

centers, the obligatory half-year's work given by young girls as ~~mothers'~~ domestic helpers, the help given by women to their neighbors when their husbands are called to war, and various other activities. ~~None of these activities have changed since the war began, but many have been intensified.~~ Frau Scholz-Klink told me she did not think her organization would be needed any more after the ~~achievement of Greater Germany~~ thorough assimilation of National Socialist principles for Germany. She regards her womens organization as far better than the varied, disorganized, unauthorized activities in other democratic countries, where there is no national political purpose behind the banding together of women, but she thinks if the democratic countries had one outstanding woman, that they could achieve unity too. She said the Frauenwerk had representatives in various neutral countries, to work with the Germans there ~~and to cooperate with the women of each country, but that they had no representatives in the United States now.~~

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Every year at the Nürnberg Party Rally the Führerin makes a speech, and I was given copies of her recent ones printed in English. ~~A few quotations will help to give you her announced point of view.~~ I quote: "There were three factors responsible for the destructive influences before our (she means the Nazi) time) These were Marxist materialism, liberal intellectualism, and ecclesiastical dogmatism." And again: "The doctrine of the freedom of the individual has begun to totter because earth is heavier than sand." and again later "When good becomes weak, it becomes charity."

As I left the headquarters, I was presented with copies of four publications which they out out monthly or fortnightly. These are mainly occupied with household and baby problems, ~~war recipes and making over clothes~~, but they also have articles on political subjects to guide the thoughts of the readers. ~~One of them prints a quotation from Hitler saying in effect that brotherliness is a sign of weakness, and Germany must be so strong that she doesn't need to be brotherly.~~ In the current number of Frauen-Warte, which has a paid circulation of one and a half million, the main article is entitled "The Robber State England". Among the anti-English cartoons and posters reproduced is one listing 21 assassinations attributed to the hand of the British Secret Service. Three of them are those of our Presidents Garfield and McKinley, and Abraham Lincoln.

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The task which the Führerin has set for the women of Germany is, in her own words, "to replace the thesis of a nationless humanity with an ardent belief in ourselves".

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS

Number 25
March 5, 1940
Morning

NEWS

Good morning, this is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

Another U-boat has returned to Germany, boasting that it has sunk 36,000 tons of shipping. Several have come back with fine stories of accomplishment, when they get back. And the papers print an item from the German news agency in Amsterdam, which it got from London, but which has not yet brought any direct confirmation from the German High Command here. It says that the British ship "Domala" was damaged and set on fire in the Channel by three bombs from a German plane. Twenty out of forty-eight Englishmen and 88 out of 253 Indian seamen were missing. These lascars had just been set free by Germany two weeks ago. They were the last of some five hundred Indian seamen who were found on German boats at the outbreak of the war, and were therefore interned. They had their own camp near Hamburg, run by their steamship line, and supplied with their own food, and they stayed there for half a year until arrangements were made to release them. Then they were sent by special train to Holland, and placed on board a ship bound for India, but their new-given freedom didn't mean much, for over a third of them were lost soon after they sailed.

A short despatch from Rome quotes the Giornale d'Italia as saying that, although Italy doesn't want war, it will enter it when it becomes necessary. The despatch doesn't mention on which side. Perhaps they think that Italy's formal note of protest to England over the threatened seizure of her coal coming from Germany via Holland is a sign. However, all neutrals protest against the methods used in this war - not that they really expect to change the war, but more for the sake of their own self-respect.

Speaking of coal, the State Library in Berlin, which was closed for lack of it, was opened yesterday for the first time in several weeks.

A new book has just appeared to tell people how to get the most out of their clothing cards. It explains why clothes are so limited, and gives suggestions for transferring trimmings from old clothes, and on how to handle the stocking problem. The limit of six pairs of stockings a year is the hardest for the women to bear. By the way, a young American I know who went to the Leipzig Fair said the most interesting and striking thing he saw was fluorescent stockings that look flesh-colored by daylight, but were shown of course in a darkened room, with a fine effect on the men. The blacked-out streets here would look fascinating with nothing but luminous legs showing, if people could buy these stockings.

Another new wrinkle is a twelve-inch victrola record that has four pieces on each side. With one of these, you can hear a whole symphony without interruption.

It was announced yesterday by the chief of the division of foreign laborers that Germany had eight hundred thousand jobs vacant. Last year they had almost a hundred thousand Poles working on the land in Germany, not counting any prisoners, and they plan to bring in thousands more, almost half of them women. The Polish workers get their keep and a smal salary, and can send fifty marks (about twenty dollars) to their families in Poland. The thirty thousand Italians get the same pay as the Germans, and there are also 25 000 Slovaks and a few Hungarians working here. But the Poles are far the most numerous and will ~~continue to be~~ so.

The latest issue of the Warsaw German newspaper has more news about America than the Berlin papers. Each of these has an article on the lawsuit brought by 120 survivors of the Athenia, and a mention of the story of the British freighter Southgate. The Warsaw paper has three stories: one about a prizefight in Los Angeles, another wondering whether Greta Garbo is planning to leave America, because she has commissioned an architect to study Norwegian wooden houses in order to build her one in her native Sweden, and the third on the 160 year old dispute about the name of Bedloe's Island, the place which now has national importance because it supports the Statue of Liberty.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS NEWS Number 26
March 5, 1940

Good evening, this is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

According to a report from Amsterdam which is printed in the Berlin papers, a German submarine torpedoed the English tanker "Charles F. Meyer", of 10,500 tons, about thirty miles southwest of Hastings, last night. The tanker tried to get away at full speed, but was struck by a torpedo above the waterline. English torpedoboats and auxiliary warships which came on receiving her distress signal, found the tanker badly damaged. There is also announced the sinking of a Dutch motor vessel on its way from South Holland to Leith.

Today we learned that a week ago the marking of the new frontier between Germany and Russia was completed. There are 2820 markers along about a thousand miles of border. Now the Frontier Commission is busy with local work and the completion of documents relating to the new frontier.

Several Dutch ships carrying German coal from Holland to Italy have been detained by the English. Before this, the Germans have always urged the neutral countries, such as Denmark and Norway, to stand up to the English and object to ~~such war~~ their blockade methods; this time, they say it is a matter for Italy to decide for herself.

In the German movie theatres, the films are running for much longer time than during peace time. Because of the blackout and the severe winter, the attendance is much greater than in former years. Good films run from four to eight weeks. The production of new films is still proceeding, under the supervision of Propaganda Minister Goebbels, and the emphasis is on political subjects. One company is planning a film about Sir Roger Casement, the Irish revolutionary, and a submarine film, a film about colonial life, and one on the life of Diesel, inventor of the Diesel motor. Another company is preparing a film about the Boer War, with Emil Jannings in the role of President Krüger. Then it will make a film about Krupp, the armament manufacturer, one about the Irish revolution, and one on an episode from the last war, concerning the fight of an auxiliary war vessel. A new film will shortly be made in the German Alps where all the outdoor scenes show real mountain scenery, and no sets will be built. When you go to the movies in Berlin, at the beginning of the ~~performance~~ newsreel you see a very short film, with the same two men acting in a new episode each week. One comedian is always on the point of breaking some new littlelaw or regulation, and the other one comes along just in time to stop him and explain the error. The actors are funny enough to appeal to their public who make a point of being prompt to see them.

Yesterday the German High Command announced that a Heinkel airplane that was doing reconnaissance work over eastern France had made a forced landing after a fight with three enemy pursuit planes. The crash set fire to the plane, and two men, one of them

wounded, made their way through the French lines back to their own lines, a distance of about two miles. For this exploit the German flyers were decorated by Field Marshall Goering. Today we have further details about this adventure from the pilot. He said that the purpose of his flight was reconnaissance over a certain area, and he had completed his task and taken his photographs when in the neighborhood of Metz, at an altitude of about 25 000 feet, three French pursuit planes appeared. The Germans shot with all their machineguns, but the return fire put one motor out of commission and also the radio. The pilot called back to the two men in the rear, but no one answered. Then another motor went dead, while the French planes were still shooting at them coming from left, right and all around. But only the German observer could shoot, and that forward, because the rear guns were out of action. When a shot hit the instrument board, it sent a part of it into his face. And when still at ninethousand feet, the pilot realized he had to make a forced landing, so he tried to glide to the German frontier, but had to land on the French side. He looked back and saw that the two men in the tail of the plane were dead, and helped the wounded observer out, and ran, all dressed in heavy flying suits, toward their lines. From all sides they were shot at by pursuing Frenchmen, and some of them ran after them at a distance of 150 yards. The Germans had seen Saarbrücken from the air and made for it, the pilot helping his wounded comrade, ~~his pistol in his hand~~, and they finally got through and arrived at their lines where they had of course been given up for lost or prisoners. The wounded man was taken to the first aid station, and later both had the satisfaction of being decorated on the successful outcome of their lucky adventure.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Number 27

Breckinridge CBS NEWS March 6, 1940

Good evening, this is Mary Marvin Breckinridge in Berlin.

The cry for the freedom of the seas is now being taken up by Germany as a companion piece to the cry for living space. In this connection, Germany makes three points: First, that she must overpower the English claim to mastery of the seas, just as America did during the last war as regards her own waters and merchant shipping. This fight against English dominance is, according to Berlin, not aggression but defence. Second, the much-discussed disarmament after this war must be extended to include naval disarmament, meaning England's, and Third, that the English naval stations on foreign soil that provide a basis for sea mastery, must be done away with. In this connection, they say that these British naval bases in the Mediterranean, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and the Suez Canal have become "Untenable and unbearable", not only for Germany but for the Mediterranean peoples, for they are not positions for defence but for aggressive action through their help in the British blockade and their control of neutral shipping which the Germans call illegal and against international law. They do not say whether the sinking of neutral vessels is illegal or not, but they say they will continue to sink them if they are travelling in convoy or bound for enemy harbors, since it's impossible for a plane to determine whether or not such a ship is travelling voluntarily with English ships. And the German planes will use machine guns on the crews only when they do not follow the German orders or when the ship is in such a position that they might try to shoot back. Ships without lights will also be sunk, on the supposition that they have something to conceal. And then the German political circles declare that it is the duty of all nations to combine against England.

Yesterday the German Government said that the Italian protest to England over the seizure of her homeward bound ships carrying German coal, now said to number 7, was entirely Italy's affair; today the Foreign Office said it was one hundred percent behind that protest.

All the German papers are pleased with the news, which is played up prominently, that they have captured the first Englishmen on the western front. According to the High Command report, sixteen were taken prisoner by a German patrol east of the Mosel.

The Red Cross representatives, Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Wayne Taylor, have arrived in the General Government of Poland to supervise the allocation and distribution of medical supplies and clothing sent from the UnitedStates, to the civilian population of Poland. This will be done without regard to race, in the American way.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Breckinridge CBS News and Substitutes

Number 28
March 9, 1940
Morning
From Berlin

A headline arrested my attention in the evening paper last night. It read: "Germany fights for the peace of the whole world". It was the theme of a lecture given to an audience consisting of Hitler-Jugend, the National Socialist Teachers' organization, and the Northern Society. The talk was about England's desire for power, English lies. The lecturer said that England had a shopkeeper's mind, and was merely posing as the defender of civilization and freedom, and gave as examples of her falsity the slave trade and the Boer War, no dates. But the point that interested me was that peace, and in a roundabout way civilization and freedom, are evidently still held as ideals among the German people, so the leaders must address them in those terms. Since the principles for which the Allies fight are popular in Germany, their leaders want the people to know that they stand for them too, and thus minimize the effect of British propaganda.

The German High Command announces today that there was some artillery fire and patrol activity along the western front. The Air Force has been doing reconnaissance flying over Great Britain and over the northern and eastern parts of France. Only one plane is reported missing.

This war has provided so little material for fine action stories that the biggest article in the official paper today is about the last war, when a German airship came to grief near London. On the second page is a graphic account of his adventure by a man who was on a German plane a couple of days ago, in one of the raids in which eleven ships were sunk. They were said to be either in convoy or blacked out. The flyer's account does not mention the nationality of any of the ships which he attacked. And the Amilia Lauro, a ship of over 5000 tons, which is announced as being in flames in the Channel as the result of an attack by a German plane, is described as an English ship. Perhaps the interruption in coal shipping to Italy has something to do with the trip of the Foreign Minister, Herr von Ribbentrop, to Rome today, This was a sudden move, arranged on the spur of the moment. Last night at ten o'clock the diplomats and journalists in Rome did not know of his impending visit. This morning at nine Herr von Ribbentrop left Berlin in a special train for Rome, where he is expected to arrive tomorrow afternoon, to stay for several days.

The article describing his trip speaks of the solidarity of the Axis friendship, and stresses the fact that, unlike the democracies, totalitarian states can have a permanence of foreign policy. The article speaks only of Italy, not of Russia. It also said that only the Axis states can plan for the future, because of this continuity in which they have confidence, but they do not give out the plans. The Italians must need some friendly help now, for eleven of their ships bearing coal have been detained by the British. (Censored: and one has been sunk by the Germans, with the loss of several Italian sailors.)

It is believed that Herr von Ribbentrop's visit to Italy is also related to peace proposals for the Russo-Finnish war. In this connection it is of interest to learn that Mr. Svinhufvud, former president of Finland, arrived in Berlin yesterday. He will stay here a few days, and then he too will go to Rome.

The interruption of the coal trade shows that there is still enough to export through Holland, although coal is still difficult to obtain in Berlin. And there is still enough to produce almost half the gasoline used here. For several years it has been allowed to add to gasoline up to thirty percent of potato alcohol, but at present only about ten to twenty percent is used. The lack of the genuine article has encouraged the creation and use of various substitutes. These creations are known as ersatz materials, and when an article is standardized to one product for the country, it is called Einheit.

Soap is an einheit product, but there are two kinds, for washing persons and for washing clothes.* The shortage of real soap is due to the shortage of fats and oils, which affects automobiles, shampoos, treatment of wooden floors and all sorts of things. All materials sold in Germany are part wood, from ten to fifty percent, as I was told when I was shown samples at a sewing class in a Mothers School in one of the poorer districts of Berlin. One can also have a dress made of milk, for it can be woven from yarn made from cotton wool, which is made from casein.

A girl with whom I was having mixed German tea the other day told me that a friend of hers was having a fine business boom now, and had built a new wing onto his factory. He makes patent medicine, for stomach trouble. As everybody knows, the former German greeting of Gruss Gott gave way some time ago to Heil Hitler, which is used most by Nazi Party members and officials. I hear that lately around Munich they're going back to God again. And I return you now to Columbia, New York.

*(Censored: made principally of sand.)

Marvin Breckinridge
CBS

MEMORIAL SERVICE

From Berlin

Number 29
March 10, 1940
Morning

Red German flags with swastikas on them were flying from every door and roof along the wide boulevard of Unter den Linden this morning and Storm Troopers, S.S. men and policemen lined the sidewalks from the Chancellery on the Wilhelmstrasse to the old Military Museum as I walked down to attend the service. Inside the museum, I went by planes from the last war, ancient cannons, old uniforms and coats of mail, to a window on the second floor where the press representatives were allowed. In the big glass-roofed hall stood a gathering of high officers on either side of a wide red matting and behind them stood about 200 soldiers who were wounded in Poland in the most recent of Germany's wars. The only civilians on the floor were Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer who is visiting here, and a couple of Cabinet Ministers. The atmosphere was solemn.

Someone called out 'Attention, the Führer', and Hitler walked in accompanied by his three heads of military strength, Göring, Raeder and von Brauchitch, while everyone stood at salute. They stood quietly in the front row while the military orchestra played Beethoven's Eroica. Then Hitler took his place behind the rostrum, in front of a large model of the Nazi Iron Cross dated 1939, flanked by twenty flags on each side. He wore a military-looking uniform which he has designed for himself. He spoke without gestures and without excitement, but it was difficult to understand because of the echo in the building. At the end there was no applause, and he stepped back to the front row while a simple soldier, without decorations or insignia, a living Unknown Soldier, took the rostrum and received the salute while the band played two national anthems. The feeling was one of paying tribute to the spirit of Germany rather than to the Nazi Party.

The officers all strolled out to the War Memorial next door, and I watched from a window, next to the stuffed horse of Frederick the Great. Troops were drawn up in line before the partly-open building, and Hitler and Göring and about half a dozen other high officials followed a wreath borne by four soldiers into it, no one else. When they came out, the soldiers passed in review, one company each from the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, goosestepping. "This is the best of all", said the wrinkled little museum guard beside me. Then Hitler got down from the pedestal which he had been on, and climbed into the front seat of a glass-enclosed car, and drove off, followed by other cars full of guards and officers, along the street which is about 150 feet wide. No one except guards were allowed on the memorial side, but on the far side of the street the public stood behind the S.S. men, watching the fine ceremony in the bright sunshine. It was really a genuine tribute to a dominant part of German life throughout history.

As I left the museum, I went into the Memorial. Inside, the only symbol on the wall was a cross, Christian, not Iron, behind the monument, which was surrounded by wreaths. The biggest one was of white lilies and tulips, and the red ribbon on it said simply 'Adolf Hitler'.

Breckinridge CBS HOLLAND'S DEFENCES #30 March 26,1940

Amsterdam 12:[redacted] - 12:15 Dutch Time

Easter was hardly a period of hope and promise in Holland this year, with the war blazing like a forest fire all around, that might leap its borders and attack this country at any time. But the Hollanders were calm and even cheerful behind their clever defences. There are two major lines of defence, one about eighty miles from Amsterdam, and one about thirty miles. The residence of the former German Kaiser lies between the two, surrounded by barracks and fortifications.

I spent last weekend on the outer line of defence, on the shore of of Ijssel River, with a large and friendly Dutch family. Their little beach is entirely under water, and the canal at the end of the garden was higher than it has ever been, for this is in part of the ~~inundation sh~~ inundated area. Since most of Holland is under sea-level, and sections are separated by dikes, all they have to do is to divert the water from rivers to cover the fields, and there are thousands of acres now under water, and still it is rising. An invading army could not ~~[redacted]~~ be sure whether the water was three feet deep or six feet deep, but it could be sure that the bottom was slimy mud, and very difficult to cross. And while soldiers ~~were~~ would be struggling and tanks ~~[redacted]~~ would be getting stuck, Dutch soldiers ~~[redacted]~~ would be firing at them with the latest thing in rifles and machine guns from a highly original kind of trench. Because the land is below sea-level, an ordinary trench is immediately full of water, so the Dutch build a ~~[redacted]~~ ridge of earth with wooden walls inside, and a space between them, which makes a high and safe protection. The invading army, on the other hand, cannot dig themselves in because of all the water.—In the last six months the Dutch defences have been tremendously improved, and they are still being worked on. ~~The highway~~ More than five hundred pillboxes for machine guns and anti-aircraft guns are scattered about this district. Most of them are ingeniously camouflaged to look like farm buildings, or sod-covered mounds. Yesterday afternoon I put on my rubber boots and walked along a water-covered brick roadway to ~~a~~ farm on an island which turned out to be full of Dutch soldiers in their grey-green uniforms. They had put a sign on a plain woodshed saying 'Villa of World Peace', but inside was a machine gun.—And across the water was a large chicken-coop, with perhaps twenty divisions, but actually it was a cleverly painted cement pillbox, with only two openings out of which peered two ~~[redacted]~~ heavy guns,

~~an island the water comingalmost to the tops of my rubber~~

2

like large and watchful eyes. ¶ And the Dutch are watchful, and determined not to let any foreign army invade their soil. In the first place, they behave in such a strictly neutral manner that no other country has any cause for complaint; in the second place, they plan their defences to suit their own conditions. They have already chosen where they will fight the invaders, where the defence will occupy strong positions, and the attackers will have nothing but mud and water. This district is not entirely flooded yet, but William Lindsay White told me that he had visited a whole province that was already evacuated, the farmers' families gone, and soldiers living in the farmhouses. On Sunday we had a visit from a young Dutch couple who live only five miles this side of the border. They said that their home was beyond the area evacuated, because the Army knew that they could not hope to put up an effective fight in that district, and they would have to be left to the mercy of the invaders.

~~The Netherlands will defend themselves most effectively with brains, water, and invincible determination.~~ Yesterday was a holiday, and near our house some soldiers in bright blue and orange jerseys were playing football. Hundreds of townspeople and country people had come on their bicycles to enjoy the sport on the sunny spring day. But they would not have enoyed it so much if they had not known that on the big bridge over the Ijssel nearby, soldiers with guns held horizontal and bayonets fixed, were patrolling between the tank traps, day and night. For the Netherlands will defend themselves most effectively with brains, water, and [invincible] determination.

I return you now to Col B Syptem, New York

3 min 4 to go

Guillot 53:20 - 23:55-14

4

1:20(30) - 1:25 Dutch time

Breckinridge CBS SPIES IN HOLLAND #31 April 1, 1940 Morning

The Dutch newspapers have been full of accounts of the trials of spies lately. Only last week two men were convicted of operating a secret wireless transmitter near Rotterdam and sending reports on the weather and the condition of the terrain to Germany. They were tried before judges (they dont have juries in Holland) in an ordinary court, and most of the spy trials are open to the public. In this case the Public Prosecutor asked that they be given five years, but they got six, which is the maximum for espionage now. However, the Government is planning to raise the possible term of conviction to fifteen years, because spies are so numerous.

The geographical position of Holland makes it an ideal spy capitol. The Germans come here to get news of the country and of shipping, and the English come here chiefly to get news of the Germans. The most famous case internationally of this was the Venlo incident of early last November, when two Englishmen and a Dutch chauffeur were captured on the Dutch border by Germans, and a Dutch Control officer with them was shot. ~~Since the officer belonged to the Dutch Military Intelligence, no protest could very well be made by Holland~~ censored.

The line between actual spying and securing general information is a difficult one to draw. It is interesting to note that, according to the Government Press Service here, there are attached to the Press Department of the British Legation at the Hague two Englishmen and one Dutchman, and to the German Legation between thirty and forty German journalists. One of them was asked by the Dutch Government to leave the country recently. And living here in Holland are a large number of German refugees and thirty thousand German maids, for suspicious people to speculate on. The Department of Justice gives out no information on the subject of spies, except to say that all aliens are watched. But the cases that have been tried furnish some interesting details.

A couple of days ago a former Chief Clerk in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and a Departmental Chief in the Ministry of Social Affairs were sent to jail for transmitting to a foreign power photostatic copies of lists of Dutch ships and their cargoes held in the English Downs. They identified one of the men because a piece of his living room carpet appeared in the picture of one of the lists which he had photographed at home.

There was another case of spying through this country recently. One Dutchman, living in France, sent secret information to his brother in Holland. He took the papers to a little cafe which straddled the border, like the one in the old play 'Lightnin'. Entering on the Dutch side, he walked through to a room on the German side and delivered the papers to a German there, but was eventually picked up by the Dutch Secret Service. To avoid unauthorized crossing of the frontier in Limburg, the Germans have built a barbed wire fence about six feet high with an electrified wire along the top. Since March 15th it is almost impossible to cross the border in this neighborhood even at the regular gates, and the daily workmen have to get a new permit each day, to be allowed into Germany.

On one of Holland's frontiers, the preparations for defence include not only tank traps and pillboxes, but bridges ready to be exploded and trees to be dynamited so they will fall across the road. At one time the fuses on these trees disappeared day after day, and as no one but a Dutch soldier was allowed to walk on that road, it was difficult to catch the spy who had been removing the fuses. So one day they gave an order that no soldier in that neighborhood was to salute his officer, and in the course of the day three soldiers saluted and were immediately arrested and found to be spies in stolen uniforms. An amusing trick is to choose a guttural Dutch word for password, sounding like a nether gargle, which no foreigner can possibly pronounce!

A radio executive I know who motored back to Amsterdam from southern Holland last week was stopped nine times by soldiers who were trying to find out who was operating signalling lights at night. These are sent by flashlight or by pistols with light balls such as are used by pilots. They are seen chiefly around Utrecht, and are probably intended to give the direction to German planes as they fly over Holland to raid the enemy.

A rumor went around some time ago that the secret service of a belligerent power had taken over a room in a hotel overlooking the only exit to the railway station at the Hague, and had set up a camera with excellent long-focus lens to photograph special people they were watching, as they came out of the station.

Although so far only Dutch and German nationals have been tried in spy cases, there has been just one case involving spying on behalf of the Allies. In this case a Dutchman established himself on a little island near the top of the north coast of Holland and reported the movements of German ships and planes by telephone and wireless to another Dutchman on the mainland who sent it on to the British and the French.

Holland is a great center also for counterespionage, but those stories are known only by people in the business. And I have never met a member of the British Secret Service nor of the Gestapo --- at least, I dont think I have.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Fairly good transmission
Fay

4 min 20 sec

Breckinridge CBS CONTRABAND #32 April 4, 1940

12:10:10 — 12:14:30

Thirty-six Dutch boats are now detained in the Downs off England, according to figures published this morning, and the English are planning to intensify the blockade in the North Sea next week. Their Navy watches the few channels left open for shipping, between the extensive mine fields. All countries are supposed to inform the neutrals about the location of their minefields, but the Germans sometimes lay them along merchant routes without notifying anyone, saying that they are allowed to lay uncharted mines to achieve a military objective. So after the neutral ships have passed through the contraband control station in the Downs, the British tell them the location of the new minefields, as far as they are known. This is one reason why the neutral ships stop when asked by the British navy, and another is that if they dont, the Dutch consignees may be put on the blacklist, and then no British subject is allowed to trade with them. Part of this list is published by the Stationery Office in London, and part is confidential. Practically all, or maybe all, the ships bound for Holland are intercepted by the British, but last autumn one got through. The Atlas was seen by a navy boat and sent a message "You should go to the Downs". The Captain was not interested, so he went on his way. He got a second message, and answered "It's a matter of opinion, but I dont think I should", and the British sent a last message "Good luck". One Dutchman told me that England can afford to be humane, because she is stronger.

The Germans intercept some ships bound for Holland too, but apparently not all. Only a few go to the contraband station at Kiel, though there are some there now, bound from Finland with wood. This is partly because the Netherlands have naturally less shipping trade through the Baltic, the German sphere, and partly because Germans have other methods of dealing with neutral shipping.

Since the war began, 229 people have been killed through the sinking of 27 Dutch merchant ships, [redacted]. None of these can be blamed on the Allies.

Yesterday I climbed up a twenty-foot sloping ladder to board a Dutch freighter, with flags painted all over it, which recently arrived from South America

with a cargo of linseed and corn. She'd spent three idle weeks in the Downs, a mile or so off Deal, when the crew was not allowed to go ashore. The Netherlands Government had guaranteed that the cargo was for use in this country, and not for export, so nothing was removed. On their way home they saw floating mines, but didn't stop to shoot at them, but informed a naval vessel. The jovial young Chief Mate showed me the new raft and the motorboat which have been added to the ordinary lifeboats since the war began. (Censored 1: ~~[illegible] that they contained water and provisions, unlike the lifeboat of the pathetic Pachino victims.~~) And in a few days he will sail again through waters where mines and torpodoes are waiting for neutral ships, but he's not afraid, and the thing he minds most is leaving his sweet new bride.

The British Contraband list includes practically everything from soup to nuts, and the Germans told me that they follow the same list. ~~When the British capture any contraband, they unload it at the Downs where it undergoes a preliminary examination. Then the Dutch consignee gets a chance to prove that the seizure is unwarranted as it is not destined for the enemy. If he succeeds, which happens fairly often, he gets the goods back; otherwise they become the property of the British Government.~~ So far the English have removed from Holland-bound boats such things as steel plates and ores from the United States, ~~wood and~~ timber from Jugoslavia, and hides, skins and oil.

~~Sailors on board these boats tell of sighting British patrol boats, who signal them to stop and then send smart-looking officers aboard to inspect the ships' papers, and they say the officers are very polite. They say the Germans are polite too, when they come on board.~~

Curiously enough, only a few days ago the Germans were sending a hearty note of thanks to some Dutch fishermen who had rescued four German aviators adrift in a rubber boat, and at the same time other German aviators were sinking the Dutch fishing-ship Protinus, with a catch destined for Holland, (censored ~~[illegible] the crew with machine guns,~~) and killing ~~half~~ some of the crew, all in the name of contraband control. This incident has made Dutch people very angry indeed.

I was talking recently to a high shipping authority here, who feels that there will be important developments next week regarding the change of status of

Norwegian territorial waters, which is now disputed by England and Germany. ~~The only way to get through~~ the blockade now from the Atlantic is to go to the port of Narvik, near the top of Norway, and sail in its territorial waters to the southern tip, and then leap in a zigzag course across the North Sea, and hope you're lucky. The Swedes are digging a channel, to be completed in July, where their own territorial waters are too shallow for safe shipping, chiefly to avoid interference in their co~~astwise trade~~.

War conditions have deeply affected Holland's most vital industry, for her export and trans-shipment trade are steadily decreasing, and every week more ships are sunk. The usual attitude of the Netherlander ~~to the~~ toward the British blockade is that it is a nuisance, as it delays the ships for days and weeks, but, they say, at least they dont kill anyone.

In the office of the shipping executive, a high panelled room with big windows overlooking the harbor of Amsterdam, is a large carved-oak seal showing a galleon at sea surrounded by a Latin motto which must be Holland's, "Navigare Necesse". And although this new kind of war has brought a new kind of danger to neutral shipping, it will take more than that to beat the Dutch.

45200
756

12:10 - 12:13 (30)

Breckinridge CBS NEWS #33 April 8, 1940

CBS-#47

Here in Holland everyone has an eye cocked northward, to watch events around Norway. ~~This morning the leading newspapers played up the Scandinavian developments on their leading articles, and~~ This evening the Telegraaf, ~~the~~ which has the biggest circulation in Holland, gives them Scandinavian developments practically the whole of the front page, and most of the second page too. And there is also a prominent account of the sinking of the Norwegian ship Navarro, and a couple of long, illustrated articles on modern Dutch architecture, and on yesterday's fashion show held in Amsterdam by the leading French dressmakers, which show that these people have not lost their traditional balance.

But about this Norway situation --- On one side the Dutch breathe an excusable sigh of relief that the spotlight has been taken off them, at least for the moment, and on the other side they are worried about their shipping trade with Norway, which has always been fairly extensive. ~~They wonder what will become of it.~~ I read A little article in this evening's edition of the conservative paper Handelsblatt which says that the port of Bremen is jammed, and that some Dutch ships, bound homeward with Finnish plywood, are not allowed to leave; that the wharves at Emden which used to unload ore from Narvik, Norway, on its way to the ~~Ruhr~~ industrial region of the Ruhr, are empty, and that gravel and sand for building fortifications in Schleswig-Holstein are arriving by canal from the south. Rumor has it that there are five German divisions in Stettin, and others near the frontier between Germany and Denmark, making fifteen divisions in the north of Germany, ready to be moved at a moment's notice. Hollanders expect some action, but they dont know exactly where and what kind.

Yesterday a tobacco broker told me that he'd been playing his Sunday afternoon round of golf with a business friend of his, and they had agreed ~~that~~ they wouldn't be surprised if Germany took Denmark, as it would be far easier from a military point of view than taking Holland, but they thought that Germany would only move if she had to show the folks at home some tangible sign of success to compensate them for the restricted life they are living. But this was before

England laid her minefields along the Norwegian ~~territorial~~ coast, and pulled the attention of the world northward to the Norwegian territorial waters as I predicted last Thursday.

The semi-official attitude toward the English action is that it is against the rules of international law, but privately, people here think that the Norwegians suffered so many ships and men lost through German action, like the Dutch but to an even greater degree, that they do not regret a little punishment given out by the one country which, as a declared enemy, should do it.

But the Dutch are not forgetting their own position, and have made plans for emergency well in advance. In a week or so they will start a new factory near Rotterdam to make tin cans, for so far the only important factory is in a dangerous part of the country. They figure that in case of invasion by a foreign power, they could drive 285,000 cows back from the other side of the water barrier to this safer side, but ~~they knew they~~ could not feed them, so the idea is to slaughter them immediately and put them into ~~hundreds of thousands~~ millions of cans.

The plans for ~~the~~ evacuation have been completed for months, ~~and~~ ~~everyone who now lives beyond the water barrier knows exactly to which house and which family he will go in time of danger. Many will be evacuated to Amsterdam.~~ Now the evacuation officials ~~who planned the evacuation have nothing to do, so they~~ are perfecting their work, and they are combing in similar types and tastes from all over Holland. They ~~plan to~~ will billet vegetarians together, for instance, and ~~they~~ will divide people according to religion, so that a Catholic may stay with a Catholic, and a Lutheran with a Lutheran. This is important in a country where brass bands, football clubs, ~~and even~~ and even goatbreeders associations dogshows are organized by religions. At the moment this work doesn't look necessary, but the Dutch are an even-tempered, agreeable people and even if war should come to them, they will do their best to live a pleasant life.

I take you now to London

3-47

756

Breckinridge CBS NEWS

No. 34
April 11, 1940
20.38.45 - 20.42

FROM HOLLAND

Holland is wearing her little red riding hood of neutrality, but she's a bit scared just the same as she goes through the woods. Even though the wolf may be far away, he might turn up at any moment, and the innocence of neutrality is no longer a safeguard. The strict Dutch interpretation of neutrality goes to the point where she refuses to discuss military cooperation with any belligerent power in case of attack by another power. This refusal annoys the British, who know that in case of invasion from the east, Holland counts on the help of the Royal Air Force and maybe other units, yet will not even consent to talk about plans in advance.

But the Netherlands are willing, and even determined, to defend their country in battle against an aggressor, and since the events in Scandinavia of the last few days, they have adopted measures far more severe than those taken on last November 11th, when they had the biggest scare to date, with some reason. Now they have cancelled all types of leave, and changed all train schedules for two days in order to move troops. A German journalist told me that some of them went to the seashore, but I dont know where he heard that report.

Today, as I went to the Hague in one of the few trains, I saw ~~patrols~~ soldiers on bicycles pedalling in formation between fields which are just beginning to bloom with big patches of purple and yellow crocusses, and on the highways were military motorcycle despatch riders in leather suits. No additional classes have been mobilized, and the only new men in training belong to the age-group which was called up on April first, according to regular plans. Three nineteen-year-old elevator boys from my hotel went, with long faces, because Hollanders are not militaristic and dont enjoy such a life, but when they feel danger threatening their country, I think they'll wake up and show more keenness.

Many barges have been moved toward this section of the country, partly so that they will not be handy for bridge-building near the border, and partly to get them out of the way when they started the greatest inundations yet

8:58 (45) - 9:02

undertaken. Incidentally, the gasoline for air force and army use is kept stored in barges, where it is safely hidden, and movable.

The rising waters and moving soldiers are the most conspicuous signs of renewed vigilance, but the Army Headquarters assure me that certain other measures have been taken which they do not divulge for fear of alarming the population. At the moment the people here are still calm, and living, working and eating as if life would always go on this way. They dont know the details of the present situation, but they do know that they are far better prepared than they were in September, ~~that defence arrangements have been made as efficient as possible, and that they will be called when they are needed.~~

~~The cancellation of all army leave has not upset them, for they have been through scares before, and they say it is better to be called a half hour too soon than twenty-four hours too late.~~

Hollanders will not accept the fate of Denmark. Her people are tremendously interested in following the war in the North, and are quite aware of the relationship between the Scandinavian situation and their own country. A well-informed world traveller told me this morning that he expected Germany to go into Sweden in a couple of days, because it may be their only way to reach their troops in Norway. Many Hollanders feel - but of course no one knows - that until Germany has either stabilized her position in Norway or been definitely removed from there, it will not take the initiative in military action in other parts of Europe.

But then Holland's turn may come, and now she is prepared to do her utmost, and will remain 'at the ready' for some time. And when the first foreigner attacks, he will receive not butter, but bullets.

~~I take you now to London or~~

I return you now to New York

3:10

Breckinridge CBS 10:52-10:57 NEWS No. 35

April 14, 1940
22:32 - 22:37 GMT

FROM HOLLAND

Holland is still hearing 'Le Scare du Printemps' but this one is not by a Pole. And, the sound has been intensified by a story which is said to have appeared in the Washington Evening Star to the effect that a troopship had left England for either Norway or Holland. This story has been proved untrue, as regards Holland, for there are no troopships anywhere near the coast. The Dutch say that an invasion by England is highly improbable, even fantastic. But the American newspaper report has been taken up and broadcast over the German radio, which is how people here know about it, and it has made them feel worried, and downright annoyed: 'Just one more story like that', they say, 'and the Germans will have a fine excuse to come in to forestall the British'.

This is the first time since I have been in Holland that I have felt real uneasiness among ordinary people, as they see Germany developing the forestalling theme that she used on Denmark and Norway. Yesterday General Roëll former Commander in Chief of the Field Army, made a speech in Amsterdam, pointing to Denmark as a warning of what happens when you allow weakness to develop from within. He mentioned the many spy trials here as a bad sign, and said there were traitors lurking everywhere, some of them dressed as soldiers, who would be a danger if this neutral country were attacked. He said Holland should not tolerate those people, and he pointed to Denmark as a terrifying example of what can happen to a people if the spirit of determination within the country is not strong. [General Roëll said that as Holland would never start a war on its own initiative but had only prepared its armed forces to withstand aggression, total defence was the only way to resist the horrors of modern warfare. Total defence means that every Hollander who is able to cooperate in any way in the defence of the country must if necessary sacrifice his personal interests. The General praised the Government for the precautionary measures that have been taken and ended by saying "We know that it is our Queen who is an example for all of us in her unfailing interest, energy and perserverance for the welfare and the defence of the country, in conformity with an old motto of the House of Orange: Be Vigilant and Trust in God".]

Train service is normal again today, after four days of interrupted schedules for troop movements. This morning 170 diplomats, including the British, French and Polish Ministers and their staffs, came through Holland from Copenhagen. They spent three hours in the Hague before going on to Brussels. ~~The party included the Minister to Denmark from Great Britain, France, They arrived in the Hague at seven o'clock this morning, and left at 10:07 for Brussels. The British Minister showed his pleasure at the news of the British sinking of seven German destroyers near Narvik yesterday. When a friend of mine asked for news of his English fellow-journalists in Copenhagen, the diplomats said they had just disappeared.~~

A Royal Decree was issued yesterday extending the area which has been under martial law since last November first so that it now includes most of the Netherlands. The degree of martial law has been made more severe all along the eastern frontier and along the sea.

Last night extensive military manoeuvres were held in all the big towns and in many country districts as well. A cook I know in a small town was at the movies with her boy friend, a soldier, when the manager of the theatre got up and announced that all the soldiers should report at once for manoeuvres. Soon the main road was filled with motorized troops, soldiers on bicycles, infantry and guns. They marched to an open space and the cook and her family heard the guns being fired in practice all night long, and in the morning the soldiers marched back again, still looking fresh and sturdy, and the neighbors who were not already awakened by the guns were roused by the tramping boots and gay laughter under their windows.

* Train service etc.

~~Part of the military activities last night consisted in checking up on the activities of all the civilians who were out late. A foreign diplomat in the Hague was telephoned to in the middle of the night by his Legation and asked to come to his office immediately, so he threw on his overcoat over his pyjamas and rushed down the street. His unusual and hurried appearance caused him to be stopped three times by soldiers, and as he did not have his identification papers with him in his pyjama pocket, he spent some time explaining his way to freedom.~~

In the afternoon yesterday there was a drill in Amsterdam for the Volunteer Fire Brigade, when five hundred of their members rushed to their little

local fire stations, and dragged their hand pumps through the streets, at a fast trot, followed by excited small boys, and then put out mock fires as part of their regular practice. There was also a tryout of all the anti-aircraft sirens, as the newspapers had announced in the morning, but I didn't hear a sound — perhaps that was when my head was under the hairdryer. But some new American journalists who have just arrived said that the Amsterdam sirens are not a patch on Paris! + The Stock market etc. - see p 4

~~The increasing number of journalists~~ here, especially Americans, may be a sign of something. One is on his way to Germany, a couple were on their way to Scandinavia when the situation changed rapidly, and now no one knows how to get there, and some have come to Holland, just because it may be interesting here. Last night I had a cocktail with some of them in the lounge of my hotel, which is usually full of Amsterdam people who want to celebrate on Saturday night, but there was no one there but ourselves and one other group of foreigners. We went on to dinner at a fairly big popular restaurant, and it was equally empty. Although the Dutch are not at all excited, they are still apprehensive, and cannot enjoy themselves with a free mind as they did before. [+ stock market So it is perhaps just as well that the German theatrical company which was scheduled to come here from Munich to play tomorrow and Tuesday, cancelled their engagement a couple of days ago. I dont know if they would have had ~~a large audience~~.]

On my way out to this studio, I drive ~~through~~ past tank traps and ~~past~~ pillboxes and other fortifications. Since the snow and ice have gone, the Dutch have changed many of their wood-and-earth machinegun nests into solid concrete, now covered by sod with nice green grass and very hard to see. The moats in front of them are fast disappearing because the water is rising all through the polders. Only fifteen minutes by car from the center of Amsterdam the fields are now half grass, half water, and the cows wearing burlap overcoats stand with their feet in the water and nibble the grass which is still showing.

~~My taxi driver~~ today told me he had driven a ~~party of~~ few Russians down to Flushing, on the coast, near Belgium, a few days ago. They were going to visit the Molotov, the ship which Russia has ordered built in Holland. They were stopped by careful, polite Dutch soldiers on the way in, who looked at their passports and permit, and checked them again when they went out of the district. The driver told me one thing that interested me very much. He said that ~~there was a~~ besides war vessel and some small minelayers and sweepers down there, there were fortifications and a lot of guns, and the guns, said he, ~~pointed toward England~~ the land.

[~~Holland has a large proportion of radio listeners, and they will be listening carefully to the news from various countries now, for they are eager for news and there wont be any more newspapers until tomorrow evening.~~] This morning one of the two big papers published a half-page of eleven war cartoons, from America, Denmark, England and France. Only one, the smallest one, was pro-German. And There is an advertisement in this paper, saying that this is the beginning of what they dall, in perfect English, Surprise Week. The ad refers to surprise packages of hyacinths and begonias, which are being given out by a florist, but he has thought of a timely angle: we all wonder what will happen to Holland in SurpriseWeek.

We return you now to New York

Commercial: Very Good - Allison
Talbo - 22:31(57) - 22:37

The Stock Market has been lower this week, but there has been no panic. Things picked up a bit after the report that the British had taken Bergen and Trondjheim, but dropped again as soon as the report was found to be false. Yesterday was the second inscription day, [~~out of about twenty in the course of the usual spring season,~~] for the big tobacco market here. A ~~big~~ importer told me that the market was very high - higher than last week, in fact - and that the prices were fifty to one hundred percent higher than last year. There were not many German buyers, as most of them had left after the first inscription day a week ago, and the buyers were mostly Dutch tobacco dealers. The importer thought that the reason for the good market was that people preferred to have their property in goods rather than in cash.

CBS

Interview with Mr. Mussert

by M. Breckinridge April 20, 1940

all censored ~~Number 30~~ not given

~~23:49:40 to 23:53:10~~

To get a fair idea of the Dutch Nazi organization in Holland, I went to see ~~XXXXXXXXXXX~~Mr. Mussert, the leader, in his fine headquarters in Utrecht, the fourth city of Holland, which lies near the center of the country. Before the interview was granted, I had to show my passport and my letter of ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ authorization from the Columbia Broadcasting System, and I was asked if I were known at the American Legation and Consulate. Everything being satisfactory, I was received by an important official ~~who calls himself "The man behind the Butcher"~~ in his office overlooking a wide, sunny avenue. Both he and the other officers wore black shirts, which are not allowed to be worn on the street, and he had the triangular Nazi pin in his buttonhole, and also as cufflinks, and they salute each other with the usual Nazi salute from the elbow. After a cup of coffee I was ushered into a large room at the back of the house overlooking the garden. At the far end of the room was a large ~~plain~~ green-covered desk, and from behind it Mr. Mussert rose and crossed the room to greet me cordially. He is a man of middle height, stocky, and dressed in a black uniform with sam brown belt and orange insignia. He was a State ~~Engineer~~ official, and was the Chief Engineer in the Province of Utrecht for Roads and Bridges until May 1, 1934, when he said he was fired for being a Nazi, which he had been for three years. He denied that he had worked on Holland's first line of defence, as I had previously heard. ~~But since~~ For the last six years he has devoted his whole time to the National Socialist movement in Holland. One of the first things he did was to go to Italy where he was received by Mussolini, who gave him an autographed photograph which hangs on Mr. Mussert's wall, equally placed with one of Hitler. The leader will not say whether or not he has ever met Hitler, but says of both dictators; "I have the greatest respect for Mussolini and Hitler. They are the builders of the new Europe." Between their photographs is a large oil painting symbolizing the avarice of capitolism, represented by New York's skyscrapers; the destruction of communisim, with tumbrils and a damaged crucifi and a young man, the spirit of Naziism, who, while stamping on the books of Voltaire, Danton and Marx, ~~who~~ looks aloft for leadership.

Speaking English fairly easily, the leader told me that the socialism part of his program is the same as that in Germany, but the nationalism is somewhat different, as they feel that they are Hollanders and not Germans. When I asked what he wanted for the Netherlands that they do not now have, he said his aim was to unite the people of Holland under one strong government under National Socialist principles. The burning question in Holland now, and I think one of the reasons for the declaration of martial law throughout the whole country by the Prime Minister on Friday, is "In the case of a possible attack on Holland by Germany, would ~~you they~~ the Dutch Nazis use German help to achieve their aims in Holland, or would they fight for their Queen?" When I put this question to the leader, he replied that since no N.S.B.s were allowed to be officers in the Army any more, they would do absolutely nothing, but sit like this, said he, folding his arms and leaning back in his chair. He sneers at the idea of freedom in Holland, and says that Dutch Nazis are suspected and ostracized, and even fired from their jobs. For this reason not all his members declare their membership in the N.S.B., so there are secret members, and the total number is not announced. Mr Mussert said that there were between thirty and forty thousand on their lists, but he would not say ~~how~~ exactly because of the government. Their pledge is as follows; "I believe in the leading principles of the National Socialist movement. I am prepared to work with all my strength to build the new state. I promise faithfulness and obedience to leadership. If my views cause me to change my allegiance, I can leave the Party on the one condition that I do no damage to the Party." The leader denies the widely-~~held~~- believed fact that he receives money from Germany, or that he did before the war, and says that all he has to do is to say he needs money, and his members will give it to him, and they even bring him rings and silver. One of the lieutenants showed me a card, nameless for safety, bearing about twenty stamps with the leader's head on them, amounting to about 25 gilders, which showed that the owner had contributed about thirteen dollars to the cause. The women in the Party, who are in about the same number as men in the cities, and somewhat less in the country districts, are particularly valuable for moneyraising, and also in propaganda work.

When the Constitution of the Dutch Nazis was written in 1931, which has not been changed since then, there was no mention in it of the word 'Jew.' However, after the Nazis came to power in Germany, they began to realize in Holland that the Jews were a problem, and Mr. Mussert says that he agrees with Mussolini that the greater part of them must be deported. For this he has outlined a scheme for a Jewish settlement in Dutch Guiana, on the shores of South America. *

With the Communists the Nazis have nothing to do. The leader regards the pact between Germany and Russia of last August as being a political and not an ideological understanding, and he does not believe in the future of communism, and said that the two countries just decided not to fight each other for the pleasure of England. England's 'plutocracy', as they say in the Völkischer Beobachter' is as repugnant to Dutch Nazis as it is to German. The leader here says 'This war will decide between democracy and National Socialism. If ~~England~~ Germany and Italy win, it will be the end of capitalism in Europe, and ~~then~~ I hope that then Holland will be united and independent". Holland has not been involved in a war for over 130 years, and is determined to keep her neutrality, politically and militarily, if not mentally. It is in mental neutrality that Mr. Mussert feels that his organization is necessary to Holland, for how can you be neutral, he asks, unless you are mentally also fifty percent for Germany and fifty percent for England?

* The race question is handled differently in the East Indies, the only part of the Netherlands Empire outside of Holland where an NSB organization exists. Here both pure Dutch and persons of mixed blood may belong to the Party, provided they feel themselves to be Netherlanders. end of *

Speaking of the Catholic Church, the leader pointed out that it was an organization with a strong leadership, and that it wished to be the only one so governed was the reason why it was anti-Nazi. He said that the United States had a stronger leadership now than Holland had, and had more freedom - indeed, too much. The Nazis feel that they do not have enough freedom in Holland, but the authorities feel that they must be supervised, ~~since some of their members have been convicted as spies, including two high~~

They also wonder whether Mussert may, ~~turn out~~ if circumstances permit, turn out to be a Quisling. But Mr. Mussert said to me, that "Quisling ~~is a failure~~ acted wrongly at first". The leader does not recognize that the Nazis inside Norway had any part in making easier the invasion of the Germans. He ~~blames~~ credits the easiness of the German success on the weakness which comes to countries which have democratic governments, and said the trouble with Norway was that it was a democracy with a weak army and navy, which was influenced by England. ~~And he scorns King Haakon and his government for fleeing his capital with the gold, just as did the rulers of Albania, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.~~ [And he also scorns the Danes for not resisting, and blames that on the fact that the Danish government was controlled by Social Democrats and was therefore weak.]

Mr. Mussert did not explain his idea that Holland is not independent now, but he summed up his program in these words; " I am fighting so that when Germany wins, there will be ~~an independent Holland~~ a strong independent Dutch nation, with India. If England wins, then other people will have to decide, for I am finished".

Paul Winkler

Breckinridge CBS ~~24.10.10 - 24.1.5~~ NEWS No. 36 April 20, 1940

FROM HOLLAND

Tomorrow is the opening day of the tulip season in Holland, and although it is an annual event, and this year the business is unusually bad, the people still enjoy looking at miles of level fields near Haarlem, checked in red, ~~lavender~~, yellow, and purple. ~~XXXXXXX~~ Their quiet Sunday will not be disturbed by the speech of their Prime Minister yesterday, for although it was unexpected, it was not caused by new international conditions, but was carefully timed for a ~~quiet~~ calm period so that it would not cause any disquiet, which is a Dutch principle. The reiteration of the fact that Holland would neither seek nor accept the protection of any other country was no surprise here, and the only thing that was new was an extension of martial law to cover the whole country, instead of parts of it, as before. This was mainly to help the authorities to deal with the possible dangers from within, which they are already watching carefully. As one official said to me proudly the other day: "We're catching spies like flies".

Under the decree declaring the state of siege, certain public political meetings have been curtailed. A meeting at Zutphen at which Mr. Mussert, leader of the Dutch National Socialist party was to have spoken on the subject "The End of Democracy, the Coming of the New Order" was forbidden by the Army. Another meeting was planned in Haarlem and 700 people were expected, but the police decided to move it from a large hall to a small private house, and to admit only members of the Party on presentation of the membership cards. In Limburg, near the German border, which has the highest percentage of Dutch Nazis, 16%, the house of a Nazi member of Parliament was searched for arms, ~~and also~~ as were the houses of other ~~members~~ Nazis, and although no weapons were found the search was considered important enough to make the two top right-hand columns of the morning paper yesterday. The next most important news relating to this country was of a ~~great~~ wind storm that blew down some houses and wrecked a few boats. But people here are so interested in European affairs, and they realize how closely ~~XXXXXXXX~~ their fate is bound up in them, that the first few pages of every paper are made up of ~~XXXXXXX~~ news stories from Sanddinavia

There was great interest here this week in the pronouncements of Japan and the United States about the Dutch East Indies. The Government here is not worried about them, and it has some time ago drafted a plan whereby, if Holland were invaded, the East Indies could go on running ~~itself~~ themselves independently, and would defend ~~itself~~ themselves against any possible attacks. The Netherlands headquarters of some of the big businesses ~~would~~ plan to move out to the Indies, and indeed a few of them have already done so. So again the Dutch people retain their usual calm, but after the Japanese Minister Arita's speech, the East Indian shares on the stock exchange here went down, and after Secretary Hull's speech, they went down still further. However, they do not fear that we will take any part of their colonial possessions, even if they should become involved in the difficulties of war.

Although these last few days have been quiet, people have not stopped their war preparations. A couple of days ago, when I went to a city hospital to have my fractured foot put into a plaster cast, the sweet-faced matron told me that half the hospital was run by the Red Cross, and was full of soldiers, who had all kinds of accidents and illnesses. The biggest hospital in Amsterdam is now half empty waiting for emergency cases.

A young business man took me to visit the Commodity Exchange, and afterwards I went down into the safe deposit vaults, which is considered bombproof, with him and his wife while they locked up a valuable paper — their wedding certificate! There were a lot of boxes, bags, hampers and trunks which the attendant said had been brought in during the last two weeks. * (see below) The business man told me a story which shows how active the shipping business is in Holland now: he said that a ship-broker he knew opened his desk one day and a mouse jumped out! It had not only eaten its way in, but had had time to build a nest and raise a family since the desk was last opened!

* I have even heard of Belgians who have brought their diamonds and valuable paintings to Holland during the scare last week.

The blacking out system in Amsterdam is going to be reorganized, New plans are being drawn up, and volunteers are being taught how to carry them out. Of course we dont have blackouts yet, and the streets are brightly lighted at night, and some of the highways too. Along one of these roads on a sunny afternoon I've just seen one of the first signs of spring - the local icecream man, in bright blue uniform with little wagon to match. ~~He gets a lot of business from Boy Scout, troops off on bicycle excursions, and from couples of some of the many 'bicycles built for two'.~~

The general outlook for this weekend in the Netherlands is far different from that of last weekend. Tomorrow we expect sunshine, icecream, and football, for there is a big soccer match on in the Olympic Stadium tomorrow afternoon between Holland and Belgium, and That is the biggest international problem that we have in sight at the moment.

I take you now to London -

I ~~[illegible] now to Columbia, New York.~~

*** On the other side of the question, Rauschnig's book called 'Hitler Speaks' is banned here in Dutch but not in other languages.

23:47- 23:59:04

Breckinridge CBS DUTCH NAZIS No. 37 April 28, 1940

13:22 - 13:28 (30) Dutch Time

FROM HOLLAND (This whole broadcast was banned on April 21, but given on April 28)

A new decree suspending the freedom of the press came into force in Holland yesterday, and it means in effect that the Army can suppress anything it wants to, at any time. This follows last week's decree declaring a state of siege throughout the Netherlands, and both measures are aimed chiefly at danger from within the country, and were probably hastened by the horrid example of Norway, which made people here shudder and redouble their vigilance.

I was interested to learn that there are about two thousand British residents in Holland, and about one hundred thousand Germans. And there are about seventy thousand Hollanders living in Germany now. These facts made the Dutch Government suspicious when they found that a number of uniforms of policemen, postmen, railroad and customs men, as well as soldiers, were being smuggled across the border into Germany. This was but one of several plans to destroy the neutrality of Holland, and the government and population is on edge and alert for possible treachery. Now the Army can, regardless of the loyalty of the police, search houses, suppress publications, and ban meetings, such as the annual May assembly of the National Socialistisch Beweging, or NSB, who are the most numerous Dutch Nazis. Their weekly newspaper, which is anti-English and anti-Jewish and has a circulation of some 40,000, was banned in the Hague yesterday afternoon, the first application of the new decree.

I dont think it's necessary to repeat to an American audience the principles of National Socialism, but ~~I think~~ it is interesting to know what the organization means to Holland now. Nazism is classed with communism in popular disfavor, and a law was passed several years ago forbidding membership in either group to all government officials and army officers. [~~Recently Belgium banned their newspapers.~~] Both organizations have lost members since the German-Russian pact last August, and the Communists are not regarded as a menace. The Nazi pledge of membership does not include any reference to Holland or to the Queen, and their sympathy with current German idealogy is what alarms the authorities. The Government and the Nazis watch each other carefully and both have instructed their representatives in America to listen to and report on this broadcast.

Personal feelings against the Nazis are bitter, because the great majority of people regard them as possible traitors. ~~A woman I know says she seldom sees her brother-in-law now, because he is an NSB and listens admiringly to the chief German radio propagandist.~~ ~~On the other side,~~ A Nazi official told me that all his friends were Nazis too, because no one else would associate with them. ~~He also said that National Socialists feel from the heart, -- that they fight for principles, not for money, and then said that his party is spending millions and millions of florins, mainly for headquarters, organization, and political propaganda.~~

The Dutch are a well-educated people politically, and they took warning early. Seeing the possible rise of the National Socialists as a dynamic danger to the present democratic government of Holland, the many, small democratic parties banded together in 1933 under the name of "Unity through Democracy" to work against fascism and communism, and they've organized lots of meetings with speakers from various parties, and they distribute leaflets and publish a weekly newspaper. They stand for the democratic form of government, civic freedom, Dutch law, and the establishment of an international world order.

3 min

To get a fair idea of the Dutch Nazis, I went to see Mussert, the leader, in his fine headquarters in Utrecht, where I was received by his officers wearing black shirts, who saluted each other with the usual Nazi salute. At the far end of the room was a large green-covered desk, and from behind it Mr. Mussert rose and crossed the room to greet me cordially. He's a man of middle height, stocky, and dressed in a black uniform with sam brown belt and orange insignia. He was Chief Engineer in the Province of Utrecht for roads and bridges until 1934, when he said he was fired for being a Nazi, as he had been for three years, and for the last six years he has devoted his whole time to the National Socialist movement in Holland. First he went to Italy, where he was received by Mussolini, who gave him a photograph which hangs on the wall, equally placed with one of Hitler. The leader will not say whether or not he has ever met Hitler, but says of both dictators:" I have the greatest respect for Mussolini and Hitler; they are the builders of new Europe".

Between their photographs is a large oil painting symbolizing the avarice of capitalism, represented by New York's skyscrapers; the destruction of communism, and a young man, the spirit of Nazism, who stamps on the books of Voltaire, Danton and Marx and looks aloft for leadership.

Speaking English fairly easily, the leader told me that the socialism part of his program is the same as that of Germany, but the nationalism is somewhat different. The burning question here now is: "In case of a possible attack on Holland by Germany, would the Dutch Nazis use German help to achieve their aims in Holland, or would they fight for their Queen? " When I put this question to the leader, he replied that since no Nazis were allowed to be officers in the Army any more, they would do absolutely nothing, but sit like this, said he, folding his arms and leaning back in his chair. ~~He sneers at the idea of freedom in Holland, and~~ He said that because Dutch Nazis are suspected and ostracized, and even fired from their jobs, ~~For this reason,~~ many NSBs do not declare their membership but keep it secret, so the total number is not announced, but Mr. Mussert says there are between thirty and forty thousand on their lists. and he denied the widely-believed fact that he receives money from Germany, or that he did before the war, and says he gets it all from Holland. The women in the Party are particularly valuable for moneyraising, and also for propaganda work.

1 MINUTE

When the constitution of the Dutch Nazis was written in 1931, there was no mention in it of the word 'Jew'. However, after the Nazis came to power in Germany, they began to realize in Holland that the Jews were a problem, and Mussert says he agrees with Mussolini that the greater part of them must be deported. For this he has outlined a scheme for a Jewish settlement in the Guianas, on the shores of South America.

Start

The race question is handled differently in the East Indies, the only part of the Netherlands Empire outside of Holland where a Nazi organization exists. Here, both pure Dutch and persons of mixed blood may belong to the Party, provided they feel themselves to be Netherlanders.

Speaking of the Catholic Church, the leader pointed out that it was an organization with a strong leadership, and that it wished to be the only one so governed was the reason why it was anti-Nazi. He said that the United States has a stronger leadership now than Holland has, and more freedom — indeed too much.

People here wonder whether Mussert may, if circumstances permit, turn out to be a Quisling. But Mussert does not recognize that the Nazis inside Norway had any part in making easier the invasion of the Germans. He credits the easiness of the German success on the weakness which comes to countries which have democratic governments.

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I take you now to Paris

~~I return you now to Columbia, New York.~~

6 min 47 sec

7½ min.
7 min!

ending?
extra minute or half-minute longer

Severed
3-10

Breckinridge CBS EAST INDIES DEFENCES #38 April 30,1940

FROM HOLLAND

11:11:10 - 11:15:30

All the flags are flying and bands are playing in Holland today, for this is Princess Juliana's Birthday. And yesterday was the 125th anniversary of the Order of William conferred for personal bravery in battle. Since Holland hasn't had a war in Europe since its foundation, the 200 members who were received by the Queen and held a banquet, won their distinction while fighting for the Netherlands Empire, which is 60 times larger than Holland.

The Dutch East Indies have been pretty well pacified since 1910, so the troops that are there now are meant to resist invasion. The Dutch were surprised by the announcement of the Japanese Foreign Minister a couple of weeks ago upholding the status quo of the Netherlands East Indies. They dont feel they need any help from Japan, thank you, and it was suggested to me that the only reason Japan brought up the subject (for they dont think she has any designs in that direction now) was to see what America would say. And Secretary Hull obliged by a prompt answer that was well received in Holland, if not in Japan, for there is absolutely no feeling here that America or Great Britain either, has any evil intentions on Dutch colonies, and Germany is in no position to attack the East Indies now. I was interested to learn from Government sources here that imports from Japan into the East Indies are slightly larger than from the United States, but the exports from the Indies to the States are more than three times as great as those to Japan.

In case Holland should be attacked, all plans have been completed so that the East Indies can govern and defend themselves independently of this country. Some big businesses have already moved out there, and others are prepared to go, so that Dutch business could carry on despite invasion. Already some American tobacco buyers have gone to the Indies last month to buy and ship directly from there instead of from Amsterdam as before the war.

The Royal Dutch Air Lines still run passenger and mail planes, but from Naples instead of Amsterdam, to the East Indies. Most of their eighty aerodromes and flying fields were shown on a map which I saw in the big Colonial Museum this afternoon, which is full of impressive displays of the commercial and artistic treasures of the colonies.

To understand the problems of their defence, I went this morning to interview General Feuilletau de Bruyn, who is in charge of the colonial armies here. He received me in a cosy office, with a photograph of ~~the~~ Queen Wilhelmina on the marble mantelpiece and a huge map of the East Indies on the wall, and he reminded me that it took ten days to sail from one end of them to the other. He served there for 25 years in the army which is under the Colonial Office, and was in command of it before returning to Holland. Now he wears its uniform of dark blue with red and gold collar and cuffs, and braid making Ws all over the front and sleeves, quite different from the grey-green of the army here which is under the War Office.

With the good humor of the Dutch 'militar', the General outlined the Indies defences to me like this: there is a standing army of 40,000, a fifth of whom are Hollanders, and it could be brought to 100,000 or more quite easily. They are financed by the colonial government, and are equipped with mountain, motor and field artillery and English Vickers tanks, and they use machine guns and anti-aircraft guns that are made in Sweden, in contrast to the army in Holland which uses German guns. The Air Force is much larger than that of Holland itself, and it includes 120 Glen Martin bombers, and within a few months they will have another hundred Curtis heavy pursuit planes and Dornier seaplanes, many of which are already delivered. With this equipment, infantry can be moved among the numerous islands very quickly, as there are eighty aerodromes and flying fields there.

The Navy is regarded as Imperial, instead of local, defence, and is directed and financed from Holland. However, the project for building three 26,000-ton battle cruisers for East Indian service came before the Council of the People in Batavia yesterday, and was passed without a dissenting vote after it passes the Parliament in the Hague. They will be built in Holland, and some of the materials, particularly metals, have already been ordered from Germany, since Holland cannot supply them all herself.

Three-quarters of the Dutch Navy is now in the Indies, and their number will be increased by some destroyers, light cruisers and submarines which are being built here now. There are two big naval bases on the most important island,

Java, ~~which has a population of forty millions and has the natural protection of dangerous reefs and few harbors.~~ From here it is ten days sailing to Japan, which is too far for a successful attack. Manila is only about five days away, but no one worries about that. In fact they dont really worry about the situation at all, for as General Feuilletau de Bruyn said to me today: "It would be a serious undertaking to make a landing in the Netherlands East Indies, but if anyone should try, we are ready".

~~I'll be you now to~~

I return you now to Columbia, New York

Breckinridge CBS LAST VIEW OF HOLLAND #39 May ~~9~~ 10, 1940
from Paris Morning

This last period of tension in Holland seemed no more acute than the previous ones, and I've been through most of them for the past five months. I was there for the big scare of April 15th when army leaves were stopped, trains were commandeered for government use to bring people, cattle and machines from the threatened area, and there were army manoeuvres all night long in different parts of the country. Then the whole population felt uneasy and the restaurants and movie theatres were empty although it was Saturday night. Then when the Allies sent troops to Norway, and it was reported that Germany had removed several divisions from the Dutch border to send them northward, the situation relaxed. People in Holland thought that Sweden would be the next victim, followed by the Balkans, before Holland's turn came. Last week when the Germans seemed to have the Norwegian situation well in hand, Sweden lost its first place, but Hollanders thought that the Balkans would be next because they were weaker than Holland and Belgium who had over one million men already mobilized, and Germany always picked on weaker powers.

So on Tuesday, when I returned from an all-day patrol trip on the North Sea in the Biggest Dutch cruiser in home waters and saw the newspaper headlines saying that all leaves were cancelled, and later in the evening found international telephone lines temporarily reserved for the Netherlands Government, it seemed to be just a repetition of previous scares, and people thought it might have been caused by fear of treachery from within, or a rumoured threat from official German circles to Holland in order to cover a big, quick, German move toward the Balkans.

So when I left Holland on Wednesday, I, and almost everyone else did not realize this was the last period of tension and the beginning of war.

Breckinridge - Columbia Broadcasting

No. 40
May 14, 1940
13:05(30)-13:10

#40

REFUGEES FROM PARIS

Four thousand Refugees from ~~the~~ new war areas, mostly from Belgium and some from northern France, ~~which are really the old war areas,~~ ~~are~~ poured into Paris ~~if the thousands.~~ yesterday and I went to the station to meet them ~~Yesterday I went to the station to meet the trains. The place was strangely quiet, though full of people: soldiers with packs and helmets going back to the Front after leave, and people waiting to see if their friends would be among the refugees.~~ They poured off the train, with suitcases, knapsacks and carpetbags, and even their housewives' market bags full of their little treasures; they pushed baby carriages full of quilts, and bicycles with bags and boxes tied all over them with bits of string. One little girl carried a black cat, and several families brought their dogs with them. Boy Scouts pushed loaded baggage trucks ~~with~~ and one had a sick child on top of a lot of sacks. Girl Scouts acted as guides, gave their arms to old people, and carried their parcels for them. A wounded French soldier was pushed by in a wheel chair, with his foot heavily bandaged.

A little group of two simply dressed women in deep mourning and a half-grown boy carrying an enormous wreath were ~~looking for~~ trying to meet something, but I dont know if they found it. ——

~~In the covered taxi yard, besides the waiting lines for soldiers, were drawn up some trucks for trains coming the rain~~

They ~~now arrived~~ were taken to the luggage room, where they gave their former addresses, and then sat down to ~~their gasmasks beside them~~ bowls ~~bowls~~ of hot coffee ~~and~~ or soup and hunks of bread supplied by volunteer women in white uniforms ~~and veils~~ with veils. They ate off the curving luggage tables which I had last seen covered with the smart baggage of my gay fellow-passengers of the Nieuw Amsterdam last August. Now the travelers are tired, and each trainload looks more tired, ~~the train~~ One girl of twelve, ~~who is looking after~~ with her three brothers and sisters, who are without their parents, said they were nine hours late because of air attacks on their train, though they were not hit. She said they had not slept since the war began, for they, like many others, had walked a long distance before getting on the train, and at night they were kept awake by air raids. Two men told me that they were with about twenty other refugees outside the station at Chalons when they were machine-gunned by enemy aiplanes

so they all threw themselves down in the gutter, and ~~no one was hurt~~ escaped injury.

On another ~~big~~ baggage table, a French mother was changing her two-month-old baby, while three other children stood around with solemn, listless faces, not saying a word.
Their father was a soldier at the Front, and they came from near ~~Strasbourg, in France.~~ the French border

I asked the ~~[illegible]~~ eldest if they had started bombing there. "Oh, yes!" said she, but she didn't want to talk about it any more.

~~In the covered taxi-yard outside, beside the new dormitories for soldiers,~~ Outside, trucks were drawn up ~~[illegible]~~ for transporting the refugees to temporary quarters, and ambulances for those who were ill or wounded. Those four were given by Friends of France in Haiti, Cuba, Chili and Argentina, and they were driven by French women volunteers in ~~[illegible]~~ snappy blue uniforms, members of the Union des Femmes de France. One of them told me she had met a train earlier in the morning that had been machine-gunned, and a few passengers were wounded, others were killed.

A red-haired young Belgian, ~~who will go home to fight as soon as he can get there, has been asked by his Embassy to help ~~[illegible]~~ take care of refugees in the meantime, so he collected some new arrivals, saw that they were registered and had ~~[illegible]~~ some food, and then~~ appointed by his Embassy, marshalled some new arrivals them into a meat truck: a white-haired old couple, each with a red blanket roll over his shoulder; two little fair-haired sisters with their ~~[illegible]~~ fat, white dog; a woman with two schoolboys in their black pinafores ~~aprons~~; one boy of seventeen, who told me ~~[illegible]~~ that when he heard that the Germans were ten kilometres away from his village, he simply ran, without even being able to find his mother to say goodbye. These and a number of others sat in wooden chairs put in the meat truck, and I followed them out to their new residence.

This was an ~~[illegible]~~ old ladies' home which is run by nuns on the outskirts of Paris, and it is only 150 yards from an anti-aircraft battery. The large, old stone buildings surround a big yard, with a field and vegetable gardens. Other refugees were already there, basking in the sun. They lined up willingly for a photograph ~~[illegible]~~, and just as the photographer was focussing, there

was a tremendous howling of sirens, which meant a new air raid. One little boy said "We must lie down", but he didn't move, and no one stirred until after the picture was taken, although they knew more about bombs than anyone in Paris does yet. Then each mother grabbed her toddler tightly by the hand, and we followed the white-capped sister across the garden and into the cellar of an old tower. We sat on backless benches in the semi-darkness , but only one little girl cried. The other children got rather uneasy, especially when an 11-year-old boy was carried in by one of the old men. He was an idiot, and has never walked or spoken, but he understands some things, and when he hears the air raid alarm, he squeals in terror.

The Belgian organizer ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ called for order and started to tell a ghost story, about a ghost that scared him one night by tap-tapping all over the room, and it turned out in the end it was only a cockroach with a wooden leg. This story brought delighted laughter from all the children, and quiet gratitude from the women for his efforts. Then, under the light of the single, weak bulb, he made faces like Benito and Adolf, and told a couple of funny stories about them which passed the time until the all clear ~~XXXXXX~~. sounded. This was the only time I heard Hitler mentioned all day, and when refugees speak of Germans, it is usually as "they" - They were coming, they bombed, they begin it again, as the old people remember.

?? Back in the station, bigger crowds were gathered to greet the refugees, One woman, who arrived alone and looked less tired than the rest, was questioned by a little group of people: "What happened to my town? Was my home bombed? ~~Have you heard about my village?~~" Patiently she repeated that she did not know, there was no news. Anxious friends, ~~a widow with tears on her cheek~~, waited in the station for train after train, all late, and when their people didnot arrive, they'dsay to each other: There's another train in half an hour. There's another train in half an hour.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

Columbia Broadcasting System
M. Breckinridge

No. 41
May 17, 1940
Morning

DEFENSE PASSIVE

FROM PARIS

As we drink our coffee and eat our ~~crescents~~ rolls in the morning here in Paris, we hear following the radio news, instructions saying 'If you think you've been gassed, lie down and wait for help', 'Put names and addresses on your children, so that if they are lost in a refuge they can be promptly returned' which is a polite explanation for the need to identify little bodies. These are part of the latest rules for air raid behaviour, and others are that it is forbidden to walk in the streets, to look out of windows, or to sit on cafe terraces, which show with what calm curiosity Parisians take their alertes, so far. And all outdoor public meetings, such as horse races, are forbidden until further notice.

Each day brings news of bombings of French towns, and this method of warfare may some day be tried on the Capital, and may even include gas attacks. ~~Since the beginning of the war there has been the nightly blackout, many shop windows have been taped to prevent shattering, parts of the subways that were outdoors were closed, some children, maternity hospitals and a few old people were evacuated, as were also several thousand works of art from museums, and several hundreds from churches.~~ The basements of 21 borough halls, 55 schools and numerous other public buildings including two prisons have been renovated for Passive Defense purposes, and they are studying many more such projects. They have also dug about three miles of trenches, and have envelopped outdoor manuments and works of art in 175,00 sandbags containing 5,000 square yards of sand - and these are the neatest sandbags, by the way, some of them with corrugated tin roofs to protect them.

People have been supplied with gasmasks, and there are special gas-proof cradles for babies. ~~A few days ago I visited one of four laboratories on wheels, completely equipped to determine the nature of the gas, which is of vital importance in determining protection and treatment of gas cases.~~ The French are ready for this, as I can assume you often having carefully inspected their system.

In case of bombing or other explosion, a squad of special little cars each containing two men in heavy, ~~hot~~ black rubber suits, with helmets and gasmasks, rush around to the scene, yank out a square metal box about the size of a victrola, which is a machine 'detector', and light a flame in it; if the blue flame becomes yellow, it is surely gas.

Immediately the little cars tear around the dangerous districts, cranking their raucous hand-sirens as they go.
Then a sample of the gas is taken to one of the four laboratories on wheels, which I visited the other day. It is completely equipped to determine the nature of the gas, which is of vital importance in protecting and treating patients. The quick, little Frenchman in charge said that he and his three co-workers could tell which of the many known gasses it was in three to four minutes. If it was an unknown gas, it would be sent to a big central laboratory, where he said they could discover and repeat it in less than three days.

After the gas attack, teams of two sprinklers each, under the Street Cleaning department, go about clearing gas off the streets by spraying them and the fronts of the buildings with lime. They also use special set of apparatus and tools, such as scoops for incendiary bombs. There are only about 100 of these men now, always ready for work, but there were 1300 at the beginning of the war andthere could be 2000 on short notice. They are taught to use slow, rythmic gestures, so that they wont be exhausted by waste motion in their heavy, hot clothes. After being near gas, they have to be taken off by a special undresser wearing gasproof gloves.

When people are gassed, they are taken to one of the 31 First Aid Posts, and sent on stretchers hanging on pulleys, down the steep stairs with gasproof doors on each end, into the basement. There a doctor takes a quick look and sends them to the right ward: one for the asphyxiated, where there are oxygen masks for ten patients at a time; one for the suffocated, one for the sufferers from mustard gas, and one for the wounded. The mustard gas is much the most serious, and must be kept quite separate. In the extensive Post that I saw, under a borough hall, they needed more room so they reconditioned part of the old Paris sewer. So now the Post has 200 beds, and could take 300. It also has a complete operating room, and its fittings, as well as the things in the rest of the

Post, were all made by the part-time orderlies who belong to the various trades, and used the materials at hand. There are also trained and volunteer nurses on the staff. The whole place is whitewashed and clean, and it has a reservoir of water sufficient for 24 hours of capacity use, and a special ventilating system to bring in only purified air from outside. In case the electric motor should stop, there are two bicycles fitted to operate the system by foot.

For moving patients, there are ambulances with trailers attached which can take 60 to 70 patients at a time.

The most important emergency arrangements are found in the basement of the Hotel de Ville, the City Hall. Here a large, bombproof shelter has been constructed, with tremendous doors two inches thick. I wandered through room after room, divided by concrete walls, each room with apparatus necessary to carry on electricity, gas, telephone and other public services for all the municipal offices and emergency stations. A crew of skilled operators work in this artificial security to maintain the service of passive defence.

I return you now to Columbia, New York

30

Radio Columbia

M. Breckinridge

SHOPPING AND ALERTE #42

FROM PARIS

no. 42

May 19, 1940

3:35 A.M.

Although the spirit in Paris is tense, ~~A tremendous battle is being fought about a hundred miles away, and the situation is described as 'very grave', but~~ even that didn't stop Frenchwomen from going shopping on Saturday afternoon. The stores here have beautiful things in the windows, with a lot of variety, and you can buy them without restrictions. It's true that in the big dressmaking houses, no one has the heart, or maybe confidence, to order new clothes, but I noticed at Lanvin's yesterday that the fitting rooms are still humming busily with French words in American accents coming over the partitions.

~~The boulevards near the big department stores are crowded with people - mostly women of course, because the men have other work to do these days.~~

The small expensive shops are practically empty because the tourist has vanished and the French person doesn't go in for luxuries any more, but there are still things of taste and quality to be found everywhere. ~~[And the food is still excellent and plentiful, in spite of the restrictions on certain days of the week. The only time I've noticed these restrictions was when I went into Rumpelmayer's on a no-pastry day, and found the long table which is usually ornamented with rows of cakes had nothing on it but a couple of sandwiches and a glorified rice pudding.]~~

But the ordinary Frenchwoman goes for clothes and household things, or maybe for distraction, to the several big department stores. The boulevards near them were crowded with people - mostly women of course, because the men have other work to do these days. The shoppers didn't look gay or carefree, but they were keeping busy and getting what fun they could out of silk stockings, new hats, and perfumed soap. And some of them went to the Hygienic Department to buy gas masks. ~~In the Galeries Lafayette which was full of customers.~~

Just after I left the store and was walking beside the Opera, the air raid sirens sounded. The masses of people on the sidewalks walked calmly to shelters in stores or the subway, because a new law last week forbids one to walk in the street or to sit on a cafe terrace during an alert. ~~I followed a boat twenty~~

I went into an office building with a sign saying 'Shelter' on it. The janitor's wife in a blue apron got her key to the cellar and led the way down two flights of steps into a stone room where special reinforcements in wood and cement made a good protection. A couple of boards were used as benches, covered with travel posters advertising Poland which have no other use now, and I sat beside a white-haired old lady with a calm, sad face and folded hands. The hands began working nervously as we heard thud after thud every few seconds outside. Remember that France knows she is in a grave situation, and would not be astonished if Paris were attacked with real bombs any minute, and maybe gas, and none of us had masks with us, and you will know what the twenty people in that cellar were thinking.

But there was no sign of nervousness or dismay. There was a stenographer who had come straight from the store with her bundles, a workman in blue overalls and slippers, a neat little businessman reading his newspaper, and some other men and women who started talking and laughing together. One of the men said that the repeated thumps were made by two anti-aircraft guns on top of the Galeries Lafayette, andhe must have been at least half right because the official communique said this evening that 16 German planes had passed over Paris and four had been brought down, three by the anti-aircraft guns and one by a pursuit plane. People think here that the German flights over Paris are just meant to interrupt and alarm people, and although this interrupted their activities, it did not in the least alarm them. As soon as the All Clear sounded, we all left the shelter and less than one minute later the crowds were back on the streets, sitting on cafe terraces and ordering coffee and beer, and the women were fingering the bolts of silk on the outdoor bargain counters. The hand bag display of one whole window was thrown to the ground, probably by the vibration caused by the firing, but as far as I could see that was the only damage, either material or moral, that was done. Despite air raids and a vitally important battle, Parisians are still shopping.

I take you now to London.

Radio Columbia

M. Breckinridge

No. 43
May 19, 1940
~~[illegible]~~
2:05 PM

EVACUATION #43

FROM PARIS

The Paris railway stations are still full of unhappy travellers, coming and going. [~~[illegible]~~] The ~~[illegible]~~ number of refugees is so large that it is not announced, although it is known. From my observation it is now many thousands each day, and always increasing. [~~[illegible]~~] Although these refugees, who cant keep up with the news, feel safe here, it is not considered the best place for any women and children just now. Twenty-five thousand children with their teachers have been evacuated by the government within the last three days, in addition to those who were evacuated last September and are still in safer areas. Now the people who can afford to take themselves are going, and I saw in the Place de la Concorde a ~~smartly-dressed~~ chic-looking woman in a sporty car with piles of luggage on top, and two children and the governess behind among various household goods. The roads to the south and west have many cars like this. (+) ~~[illegible]~~ (1)

~~Tonight~~ Last night I went down to the Gare Montparnasse to see hordes of people leaving for points away from this 'war of motion', as it is called now. ~~A nice looking [illegible] mother with a small boy and a baby and the maid were unloading suitcases and bedding rolls from their taxi, and another woman had found a porter's truck [illegible] but no porter, so she was wheeling it herself, laden with her [illegible] handsome bags. A well dressed young widow with her three year-old little daughter were going to stay with her parents in the country.~~

~~As a contrast to these neat people who knew where they were going and were paying their way, were the much more~~ Among them many from Northern France numerous refugees. You could tell them easily because they ~~[illegible]~~ were dirty and weary, and looked as if their feet hurt. One woman, ~~who was wearing [illegible] felt slippers, told me she had walked a long distance before getting a ride in a truck, and when I asked how she could do it in slippers,~~ ~~she~~ said she had ~~[illegible]~~ walked ~~[illegible]~~ exhausted her feet bled, and she showed me they were both

completely bandaged, ~~inside the new slippers.~~ ~~Her elderly husband was village constable, and they left the village quickly when they heard that the Germans were coming, because they feared that the son would be sent to a concentration camp, as was done in Poland.~~ ~~This~~ Her family was one of a column of refugees who were walking along the highway when they were attacked by planes with machine guns. Now they are on their way west with the special railway passes which have been issued to refugees, but they dont know where they are going.

The large buffet was crowded with people being fed for nothing by volunteer workers, and Boy Scouts helped them carry bundles and guided them about. All around the waiting rooms, the baggage rooms and the main platforms were piles of bedding tied up with string, and sacks of clothes, with children parked on top munching bread. Most parcles had a knapsack with a loaf of bread and a bottle of red wine sticking out of it. One bottle broke when it fell from the pocket of a white-mustached peasant from the north, in his brown velveteen suit, as he stooped to lift his heavy sack to his shoulders again, but people were too busy trying to keep track of their ~~baggage~~ belongings and children to pay any attention. (3) A little girl was dragged by, too tired to notice that her doll was hanging upside down. In a corner near the newsstand an old woman was sitting on her pile of clothes and trying to write a letter on a piece of lined paper with stiff old hands. But they all know it will be a long time before their families hear from them, and before they know which of their families have survived.

I talked to a little girl of ten with dark circles under her eyes who was waiting for her mother, and she told me she was on a train which was machine-gunned, leaving one person dead and several wounded, and later the train was derailed as a result of bombing. 'Oh, we've certainly seen things' she said with a sad, old air. Then her mother came back and she ~~they~~ picked up her bundles and her little puppy andthey went off.

For people like that, Paris seems safe, but they must move on where they are sent, and they are being joined voluntarily by Parisians seeking a healthier ~~climate~~ atmosphere than our beautiful May sunshine may bring.

I ~~return~~ take you now to ~~Columbia, New York~~ London

(1) All foreigners who want to leave Paris, or who want to move more than three miles away from their residence outside, must have a special permit which takes from three to ten days to get. This is one of the precautions that France takes to guard herself against danger from the one million foreigners within her borders.

The wives and children of American Embassy and Consular officials have been ordered out of Paris, and sent to St. Jean de Luz or to the Bordeaux region ready for quick shipment home if it should be necessary.

(2) This is the station for some of France's seaports, and sailors were going back from leave. One of them was sitting near me on his dufflebag and eating his supper of sardines out of a tan, while an officer was seeing his white-gloved little boy onto the evacuation train.

? (3) He had bicycled as far as Amiens with five members of his family, and then come on by train. His wife told me they were going to Marly, and asked kindly where I was going ---

2:10

1:53
33
90

2:30

2:22 sec

Radio Columbia
M. Breckinridge

NEWS

No. 44
May 21, 1940
15:30

FROM PARIS

The official communique issued this morning says that in spite of numerous engagements during the night there is no change in the situation, which remains confused between the regions of the Somme River and Cambrai. Enemy attacks were repulsed at various points notably near the Aisne and in the region of Rethel. French aviation continued its intense bombardment behind enemy lines. That ends the communique.

Today is the first time that it has been announced that the Germans have been dropping parachutists in large numbers behind the French lines, to try to control bridges and stations.

From the North Sea to Cambrai the Allies are still retreating in good order, and east of Cambrai there is very hard fighting. Between Cambrai and Peronne there is terrific confusion, and the big German push is continuing in a northwesterly direction. Now they are pushing on, not with heavy tanks, but with motorcyclists, small armoured cars and light infantry carried in trucks, all moving very fast. The French announce that Laon has not been taken.

The Germans continue their dive-bombing tactics on aerodromes and stations; the French bombers are concentrating on the enemy's immediate rear, and have blown up groups of transportation trucks and tanks by this method. The British bombers are concentrating on the Rhine region. French military authorities say that the German losses compared to the Allies' are even more than three to one.

On the Swiss border, although Germany may have withdrawn two or three divisions, the great mass of German reserves remains, and are regarded as a menace.

1 1/2 min

Radio Columbia
M. Breckinridge

13:00 (30)

May 21, 1940

FRENCH WOMEN - WAR WORK

This is the first war in which women have ever been militarized in France. Now there are three groups affiliated with the Red Cross, who are attached to the ~~1st~~ 21-regiment train des Equipages of the Army, and they get their orders both from the Army and from the Red Cross. They are practically all volunteers, ~~and~~ and must take courses in simple mechanics and first aid. They live at home when working in the Paris district, and ~~and the discipline is not as strict as in the British women's auxiliary forces.~~ A good half of them are married, and of course most of the husbands are in the Army. ~~I asked the Director of one of these Automobile Sections that the French men thought of this activity on the part of their wives, so cloistered women, and he said they had rather objected at first, but now they realize that everyone must serve France, and these women drivers are extremely useful, so they [illegible] are being won over.~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Today is the last day on which the refugees from the north will come through Paris, and after this they will be routed around the city to safer areas. The transportation and care of these refugees is handled by these women drivers ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~. Yesterday the Union des Femmes de France, under the Red Cross, sent several teams of trained nurses and trucks with supplies to start First Aid stations on the roads from the north, to care for refugees, give them information and to dress their injuries. ~~[illegible]~~ Both last Tuesday they took over a large private house, which they have equipped with beds and mattresses from their supply for their peacetime hospital work, and every night they receive about a hundred refugees who are sent on to other parts of France in the morning. This is staffed entirely by volunteer work of French ladies, many of them elderly. When I went there yesterday, one of them helped me to find the Acting President of the whole ~~large~~ organization ~~of the Union of French Women.~~ We discovered her in the back courtyard, among the supplies which were being donated every few minutes by Parisians ~~people who had read about the work~~ and piles of boxes from the tall, distinguished-looking lady in black with a white choker was helping a young servant girl in a blue apron to carry an enormous cardboard box full of medical supplies ~~[illegible] sent from America~~

~~and [illegible] they were almost help. They have another reception centre, which used to be a home for soldiers on leave, but now there are very few soldiers on leave, and the most pressing need is still for the evacuated~~.

Besides taking ~~these people~~ refugees to and from the Paris stations, and running free buffets to feed them, and a dormitory to house over ~~XX~~ 400 in the Gare de l'Est, which has 100 fulltime workers and many part-time ~~[illegible]~~ helpers, the Automobile Section also carries out orders outside of Paris, ~~picking up refugees off the roads~~. One woman driver was in a cellar with twelve injured children she was transporting in an ambulance during an air raid, when the house was hit and fell on them, but she and most of the children were dug out alive. The women may wear regular soldiers helmets near the front, for they are often under fire though never on the very first line. Yesterday they went to fetch the nurses from the hospitals at Compiègne which were closed. And on Friday they ~~are~~ will be sending to the Front a full section of twenty ambulances, each with driver and helper, a truck for supplies, and a rolling kitchen, and the section is accompanied by a car with a French Army Lieutenant and a couple of skilled mechanics for serious repairs. Those ambulances belong to the French Army, but for other necessary transportation work ~~XXXXXX~~ they ~~can~~ use their own ambulances, and I saw at the Gare du Nord the other day four which had been given by Friends of France in Chili, Haiti, Argentina and Mexico. ~~They are referred to~~ by their places, and ~~last night XXXXXX~~ I was sitting in the office of the director of the Automobile Section on the Champs-Elysees when the drivers came in one by one to report on their day's work, or get orders for the night's work. The director told one of them: "You take Mexico, and fetch a dozen invalid children evacuated from a sanatorium in the north, now at the Gare du Nord, and take them to our overnight refuge on the Boulevard Malesharbes".

Before this big push, which has brought more work and many more volunteers, they organized a service called "Le Colis du Combattant" which sent packages of sweets, clothes and books ~~XX~~ addressed by name to men who according to their officers never got any mail, ~~according to their officers~~, which is rather typical of the French thought for the individual.

~~At the same time that this section was mobilized, during the last days of August last year, another organization, the Section Automobile Feminin Francais, was started, in addition to the Societe de Secours aux Blesses Militaires, and all three have a cordinating committee under the Red Cross.~~

These two, with

The S.A.F.F., ~~as they are called,~~ have been transporting almost 4000 refugees a day in ~~have~~ 150 private cars with drivers, ~~XXXXXX~~ and a few trucks, ~~enough~~ They haven't nearly enough. ~~They have been transporting almost 4000 refugees a day during this last week, as an old woman arrived XXXX in Paris with nothing but a red cotton handkerchief of her belongings, and two goats.~~

They also transport Red Cross packages, and drive officials from the ministries, and carry urgent messages for the Army, ~~like three drivers who left at four o'clock yesterday morning for the front under army orders.~~ Their public chief told me that the membership has just about doubled since the war started in earnest, ~~and [illegible] they [illegible] them. They must take short courses in simple mechanics and first aid.~~ and As I left the office, the anteroom was filled with the unusual type of well-dressed young women, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ coming to offer their services as drivers for France.

I return you now to Columbia, New York

Radio Columbia
M. Breckinridge

3:46 ~~3:45~~ 2 (30)
3:46 51

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM FROM PARIS

#45

no. 45
May 23, 1940
3:46 A.M.

No more news from the Front has reached us in Paris since the last Columbia broadcast.

Tonight the French radio announced, after the news, that from now on no French radio stations would broadcast anything but the official news bulletin and notices, with the exception of Radio Paris, that cuts out all their entertainment programs.

It was also announced that on the French radio M. Camille Chautemps, the Vice-President of the Cabinet, who is in charge of the refugee problem, has opened an information bureau for French refugees, to try to help them findtheir families. This is a difficult task, as there are ~~now~~ five million ~~OF THEM IN FRANCE~~ people, mostly women and children, from northern France, Belgium and Luxemburg, now wandering about this country, and many have become separated from their children and friends in the rush.

Lots of refugees come by train, but ~~this~~ is ~~not very safe because the stations and tracks are often bombed~~. ~~This happened at Cambrai last week when the platforms were crowded with people waiting for the train, and forty or fifty of them were killed, and many others wounded.~~ The ones who come on foot ~~ALSO FACE DANGER~~ may have to face machine gun fire, and surely fatigue, and so Paris busses and ambulances and trucks driven by women volunteers are being sent out to meet them and give them a lift. ~~The St. John Ambulance Brigade has been moving the nuns out of the northwestern part of the country.~~ Some ~~MANY~~ of the evacuated people have their own cars, and the government has put up special signs to route them off the main roads, and it provides them with gasoline without ~~THE~~ having to present ration cards. A Frenchwoman told me over coffee after lunch today that she had driven back to Paris yesterday from the west after taking her family to the country, and had passed kilometres and kilometres of refugees. She saw one private automobile, riddled with machinegun bullets, stop, and the driver, who looked half crazy, got out and opened the back door to help his wife and three children out, ~~and~~ suddenly found they were all dead.

A village ~~in~~ northern France which has a 1200 bed hospital, admitted 3200 patients, all wounded refugees, between last Friday and Sunday, and many of them were hopeless cases.

To look after five million people is a tremendous job, and the French ~~and Belgian~~ Red Cross, associated with the military authorities, have established outposts on the non-military roads from the north. There they give out food and care for the wounded, and find out where the people come from. On the basis of their locality, they are given an assembly point which they should try to reach. From these points they are re-routed through newly-established railroad centers, to their final destinations. This roundabout method has been devised to prevent the people from crowding on Paris, whose stations and dormitories have been jammed these last ten days. It is also thought wiser to keep the roads near Paris free for military use, so two days ago a barrage was established around the city and refugees were sent in other directions.

Those who had their own cars and some money went to southern France and rented the empty houses so there is less space left for the others who follow on foot or bicycle. Actually the refugees can be found throughout the whole district from the Swiss and Italian borders (the possibilities here seem as nothing compared to what they left) to the coast on the west. Near Dieppe 5000 of them are living in deep caves burrowed into the cliffs, and a town of 4000 inhabitants nearby has now over 800 refugees. Some are in empty summer cottages, and a lot of others sleep on mattresses on the floor of the Casino.

Since these refugees cannot leave France, it is up to France to support them. Each department has a refugee headquarters under the Prefect, and each village has one under the Mayor. He gets the townspeople to help, and to give what they can, and contributes whatever he can from the local treasury. A sample meal from a town I know consisted of soup, lentils, bread, and rice pudding. Even with careful management, these new mouths cost the country one million dollars a day to feed, and of course they will be fed as long as the supplies last. So far, food has been plentiful and good in France, but this new influx may drain its resources. If you imagine that it would take the total load of five cargo ships to feed the refugees for one day, and that it would take a fleet of 210 ships in constant service to carry enough food, you will get an idea of the problem.

Some of the refugees have money, but the Belgians, of course, had only their own money which is now of doubtful value. However, the French have agreed to exchange it at the rate of 143 French francs to 100 Belgian francs, but each person is allowed to exchange only 2000 francs a fortnight, or, if he is the head of a family, 5000 francs. But the vast majority are penniless, and a large number have inadequate clothes and no bedding.

The Paris newspapers have special columns devoted to refugee problems now, with appeals for shoes, woolen clothing, pillowcases, jam, and all kinds of supplies, from the various agencies mostly under the French or Belgian Red Cross, who are running centers and dormitories. The Automobile Sections also appeal for trucks to transport the people and supplies.

The American Red Cross is playing an active part in helping these refugees, and it has established a new headqurters in Paris under the direction of Mayne Chatfield Taylor, It cooperates with the French and Belgian Red Cross, and other national French and American organizations, to whom it has already allotted a quarter of a million dollars, Mr. Taylor told me this afternoon that it has been decided to open another office in Bordeaux, to be staffed by trained personnel who are now flying over on the Clipper, and its job will be to receive shipments from the United States and to act as a distributing point for supplies. The first shipload of clothing and other supplies will leave America for Bordeaux on Saturday. The Red Cross is also sending over a million dollars worth of hospital supplies for the use of the French and Belgian Red Cross. In all this work, the American Embassy in Paris is giving close cooperation.

The pressing need of these millions of wanderers is first aid, food and shelter; then comes work. Because part of the industrial area of northern

France has been evacuated, there are a lot of workmen who had not been mobilized, and they are offered jobs, by radio and newspaper publicity, especially in national defence industries, and in agriculture which has suffered seriously from the mobilization of the farmers. Tomorrow the refugees start working the fields in the west, but they are mostly old men. The country also offers jobs to factory managers, foremen, masons, carpenters, and other skilled workmen.

These workers will be a help to this country, but the great majority of the five million are women, children, and old people who cannot work, yet must, by all humanitarian standards be fed and lodged, with their homes bombed, family ties broken, nothing for them to do, and no resources, this fleeing army of non-combattants is to France one more burden of war.

I return you now to Columbia, New York

Paris address 33 Rue FAISANDERIE

Mrs Wm Poley

wants to know what can she do — (send clothes or come with money?)

Madame Pierre Barlet

~~Retour~~ ~~Rip~~

de RIPCOU

Villa FLORIARE

Palais

Le Touquet

c/o Mrs. Ashley

Radio Columbia
M. Breckinridge

No. 46
May 26, 1940
3:20 - 3:25

CBSC #46

FROM PARIS

On the outskirts of Paris today a roadside canteen fed 1000 refugees ~~with bread, sausages, cheese, chocolate and lemonade,~~ before they were shunted around the city and sent to outlying districts. This was done by the Comité Américain de Secours Civil, or, as it is often referred to, Ann Morgan's organization. During and After the last war she was the leading force in social service work in the devastated regions of the Aisne, and ~~the people around~~ Blerancourt ~~still remember her now that she is back again.~~ she was driven out of by the Germans in 1918 and again last week in 1940

The purpose of the new organization is to take care of the evacuation of French civilians from the districts in northern Ardenne and Alsace, in cooperation with the military authorities, and to set up new centers to look after the same people in southwestern France. ~~The evacuation of the district seemed to Miss Morgan inevitable at some time, so last October the American Committee started social service and health work near the Belgian border at Givet, while other centers were functioning in Alsace and in the south.~~ On the day that Germany entered Holland and Belgium, some 20 -odd workers of the Committee, including Miss Morgan, rushed to Givet near the Belgian border, where social service and health work had been established since last October. They met there at midnight, woke up the 5000 inhabitants, piled as many as possible into their own trucks, into ambulances driven by women attached to the French Red Cross, and others driven by American volunteers under the American Legion, and into French Army trucks which were being driven down in order to bring up more munitions. This fleet covered a narrow mountain road often under bombardment, to take the refugees to the train, as the nearest railway station had been destroyed. They promised to go back for the rest of the population, but they couldn't because the Germans got there first, and have held it ever since.

For six days and nights - except for about two hours sleep each night - the Committee ran the evacuation of villages and towns in that region, working till the last moment, and leaving only when the Germans were reported a few hours behind, and once only seven kilometres away.

~~They took the refugees to centers where they were given food and first aid and loaded into trains, but sometimes the trains couldn't move because the tracks had been bombed ahead of them.~~ At a strategic point for evacuating people, one ~~town~~ the canteen was machine gunned repeatedly, so the workers and refugees had to spend a couple of hours sitting in the woods.

~~At Tagnon~~ In a town, south of the Aisne, a French trained nurse who is also Section Chief on the Committee, set up a refugee center for thousands of transients, found barns to lodge them, bandaged their feet, and was invested with full powers by the Mayor to run everything. She told me she did more than 100 dressings of machine-gun wounds in one morning. The town suffered terrible bombing one night, and two women were killed. She picked them up, but there was no time to bury them because the Germans were coming and they had to evacuate the town.

~~This nurse ran from Germans~~, the crew of a plane that had been shot down, landing by parachute. Two were found, one dead and one badly wounded, so she dressed the wound and sent him ~~to~~ a hospital. He was wearing the uniform of the Royal Air Force. They spoke in German, and she reproached him for machinegunning women ~~and children. He first answered 'This is war', and later said 'Let me be'~~.

The refugees were eventually taken to certain specified districts in the ~~XXXX~~ southwest, where they were given ~~supplies~~, clothing, ~~diapers~~, food and social service care. As transportation is difficult in wartime, the supplies were mainly bought in France with money raised by the Committee in America, ~~whose headquarters are in Miss Morgan's house in New York, and they have been a long contribution in the last ten days. as it is easier than transporting materials in wartime~~.

As I went in to see Miss Morgan in the Paris headquarters this morning I ~~went by piles of~~ passed 6000 blankets piled in the front hall, and saw some of the girls in their khaki uniforms and berets coming in for orders. The idea is to engage French women as social service workers and nurses, and to use American women volunteers as drivers, and they could use more of the right type, if they could get themselves to France. Miss Morgan was in the hall, talking with a man who was Section Chief of the American ambulance corps, about four ~~XXXX~~ men with ~~cars~~ ambulances that had disappeared while cooperating on

evacuation work; they are thought to be either killed or captured. Miss Morgan keeps her finger on everything, motors up to the front to oversee evacuation under bombs, down to the quiet areas to inspect canteens and health centers, and back to Paris for government permissions and administrative work. She told me that she and her associate from the last war, Rose Dolan, had been received by Marshal Petain recently, who congratulated them on their work for the civilians of France, and promised his full support.

I return you now to Columbia, New York

3. 45

~~How do~~

I want to talk to CBS NEWS

France is now actively taking steps toward internal defence, ~~XX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ since the appointment of M. Mandel as Minister of the Interior. It was announced tonight by the Prefect of Police of this Paris department that within the last week 2000 cafes and hotels have been visited (I've seen ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ cordons of 20 policemen with gun ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ surrounding outdoor cafes on the Champs-Elysees, while all the guests are investigated) and they have questioned 62000 people in public places, and arrested 500 of them; of these, 334 were foreigners who have been sent to concentration camps.

Special warnings in newspapers and radios tell people ~~XXXXXXXX~~ that the Germans have been creating confusion by issuing false orders, either written, or by telephone, signed with the names of officials, ~~XXXXXXX~~ including that of M. Reynaud, and that therefore people must not accept orders, especially by telephone, unless they are sure from whom they come.

~~The Ministry announces that the clothing industry XXXXXXX is regarded as useful to the state and the heads of textiles, tanneries, and factories, of textile equipment, buttons and accessories should keep in close touch with the regional clothing Service.~~

~~Sec~~
~~5 0 2 c~~

Radio Columbia
M; Breckinridge

NEWS FROM PARIS #47 today

no. 47
May 28, 1940

There is important news ~~this morning~~; The Premier of France, Mr. Paul Reynaud, made a speech on the radio at eight thirty; (Paris time) In it he announded that France could no longer count on the support of the Belgian Army since four o clock ~~this today~~ this morning. The Belgian decision was made by King Leopold himself, without consulting either the French or British Governments, and it was taken against the ~~XXXXXX~~ unanimous wishes of his responsible ministers, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ as announced by the Belgian Government representatives in Paris;

This leaves the entire British Expeditionary Force and several French divisions (~~which I m told means about XXXX 750,000 men~~) commanded by General Blanchard, cut off in Belgium. Their sole source of supplies ~~of~~ is Dunkerque. ~~XXXXXX~~ The British and French armies have been defending the front on the south and west; the Belgians on the north; It is this Belgian Army which has unconditionally capitulated, in open country, at the order of its king, without informing its French and British comrades; thus leaving the way to Dunkerque open to the German divisions;

One feels in Monsieur Reynaud's speech a sense of disappointment and ~~XX~~ disillusionment that a King who had called France to help his country ~~XX~~ eighteen days ago should give up suddenly without telling the men who tried to come to its aid --- and he calls it "unprecendented in history." ~~XX~~ The Premier concludes by speaking admiringly of the way in which the French army has fought. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~Forced by the Allies, is to be avoided;~~

The Belgian Cabinet is holding another meeting this morning, and its Premier, ~~and its Premier,~~ Monsieur Pierlot ~~M. Hubert Pierlot, is scheduled to make a radio speech afterwards;~~ was scheduled to make a radio speech at 12:30 today.

~~THE~~ French, British and American reporters crowded into the War Ministry an hour ago. Here is what they were told by a French Staff Officer: "One man must bear the responsibility. This capitulation was not the will of the Belgian Army itself; It has changed the face of the war in the North." They were told that the Belgian Army even yesterday was holding out very well, and up to ~~five~~ four o clock this morning when the capitulation was ordered, the Belgians seemed to be holding their positions; According to the War Ministry, the Belgians stopped fighting at the very moment when they were most needed, when the French and British were making real progress at Aire sur la Lys. The Belgians had been holding the Front from Gand to Menen. Numerically what does this loss mean to the Allied cause? As near as we can estimate it means perhaps a quarter of a million troops, about eighteen divisions, It also means some of the fortresses in eastern Belgium that were still holding out. It is admitted in Paris that the Belgians have suffered terrific losses . As to the rest of the Front, the French report a number of local successes along the Somme where they say they are clearing up German resistance; The French believe that the Germans now regard the Front on the Meuse as very important Yesterday they attacked on the Meuse, with especially trained troops and this attack failed; At the end of this account of the position of the day, it was insisted that the condition of the northern army may be precarious but is not desparate;

~~The Belgian Cabinet has (etc)~~

~~Here is the Broadcast which comes with the new speech to [illegible]~~

I return you now to Columbia, New York -

Rado Columbia
M; Breckinridge

No. 48

NEWS

May 31, L940

and Re-Training Women Workers

This morning's communique says that operations in the north continue with the same degree of intensity ~~around Lens;~~ Since XX On the Some and the Aisne there XXXX has been local infantry action here and there.

The French military sopkesman says that the troops of General Prioux are trying to get to Dunkirque, and considerable numbers ~~has~~ have already arrived. It's only in the course of today or tomorrow that we'll know how successful this action will be. The French and British Navies are working in close collaboration debarking supplies. There has been extremely brilliant air action particularly on the part of the British. The situation can be summed up as still critical but not hopeless.

There is no definite check on the number of Belgians who are still fighting but it's thought there are relatively few. It does~~n't~~ not appear that a ~~Belgian~~ German offensive in some other region than the North is imminent. There have been only local incidents on the rest of the front. Last night there was a good deal of action in the region east and a little west of Rethel.

The "Journal Officiel" announced this morning that two more classes were called to the army - the men who were born during the last quarter of 1919 and the first quarter of 1920; They must report on the eighth and ninth of June.

At two o'clock this afternoon ~~Paris~~ French time, XXXX both Chambers of the Belgian Parliament will sit separately ~~at Limoges;~~ The Cabinet Ministers will attend these sessions, and will meet together afterwards;

1 min 15 sec

Radio Columbia
M. Breckinridge

RE-TRAINING WOMEN WORKERS

FROM PARIS

No. 48
~~May 30~~ 31, 1940
1 PM

The intensity of the fighting now has increased France's need for munitions and airplanes, and since a large part of her man-power is in the Army, she needs to find other workers to 'woman' her factories. Before the war there were some twenty schools for training the unemployed to do factory work; now there are about two hundred, supported by the Labor Department, and meant chiefly to train workers for war industries. They expect to turn out about ten thousand this year.

~~XXXX

hours of practical work, one hour of classroom theory, and half an hour for lunch. Incidentally, I saw the first shift MAKING in a clean, light dining room eating a meal of beef, potatoes, vegetable, bread and red wine, for which they pay two francs, which is about four cents nowadays. The hours have not been lengthened, because most of the women have their housework to do besides, and they couldn't stand it.

The classroom work consists of elementary courses in arithmetic, geometry, drawing and practical technology. Most of them have little schooling, but they can all read and write. The five practical courses, consist of turning (tourage), milling, fraisage, mechanical adjusting, aviation adjusting, and riveting, all taught under the guidance of skilled foremen. Nothing that they make can be used, because they are really progressive exercises. The courses take from two to ten weeks to complete, depending on the subject matter, and there are no certificates. When the workers are judged competent, they are sent around to munitions and aviation factories which are keen to get them, for there's a great demand for such workers.

At the school, the women are paid eight francs per day, and they get twelve francs a day more if they dont also collect relief or a soldier's wife's allowance, which most of them have. A new additional system for giving cash prizes of several hundred francs to the best workers has just been started.

In the workshop I watched the women at their benches. They are allowed to be between twenty and forty years old, but they looked much nearer twenty and many were quite pretty, in spite of the regulation costume of dark blue overalls and kerchiefs on their heads. They are advised to wear gloves, but few of them bother to care for their hands. I talked to one who was filling a square piece of metal with neat holes and rivets. She lives at home with her mother, and her brother is in the army. She used to be a salesgirl in a hardware store, and told me with a sweet smile that she liked this machineshop work better. A young-looking fair-haired girl told me she was married to a soldier at the front; she used to be a stenographer, but there are no jobs for them now so she was glad to come to the school. Another, her face carefully made up above her practical overalls, said she used to be a manicurist, and she had no family in Paris but she lived in a hotel and

an engineer with prewar tradeschool experience, ~~and a clear mind~~ The Director/knew all his pupils individually, and spoke to them in a gentle, friendly manner. He keeps in touch with his graduates, and had just returned from a visit to a factory where he went to see if they had suitable jobs and were satisfied. ~~He thinks it is important that they girls like their work, as well as knowing it, and from their expressions I thought they looked serious but content.~~

One woman in mourning came up to the Director in the workshop to tell him she had just got a job in an aviation factory, and thanked him for her training, which she said was the happiest time she had known since the war started.

This willing army of women who work seriously and like it, are throwing their weight into munitions and airplane factories to help France to win.

I return you now to Columbia, New York.

4 min
1-15

2 15
1 15
4-30

Radio Columbia
M; Breckinridge

No. 49

NEWS

June 5, 1940

and Village of War from Paris

This morning,s communique is brief but may be momentous; It says that all information coming from the Front shows that a new battle has just begun; The line goes from between the sea and the road to Laon as far as Soissons;

The War Office Spokesman announced that the expected offensive began at 4 this morning, and he had news up to 10:15 Paris time, but it indicated nothing precise, and it's too soon to be sure just what form the offensive will take; At daybreak the Germans started with an attack based on artillery fire combined with dive bombing, but so far there is no sign of armoured cars or tanks. Later, the Germans started infantry attacks chiefly in the middle Somme and in the region east of the Oise River; The spokesman said that, frankly, was all they knew so far at Headquarters about this big offensive;

~~On the night of Monday to Tuesday, le Havre was violently bombed by German airplanes for almost three hours; About a dozen civilians were killed, and an unknown number of British soldiers; Last night there was another attack on Le Havre, and fires were started, but the exact results are not yet known;~~

New figures have been published in the newspapers this morning about Monday,s air attack on Paris; It is now said that there were 254 dead, of whom 195 were civilians, and - 652 wounded, of whom 545 were civilians; The French say that at least 25 German airplanes were brought down; In retaliation, Allied airplanes raided parts of Germany, last night, bombed petrol depots and attacked German communications in south Belgium .

~~The Minister of Finance makes a special appeal to all patriotic citizens to pay their taxes for 1940 immediately, without waiting for individual notices, in order to help their government to win the war;~~

Radio Columbia
M. Breckinridge

No. 49
June 5, 1940
13:05

VILLAGE AT WAR

FROM PARIS

Here in Paris people are well aware that a war is going on, and that not far away, ~~and day before yesterday it came into the city with the big air raid,~~ but I wondered whether the people who live two or three hundred miles away, in the safe regions ~~XXXXXXXXXXX~~ toward the southwest, were much affected by this war, so I went to see.

On the way down by motor with some French friends, we~~XX~~ were stopped six times along the road by soldiers asking for passports and the car registration card. At certain important intersections, over a hundred miles from Paris, there were machine-gun nests made of oil tins filled with sand, and frames covered with barbed wire ready to block the road, ten miles from any town. They were made by the English soldiers who look after this district. All along the highway were ~~XXXX~~ high, blue farm carts, the shape of the horses' collars showing that they came from the North, and filled with furniture, hay, children, bags, bedding, and always an old woman in the front and a bicycle or two hung at the back. I talked to some of these evacuated peasants who had come three hundred miles in the last two weeks. There were also a lot of automobiles with the Belgian red and white license plates.

On railway sidings in the peaceful green countryside, with yellow gentians livening the hedges, were ~~XXXX~~ miles of railroad cars, mostly pullmans and dining-cars, and the crack cross-Channel trains of pre-war use. In the fields, farmers' wives were hoeing, and cutting thistles from the wheat, ~~a kind of~~ work which they did not do until their husbands were mobilized, and they had to run the farm.

1 min ✓ TC

I stayed with a French family who live near a little village of 235 persons which will probably never be bombed, ~~XXX~~ but they dont forget there is a war. The ~~three~~ little girls of ~~six and eight~~ five to raise had for their dictation lesson the story of a soldier who was seriously wounded, and was in a hospital that was bombed, and they, with four little evacuated friends who are staying with them, built miniature forts in the woods, one representing France and one Germany, and carry on the war from day to day. They are planning to build a fort near France called England this week.

The children are raising rabbits now, for the family to eat, ~~the~~ to ~~the rationaing of meat,~~ help out the meat rations ~~and they sell the skins to a man who comes along the road ca ling out his mediaeval street cry for rabbit skins.~~ Their mother told me that the cost of food for her family was exactly twice as high for the month of April as it was for the month of October last year. ~~It~~ Food used to be cheaper in the country than in Paris, but now it costs the same, but there is less choice. Sugar is scarce, and cooking oil is just twice its usual price, when you can find it. * see page 3

The great joke of the family was that the cook, who has been with them almost forty years, has been mobilized one day in five, to stand at the village crossroads and ask strangers for their ~~XXXXXX~~ papers, so he can check up on any parachutists.

We saw him there on Sunday when we went to Church, with most of the other 235 inhabitants of the village, except for the thirty who are in the Army. After the regular mass, there was a procession, as there was in every church in ~~France~~ the country last Sunday, when the whole congregation , two by two, boys, girls, women and men, paraded along a flower-strewn path around the square ~~to the center of the town,~~ faced the dangerous frontiers of France, and the priest led a special service for the success of the Army in the defence of their country.

Naturally everyone is anxious about relatives at the front, so we were glad to find a letter from a nephew who served in the North. He said they had been frightfully bombed, that only he and a lieutenant had been left alive in his section, and that ~~XXX~~ he had helped to remove 100 dead and 300 injured from a station that had been bombed.

As we were finishing our Sunday roast beef, the Mayor's son came on his bicycle to tell us that 400 refugees were arriving by train in the next town, and that our village was to take care of 90 of them. We rushed over in a car ~~XXX~~ to the station, but the train was two hours late. The women of the town prepared hot

bouillon and great hunks of bread spread with the local meat paste, and all the townsfolk turned out with their children in their Sunday best to see the arrival . The refugees looked tired and dirty, but all were polite and appreciative, even when the only room left for them was a straw mattress on the floor of some farm outbuilding. I helped put some stretchers into a farm truck, which was the best ambulance we had. One ~~XXX~~ had an old woman on it who had walked for three days after their farm was attacked, and then her feet were so cut and legs so swollen that she literally couldn't walk any more, so her husband, old and a bit stiff himself, had wheeled her for ~~XXX~~ fifty miles in a wheelbarrow that someone gave him, before they got on to the train. They had not been able to wash or dress her feet, which were beginning to putrify, and smelled ~~very~~ bad.

All afternoon we worked at feeding and transporting the refugees, who, added to the peasants who had already arrived, ~~XXX~~almost doubled the population of our village. ~~We put fourteen into an unused bakery in our farm, our place, and twelve more were taken in by the sisters who run the school, XXXXXX XXXXX

Cable requested by CBS
Mary Marvin Breckinridge
From Berlin

PRESSE COLUMBIA NEWYORK Feb. 22, 1940

Just returned from Altmark in German plane usually used by Nazi chiefs now carrying four foreign journalists and German radio people stop Believe am only woman ever invited German junket and only person besides crews seeing prisoners quarters and photographing ship there stop Terrible blizzard necessitated twentyfive hours for eighty mile automobile trip Stavanger with German diplomat Altmark radio operator Norwegian driver stop Have had two hot meals since Friday otherwise mainly real coffee and bread stop Am only woman or journalist ever allowed Allied prisoncamp joked with highspirited British pilots talked with men Undine Starfish Rawalpindi during exhausting twentyone hour day have had several such lately but always interesting even when uncomfortable stop Greatest trial cold feet physical not psychological now partly corrected by Norwegian feminine rubberboots stop Trench coat red hat also standard equipment waterwaves manicures still sufficiently available thank heaven stop Have been within hundred yards French German frontier in Luxemburg where informal censorship consisted reading script aloud in French to Prime Minister stop Luxemburg only country where censor removed nothing stop Am learning various censors rules writing texts takes longer especially here stop Have seen anti-aircraft shells explode over Hague climbed highest point Holland edge frontier in raging snowstorm saw nothing dammit stop Explored slums and visited Marquis in Ireland stop Investigated evacuated government offices English university town stop Sewed splints in airraid shelter and packed biscuits for evacuated children stop while collecting material have travelled by plane train boat tugboat bicycle bus iceskates taxi horsecab shanksmare stop Instead sports outfit and evening dress travelling essentials Germany are steamerrug food soap stop Have broadcast from London subbasement Dublin postoffice attic Hilversum modernistic clockless studio Luxemburg derelict unfinished building on battlements Berlin jerrybuilt wooden building in vacant lot Stavanger small peagreen house stop Miss my nice family and American newspapers but otherwise enjoy unique original job hows that stop Breckinridge

Dr. Ralph Bunche

THE ALLIANCE, Inc.

200 EAST 66th STREET NEW YORK 21

Templeton 8-3625

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July 19, 1955

R. C.

Mr. E. R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I cannot help wondering what is wrong with American industry today. The tremendous growth of our industry is one of the shining examples of what can be done in a free enterprise system. In spite of that, the management and directors of many of these companies are constantly supporting, in one way or another, leftist sympathizers and leftist propaganda. All this leads up to the fact that I happened to hear Edward R. Murrow's second showing of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, once on "Person-to-Person" and the second time on "See It Now." It was almost sickening to watch and listen to his speech before the graduating class of young students. It was even more sickening to think that such stuff was being dished out because it was made possible by the money collected from free enterprise.

I am enclosing a brochure on Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and hope that you will read it carefully. You may rest assured that all of the facts in it have been carefully documented. Also, there are many other facts which, if you would take the trouble to go to a public library and look up the references in the brochure, you would be astonished to learn. As you will see, if you take the trouble to read it, the brochure clearly shows the leftist sympathies of Bunche over a long period of years. I can find no denial by him or repudiation of these sympathies.

A copy of this brochure is being mailed to every officer and director of the Aluminum Co. of America and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Very truly yours,

Archibald B. Roosevelt

Archibald B. Roosevelt
President

ABR:C

TEMPLETON 8
3625

200 EAST 66 STREET
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

Mr. Oscar S. Straus, President
Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association.
120 Broadway
New York 5, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

To say that I was horrified to read a news item in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, dated September 16th, 1954, that the THEODORE ROOSEVELT ASSOCIATION was presenting to Dr. Ralph Bunche The Theodore Roosevelt medal for distinguished service for the year 1954, as an award for his work in international affairs is putting it very mildly indeed.

It would seem to me that, if the Board of Trustees of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION considers these medals evidence of distinguished service, a very careful checkup of the recipient's record should be made.

Of course, I realize that to the average man in the street who reads the TIMES and the TRIBUNE only, and hears such commentators on the radio as Edward R. Murrow, Barry Gray, or Elmer Davis, it would seem that Dr. Bunche is a great and good man who has been persecuted without reason. But, when such an honor is being bestowed on him as the THEODORE ROOSEVELT medal, I would think that the Trustees should not be satisfied with simply newspaper statements on the qualities of any man, particularly about such a controversial figure as Dr. Bunche. Any committee bestowing such an honor should have made it a point to find out that both in Congress and other places there is serious question as to whether Dr. Bunche should be a trusted servant of the Government of the United States.

Starting from this single fact, it is very easy in the case of as prominent a man as Dr. Bunche to trace his statements and his connections over the past years. I suppose it would be impossible for your committee to get a transcript of Dr. Bunche's testimony and the testimony of other people about Dr. Bunche in the Loyalty Board Hearings that occurred; but there is much other available testimony and much documentary evidence comparatively easy to obtain. Even if the Trustees are unaware as to the infiltration of left wing propaganda into our news media, press, and radio reports and editorial opinions unsupported by independent research, these should not be the sole basis for the award of any distinguished honor. The fact that the

DAILY WORKER and the left-wing press were unanimous in stating that Dr. Bunche was entirely cleared should have put you on warning.

To give the excuse that since the Loyalty Board had cleared Dr. Bunche even if so be the case - does not excuse the Trustees of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. The past decade has shown what type of people very often creep into the Loyalty Boards, and what pressure is put on those Loyalty Boards from mysterious sources.

As it is evident that the Trustees responsible for the presentation of this medal have made no careful study of this matter, I attach herewith some interesting documentary evidence regarding Dr. Bunche and some of the organizations with which he was connected:

I cannot understand why anyone who has had a past record of close affiliation with communism should be employed in a "sensitive spot" in our government, because such past connections would indicate, at the least, a certain instability, yet I can understand why people who have definitely repented and have set themselves out at great sacrifice to right, inasfar as it is possible for them to do so, the wrongs that they have committed, are perhaps, proper recipients of certain awards and medals. I can, however, find no record that Dr. Bunche has publicly stated his past connection or that he has ever repented on anything that he has said or done in regards to his left-wing activities, as have Mr. Louis Budenz, Mr. Joseph Kornfeder, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, Mr. Manning Johnson, and Mr. Benjamin Gitlow, to mention a few of those who have stood up and confessed openly "in the congregation".

You are the grandson of Mr. Oscar Straus, a distinguished patriot, who was in my father's cabinet. I am Theodore Roosevelt's son, and these awards are, therefore, connected both with Theodore Roosevelt and Oscar Straus. On account of our names it is our duty, insofar as our small ability lies, to protect the names that we bear. I know that when they were alive, both your grandfather and my father thought of America first, last and always, and although they are not here to consult with, I feel sure that they would be on the same platform to-day as they were in the past. We should be very careful not to let the names of those two men be connected with anything that is even doubtful.

The Trustees of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association are exactly what the name implies. They are Trustees, and as Trustees should exercise extreme vigilance whenever they give an honor in the name of Theodore Roosevelt. I do not know how much you were connected with the award of this medal, but presume that those who choose the names must consult with you, as president of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

I can perfectly understand and agree, that the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, in view of Theodore Roosevelt's deep admiration for Booker T. Washington, and in view of his great interest in furthering the progress of the Negro in the United States, should always be on the lookout to find a negro worthy of receiving the Theodore Roosevelt medal. In the present case, I cannot understand why the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION did not present a medal to Mr. George Schuyler, the New York editor of the PITTSBURGH COURIER, the largest Negro newspaper in the United States. At great personal sacrifice, and undergoing enormous vilification, Mr. George Schuyler has fought communists among the negroes valiantly, when communism and all of the queer isms of the past two decades were very popular indeed, and while Dr. Bunche was connected with such leftist organizations as I have shown in my enclosure and was making marxist-communist statements in speeches not, to my knowledge, ever disavowed by him. Mr. Schuyler is still carrying on the fight most valiantly. He is a man of letters, and a crusader on the side of right. He is in every way qualified to receive a Theodore Roosevelt medal, due to his patriotism and courage.

In view of the facts that I have given you above, I think even at this late date that every effort should be made to rescind the medal that your Board of Trustees has voted to Dr. Bunche, and I suggest, as a substitute recipient, that you award it to Mr. George Schuyler - a man unlike Dr. Bunche, with a constant record of loyalty to our Republic.

I greatly regret that I have had to take this stand in opposition to so many good people and friends of mine, and friends of my father's, who are connected with the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. But I feel it would be negligence of duty on my part if I did not point out what I consider to be carelessness, to say the least, on the part of the Board of Trustees of the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION. I do not want to see the THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION Trustees to be the unwitting tools of the sinister influences that are now so powerful in the Country - influences responsible for the strange courses and actions taken by many hitherto splendid Foundations.

It was carelessness on the part of the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation that brought about the hiring of Alger Hiss. It was carelessness on the part of the Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations that brought about the long and treasonable record of that organization and the infiltration of such a bad element into it. Most, if not all, of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institute, and certainly most of the Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations were estimable men, busy with their own affairs, who became careless when they were managing the affairs of others. The THEODORE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION should take care not to follow the same course.

Sincerely yours,

Archibald B. Roosevelt

FOREWORD

This report intends to prove, without a shadow of a doubt, that Dr. Bunche for a number of years had expressed himself in writings, speeches, and organizational activity in a manner which paralleled the communist line in its major aspects. Further evidence is hereby presented to prove his expressions were of such a nature that they could only have been arrived at as a result of his going through a thorough indoctrination in communist methods and techniques. It will also be shown that his affiliations and activities were such as to fill the requirements necessary for a top level operative for the Kremlin apparatus.

It also presents authentic documentation to substantiate the following summation of Dr. Bunche's record of activities paralleling the communist line throughout the years which is so consistent that it seems impossible to interpret it as accidental:-

1. Travels in Africa, which coincided with the Kremlin's planting of agents in that part of the world, in order to lay the basis for racial explosions of the future. Bunche wrote from there (Journal of Negro Education) denouncing "Imperialist Capitalism" and advocated the elimination of the current social order in the mother countries. The fruits of the Kremlin infiltration in Africa can be seen today in the bloody Mau-Mau massacres. (1935-1936)

2. Wrote a pamphlet which advocated a communistic program in respect to the Negro question and advocated class war throughout the world asking the non-white peoples to look to the Soviet Union for inspiration and leadership. (1936)

3. Wrote a clearly communistic line in respect to education. He voiced the red line that "American education" is "goose step education". And that "Capitalism owns the colleges and universities by right of purchase". Bunche denounced "red riders", and "oath clauses". He complained that "in America" "we are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern". (1936)

4. Bunche was praised in the official theoretical red organ, THE COMMUNIST, published for upper echelon communists and supporters. One of the top communists, A. W. Berry, praised Bunche for "approaching the Marxist viewpoint" and "that Bunche realized the significance of the class struggle". Berry then described Bunche as an "active friend and supporter" of the working class, which in the communist aesopian manner means a friend of the

Soviets, since they claim exclusive franchise as representing the "working class". (1937)

5. Contributed an article to the RACE MAGAZINE whereby he repeated the "class" position on the race question and considered those who called the National Negro Congress as "dominated by reds" and as "biased individuals". This magazine in its opening issue prominently announced that they are working for "a social upheaval which will plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist imperialist order". (1936)

6. Was one of the small handful of persons who initiated and organized the National Negro Congress. This was a carefully planned maneuver of the Kremlin which was manipulated through the Communist International. A published account from the Communist International, before the National Negro Congress was organized, stated that "the development of a Negro people's front depends on a large measure upon the correct action of our revolutionary Negro cadres" and that "the programme of the National Negro Congress must be realized". Even though Bunche had expressed himself in clear cut communist terms and had agitated for the Kremlin line in Africa, this in itself would not have been enough to trust him in such an undertaking as spawning the National Negro Congress. As pointed out before, this was to be the vehicle to organize many millions of Negroes behind the Soviets throughout the world. To have been delegated the responsibility of organizing the N.N.C., Bunche must have had the complete confidence of the Kremlin masterminds who conceived of the maneuver some years before.

7. Bunche was part of the editorial apparatus of an openly communist magazine (SCIENCE AND SOCIETY) for over four years. He contributed to this publication and added his name and prestige as a Professor of Howard University even after the communists in their publication (THE COMMUNIST) openly stated that Science and Society magazine had as its function "to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles". (1935-40)

8. Dr. Bunche was appointed to his government job in the Office of Strategic Services at the recommendation of a person having a communist front record. If Bunche had conceivably been an ex-partisan of the communist cause and had then been an anti-communist, it is difficult to believe that a Government body like the OSS, which had been infiltrated by Red agents, would tolerate him, or that a man with a communist front background would recommend him for the position. In fact with communists controlling key posts in the OSS, Bunche was promoted steadily until he was chief of the African Section of that agency.

9. In a Senate probe by their Internal Security Sub-Committee it was brought out that Bunche had repeatedly pressured persons in charge of UN employment to hire a notorious communist agent, in spite of the fact that there was a derogatory report against the individual by a security agency of the Government.

10. Bunche was an official of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has been definitely established as the top agency operated by communists to swing Soviet foreign policy into our government and to manipulate the be-

trayal of China to the Reds. (This resulted in tens of thousands of American boys losing their lives in Korea and in all probability will result in thousands more lives to be lost in the future). It must be remembered that Bunche had participated in small closed meetings with individuals who have since been proven to be communist agents. With Bunche's background and experience in communist philosophy and organization, it is hard to believe that he was an innocent bystander. Innocents are not allowed to lay down policy which the Kremlin is interested in or are they entrusted to manipulate it. Innocents are only manipulated themselves. The names in the IPR reports as published in over 6,000 pages by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee couple Bunche's activity along with such Communist agents as Alger Hiss, Owen Lattimore, Philip Jaffe, Frank Coe, Harry Dexter White, David Weintraub and scores of others.

Actually the evidence of communistic writings and communistic organizational activity by Ralph Bunche is greater overall than the combined evidence that government agencies had when they first began to get interested in red activities of Alger Hiss, Remington, Harry Dexter White and the Rosenbergs. Bunche's communistic utterances and connections are there as a public printed record and it is a great puzzle as to why our Government officials have not taken appropriate action. Instead it seems, that there is an effort to hush up the entire matter.

In 1948 when Alger Hiss was being charged with espionage against his country Bunche offered him a letter of support and vindication which included the observation that he (Bunche) was "stunned by this utterly shameless attempt to smear your good name. Though you have been grievously wronged, I have full confidence in your complete vindication....." (Reference - article in the FREEMAN MAGAZINE by Victor Lasky page 134 October 1954).

It is true that some innocent dupes were drawn into the Hiss affair and there may be some excuse for them due to ignorance of communist techniques and trickery but in the case of Bunche, who has had long and extensive experience in the Marxist-Leninist school of activity and whose understanding of communism is both thorough and varied, there is no room for refuge behind the appellation of "innocent" or "dupe".

DEFINITIONS

In considering the record and activities of Ralph Bunche, or any other individual who has been active in Left-Wing circles, it is important and necessary that the political terms applied to such individuals be defined sharply and precisely. We hear such terms as "communist", "communist fellow-traveler", "communist sympathizer", "communist activist", a "dupe" of the communists, and "conscious" and "unconscious" carriers of either the whole or part of the "communist line". There is much misunderstanding as to what these designations mean. It is best to define these terms according to the classifications given them by the Kremlin chiefs themselves.

The term "communist activist" or "communist functionary", in the communist sense and among communists themselves, refers to an individual operating under the discipline of the communist machine and who is thoroughly schooled in communist techniques, in communist agitational and propaganda methods. The mere possession of a Communist Party membership book is not considered a significant criterion of an important communist, by the red leadership. The communist movement has long practiced the policy of maintaining a large portion of its membership without benefit of Communist Party membership books. There have been hundreds of communists without membership books operating under full Communist Party discipline, who have been considered more closely allied to the Communist Party machine than others who have carried such books.

A "communist" is defined by his superiors as a political soldier, with or without a membership book, operating for the Kremlin and is considered an important member only if he faithfully follows the aims and purposes handed down to him, carrying out his tasks in keeping with directives given him. He must reflect these in his assigned field either through speeches or writ-

ings or organizing activity or all of these functions combined. He must demonstrate a knowledge of communist techniques and communist terminology. He must also shift his propaganda in accordance to the communist line of the day.

It is impossible for a person accidently to coincide in his own personal independent views so as to match the communist line in all of its major features. It is quite possible that one may accidently coincide in viewpoint with some one part of the communist program, but, in respect to the overall line it is a mathematical impossibility for anyone to independently match the total red line in its various ramifications. Such impossibility is further compounded if the language used is strictly Marxist-Leninist.

EXCERPTS FROM EARLY WRITINGS

OF DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE

Journal of Negro Education

Our first printed record of Ralph Bunche's pro-communist utterances is in 1935 when he already displayed a knowledge of radical terminology which fits into what the communists call "the language of Marxism-Leninism". In reviewing a book in the Journal of Negro Education, a magazine issued by the Howard University in January 1935, Bunche wrote as follows:

"An appreciation of the moving forces behind modern imperialism as practiced by the capitalistic nations of the world does not seem to fall within the author's ken. One gathers, by broad implications that Mr. Mockerie feels that the African can get along well enough under the existing system if only some of the more burdensome and noxious restrictions are removed. This is, of course, a vain hope.

My own belief is that there is little hope for the African now, or in the future, so long as finance capitalism, dominates the economic systems of the mother countries."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION Jan. 1935 Vol. IV No. 1
CURRENT LITERATURE ON NEGRO EDUCATION by R. J. Bunche

The broad implication that the social systems of the countries, which have African colonies, must first be overthrown as a prerequisite of establishing an anti-capitalist system in Africa is quite obvious in Bunche's remarks. This necessarily pre-supposes the overthrow of the existing systems of society in Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and the United States. (It was and is the position of communists and their followers that the U.S. is in effect the controlling force in Liberia and that this constitutes the possession by America of an African Colony.)

It is interesting to note that standard Marxist-Leninist language was employed by Bunche which included the terms; capitalistic nations, finance capitalism, Imperialism, etc. The Marxist-Leninist objectives include not only the language but also sets the tone of communist social warfare which aims to overthrow the mother countries of these colonies.

In an article on Minority Groups Dr. Bunche carried out his concepts in keeping with the communist philosophy by mouthing certain fundamental Marxist cliches as follows:-

"Recent world history points out too clearly that modern democracy, conceived in the womb of middle-class revolutions, was early put out to work in support of those ruling middle-class interests of capitalistic society which fathered it. It has remained their loyal child and has rendered profitable service for them. But when in modern European countries it came to be vigorously wooed by those mass interests of society whose lot under modern industrialism has been that of cruel oppression, democracy was quickly discredited and disowned, and fascism became the favored child of Big-Business-controlled governments. The significant fact is that democracy, while never offered in any large measure to the black populations of the world, has been extended to the great masses of the working-class population only so long as it was employed by them as a harmless device involving no real threat to the increasing control of the society by the ruling classes."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1935 Vol. 4 No. 3
Page 308 Article by Ralph Bunche "A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Programs of Minority Groups"

This entire concept and phraseology is part and parcel of the standard communist propaganda. This line follows thus:

1. Modern democracy was born by the impetus and leadership of manufacturing and commercial elements in order to overthrow the restrictive fuedal order.

2. That democracy was permitted in a limited way for the poorer population in order to delude them and deceive them into thinking that this was a government of all the people.

3. That the negro people as a whole were deprived of even those limited rights.

4. That exploitation was becoming so flagrant with the growth of big business that fascistic forms were substituted, in place of the illusion of democracy, in order to maintain the oppression.

In the above mentioned article, Bunche repeatedly states that alternatives of a peaceful nature cannot serve the negro people. Under the heading of "VIOLENT TACTICS" he does however present the communist position as follows:-

"The Communist Party has seriously proselyted among the Negro group but with only indifferent success. The immediate task of such movements in this country is to develop radical class consciousness among the working class masses of both white and Negro populations, with a view to the ultimate recognition of an identity of interest and consequent black and white solidarity in a militant labor movement." Page 312, J.N.E., July 1935.

In presenting the immediate program of the Communist Party as one striving for a class-conscious unity between white workers and Negroes, Bunche admits an expert knowledge of the communist position. This knowledge precludes all possibility that his reflecting communist thought could be done through ignorance or innocence.

Dr. Bunche wrote in the JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, in the capacity of Professor of Political Science and as such must have reflected his political beliefs to his students. He considered himself a radical teacher and as such took up the cudgels on behalf of all radical teachers and long ago began to

denounce all "loyalty oaths", red - riders and other measures which required teachers to conduct themselves in a loyal manner.

The excerpts below show that Bunche displayed an open defiance against attempts to keep our teachers within the confines of conducting their classes in the interests of good Americanism. His writings on this subject sound exactly as the red teachers of today do in denouncing Congressional probes into subversion in our schools:-

"In considering what may be done in the way of reorganizing any educational system, white or black, it must also be kept in mind that the dominant controls of the society are exerted over the teacher. Educators, if they are frank, admit their circumscriptions under the present organization of the society. We are now witnessing an unusual era of academic repression, but the controls are always present, in good times or bad. The repressive measures, 'red-riders,' gag-laws and oath clauses of the present period of hysteria are merely forceful reminders of the fundamental bias of our educational system. It is more than significant that radical teachers have always been in jeopardy; that long before the depression teachers were forbidden to join teachers' unions, though it is difficult to find any instances of conservative teachers being dismissed for their points of view. The idea has always been widely current among the powers that be in education that the teacher does not have the same rights as other citizens to speak or publish his views on social questions. Moreover, it would seem valid to assume that where one teacher is known to have been dismissed from his job because his ideas were in conflict with the controlling interests of his educational institution, thousands of others are cowed and remain too timid to take the risk of venturing an opinion on any 'dangerous' subject, or even to protest against the restraint."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Education in Black and White pages 356-7 Bunche

Bunche continually railed against the free-profit-system and kept repeating over and over again, that capitalism is the main enemy and complained that our society taught its children a "bias in favor of the culture of capitalism":-

"Though there are some who would will it otherwise, in America today education is compelled to reflect the status quo. We are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern. Our schools are extremely sensitive to the fluctuations of capitalism. When capitalism prospers, the schools prosper. When capitalism suffers from depression, school budgets are drastically cut. When capitalism is hard-pressed with criticisms for its shortcomings, the schools are expected to provide its advocates, and if they demur, for reasons

of educational ideals, capitalism tightens the economic screws until the schools surrender. Though the schools are non-profit enterprises themselves, they operate within the framework of a profit economy, and there are rigid limits to their activities. On relatively trivial matters they may exercise a modicum of freedom but in all really vital matters they must reflect the will of the groups which hold the reins of power in the state. The American educational system, in its control, financial support, faculty and students, manifests a definite bias in favor of the culture of capitalism."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1936 Vol. V No. 3 page 355
Education in Black and White Bunche

Bunche re-inforced his comments by the purely communist concept that educational equality is impossible under our present system of society:-

"The fact is that under our present system it is impossible to achieve educational equality for all members of any group in the society. Public schools, for example, are supported by taxation. The revenue derived from taxation will depend largely upon the relative prosperity of the propertied interests in the particular locality. Since wealth is unequally distributed in the country the present glaring inequalities in the distribution of funds for the support of education will persist even for 'White Education.' The basic question for all schools is not one of copying the 'white man's education,' but one of developing a system of education which will afford both white and black students a sound basis for understanding the society in which they live and for attacking the problems confronting them. White as well as Negro schools are woefully deficient in this respect."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Education in Black and White Page 355 Bunche

The next quote shows that Bunche took the typically communist position that "capitalism owns the colleges and universities" and "nor can it (Ed:- American Education) teach the student the truth". His contention that our educational system pursues a policy of indoctrination of prejudices "in the capitalist culture" is a repetition of the Kremlin brand of slander carried on against our system of individual freedom:-

"In truth, capitalism owns the colleges and universities by right of purchase. These institutions are supported either by taxation paid largely by corporations and large property owners, or else by direct endowments, gifts, and contributions by the commercial class. It is not unusual therefore that the schools should be expected to foster and cultivate capitalistic ideas. It is easy to imagine what would happen quickly to the University administration or school board which would attempt to give any other orientation to the educational process. The universities themselves have a vested interest in the profit economy because of their investments in all sorts of capitalistic enterprises. The returns of these investments determine the

financial status of the institutions. Of necessity, American education thus becomes 'goose-step' education. It can be only relatively free. It cannot vigorously devote itself to the task of inoculating the student with a burning desire for the pure truth. Nor can it fearlessly teach the student the truth. It is compelled to pursue a policy of indoctrination -- with all of the attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, and prejudices which have been cultivated in the capitalist culture and which are vital to it."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Education in Black and White Page 355-6 Bunche

Bunche's solution of the problems of education which he raises also parallels that of the Soviet propaganda line that special "labor schools" must be set up to give working people courses which Bunche states that if they were given in our "advanced educational institutions" then the business interests in every community would immediately put up a howl that the schools were "red and fostering revolutionary meetings on their campuses":

"The white and black mill and factory workers in all sections of the country require the same type of education - an education which will give them a true understanding of their status in the industrial order and an insight in the nature of that order. Under present conditions this cannot be done in our schools; this sort of training is gotten by the workers themselves in their labor organizations and their labor schools, of these latter there are too few. It would, of course, be a splendid thing if our advanced educational institutions were in a position to offer extension courses in workers' education for the adult workers of the community, black and white. There is not much possibility of this being done, however, for the business interests in every community would immediately put up the howl that the schools were 'red' and fostering 'revolutionary' meetings on their campuses. Even the Federal Workers' Education projects have suffered from this sort of organized attack."

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION July 1936 Vol. V No. 3
Education in Black and White Page 358 Bunche

PAMPHLET - A WORLD VIEW OF RACE

In 1936 Ralph Bunche wrote a booklet called "A WORLD VIEW OF RACE". In this publication he advocated the classic position of the communists in respect to the Negro question.

Bunche lays the foundation in typically Marxist fashion by tying in the racial groups as a mere part of the class struggle in America. In parroting

the communist position of pitting the workers against the capitalists, Bunche had the following to say:-

"THE 'RACE PROBLEM' SEEN AS A 'CLASS PROBLEM'"

"One of the latest and soundest views of the American race problem, and, for that matter, the race problem throughout the world, regards it, then, as merely one aspect of the class struggle. That is to say that differences in 'race,' differences in skin color, hair texture, language, religion or culture traits, are employed as devices by the privileged, ruling classes of the society to rationalize and promote their continued domination over and exploitation of the great numbers of the population. Thus it can be pointed out that the American Negro, by force of economic circumstances, is principally identified with the American working class and peasant elements of the population. The development of Negro business enterprise is impossible at this late stage in our industrial process, if it ever was possible. Similarly, it follows that no separate black economy can be erected within the walls of the white economy, as the movement for Negro business presupposes. The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working classes in a common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice, only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North. This objective is admittedly difficult of realization. Mutual suspicion and enmity between the white and black groups is an ever-present source of frustration. The minds of both groups have been poisoned against each other over a period of generations.

There are encouraging signs, however, that the problem of the status of the Negro in the United States is losing its traditional purely racial nature and is being increasingly identified with the growing struggle of the white workers and small farmers against the white (and, for that matter, black) captains of industry, landlords and bankers. The depression, ably abetted by the policies of the New Deal, has made the American population, white and black, increasingly class-conscious."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE By Ralph J. Bunche pages 89-90

While laying the basis for the communist concept of irreconcilable struggle between the capitalists and the workers, Bunche then proceeds to describe how the "race" question will be solved after "capitalism" is done away with:-

"If the fundamental ailments of the American economy are remedied, the 'race question' will loom less large. So long as the society endures an economy which demands and thrives on human exploitation, race will be employed as an effective device in the promotion of the process group exploitation, economic, political and cultural. In such a society and under such an economy attempts at solving the 'race problem' will be futile."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE By Ralph J. Bunche page 92

Bunche thus lays the basis of need for communist revolution by characterizing our way of life as "human exploitation - economic, political and cultural." Since all of our social life comes in under the above three categories the obvious propaganda basis is laid for the aim for another social order which is fundamentally different.

The next excerpt shows the class-struggle process as inevitably leading to a showdown between the workers and capitalists and that the elimination of private property interests and rights is a necessary process before the race and class problems are resolved. It is interesting to note in view of his U.N. position that Dr. Bunche considered the elimination of capitalism as a necessary condition before a proper World Order can be established.

"The plain fact is that the contemporary international order, characterized by its capitalist-imperialist organization, has no possibility of effectively controlling the destiny of such peoples and areas. For the international order cannot override the existing vested capitalistic interests which muster the forces of the state for their protection. As the world is now organized these interests cannot be overcome, for they are intimately tied up with the class-relations of capitalist society. The same forces which protect them are the exact forces which protect and promote the interests of the capitalist within the capitalist state to which he claims allegiance. Just as the capitalist state in its internal affairs maintains a legal and constitutional system designed to protect absentee ownership and safeguard those property rights which make the capitalist supreme, just so, in the realm of external affairs, the state's authority, by the very nature of his relationship to it, must be employed to impose that type of supremacy over other peoples.

It is only when this supremacy and privilege are dissolved and when it is no longer within the power of the privileged property-holding class to determine the institutional life and habits of the modern state, that there can be hope for the development of an international order and community which will promise the subject peoples of the world genuine relief from the heavy colonial burdens of imperialist domination."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE By R. J. Bunche pages 64-65

As to where such groups (as the American Negro) can look to for leadership and inspiration Dr. Bunche gives the standard Bolshevik answer - to the Soviet Union, of course. In fact he considered it "both logical and likely":-

"If the oppressed racial groups, as a result of desperation and increasing understanding, should be attracted by the principles of equality and

humanitarianism advocated by the Soviet Union (and it is both logical and likely that they will) then racial conflict will become intensified. In such case, however, racial conflict will be more directly identified with class conflict, and the oppressed racial groups may win the support of oppressed, though previously prejudiced, working-class groups within the dominant population."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE By R. J. Bunche page 36

In concluding his pamphlet Ralph Bunche tied in the whole communist aim of merging racial dissidents into the class struggle for the possession of the whole world. He talks of "titanic" and "uncompromising struggles" between "the working and owning classes." The last sentence of the pamphlet talks of war. It is not of ordinary war that Bunche speaks of, for even as terrible a thing as race war is relegated to a mere "sideshow". The war that he describes is a "gigantic class war". And its locale? The same as the operations of the Kremlin forces. It will be "waged in the big tent we call the world."

"There will be sporadic outbreaks when subject peoples become restless under too harsh measures of imperialistic oppression. But the signs throughout the world are unmistakable. Despite the frantic efforts of many of those who control national and world policy to conjure up international race issues, the lines are forming in a totally different manner. Race issues appear but tend to merge into class issues. Throughout the world the issue between working and owning classes is sharpening. The titanic conflicts of the future will be the product of the uncompromising struggles between those who have and those who have not. These conflicts now wage within all groups, racial and national. Insofar as the great masses of the black and yellow races are concerned, the status of economic and political inferiority which they have been compelled to accept results in their automatic identification with the working and 'have not' classes of the society. They are now beginning to understand the true nature of the issues confronting them. Moreover, they will eventually appreciate the great possibilities in their numerical strength as a weapon in their struggle for justice. Their organized and directed support of the working class of the dominant populations of the world will bring an unchallengeable power to this class.

And so class will some day supplant race in world affairs. Race war then will be merely a side-show to the gigantic class war which will be waged in the big tent we call the world."

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE By R. J. Bunche pages 95-6

Any further doubt as to whether the above pamphlet by Ralph Bunche carried the Communist position on the Negro question can be completely dispelled

with the below quotation from the magazine called the "COMMUNIST" which was issued as "A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism Published Monthly by the Communist Party of the U.S.A." In the issue of the COMMUNIST October, 1937 Bunche's pamphlet is reviewed by Abner W. Berry, a high ranking communist for many years. The entire first page is here quoted to show the enthusiasm with which the official communist hierarchy greeted Bunche's pamphlet. When A. W. Berry states that "Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues" he gives Bunche full credit for echoing the basic communist credo of class struggle to overthrow our social order. (Ed. Note: Former high level communist leaders have testified that all book reviews in the COMMUNIST are first passed on by the Polit-Buro leaders of the Communist Party to make sure that the review is important enough for the communist Cause and make certain that it is in keeping with the Party doctrine.):

"A STEP TOWARD NEGRO LIBERATION"

A WORLD VIEW OF RACE, by Ralph J. Bunche, Ph.D., Associate in Negro Education. Washington, D. C., 98 pp. Twenty-five cents.

"A fresh breeze is blowing through the class rooms of American colleges, carrying with it elements of Marxist and progressive thought. One of the welcome fruits of this renaissance is a world-embracing study of race attitudes by Dr. Bunche, professor of political science at Howard University.

The brochure begins with the discussion of world race theories, in which the author shows that the basis for racialistic theories is mythical rather than scientific. He properly estimates the dangers inherent in the propagation and spread of such theories, as, for example, the attempt to merge race and nation in Nazi Germany. Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues. A starting point toward a solution of the problem is his conclusion:

> 'Group antagonisms are social, political and economic conflicts, not racial, though they are frequently given a racial label and seek racial justification' (p. 23).

This point is further developed and elaborated in the second chapter. Discussing the historical basis for present-day prejudices, Dr. Bunche points out:

> 'The historic origin of racial prejudices and conflicts is to be found in migration of human groups and the invasions by conquering peoples of territory inhabited by other peoples. These conflicts did not result from any innate aversion of one racial group toward another, however....The true historical explanation is that the conquering peoples constituted themselves the ruling class and relegated the conquered group to an inferior status. Thus race became a badge of social superiority and in time the dominant race assumed for itself qualities of moral, intellectual and political superiority as well as economic privilege' (p. 26).

Approaching the Marxist viewpoint, the author follows up this statement by analyzing the class antagonisms within the dominant races, inferring an alliance of the subject people with the workers of both races.

The main areas of racial conflict where 'racial relations of today are pregnant with a danger for the future peace and development of the world' are Africa, West Indies, the Orient, Germany and the United States, according to Dr. Bunche. He discusses the issues in each area. In writing of the conflict in America, the author notes that even within the 'solid white front' against the threat of 'Negro domination' during the Civil War there were differences as between slave-holders and the poor whites.

That Dr. Bunche realizes the significance of the class struggle is clear. He reasons that with trade union policies based upon 'the inevitable realization that workers of the two groups (Negro and white) arrayed against each other in racial conflict have more in common than workers of the dominant group have in common with employers of the dominant group...racial conflict tends to be lessened, but class conflict...is intensified' (pp. 31-32). The solution of the 'race' problem according to the author lies along the road of working class freedom:

> 'The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working class in the common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North' (p. 90).

The working class can recognize, unmistakably, in this statement the voice of an active friend and supporter. It is a wholesome and hopeful sign that this statement represents also the social credo of an increasing number of Negro intellectuals."

BOOK REVIEW by A. W. Berry page 965 of A WORLD VIEW OF RACE by Ralph J. Bunche THE COMMUNIST October 1937 Vol. XVI No. 10

Before passing on to the next phase, it is of interest to present the official point of view of the Communist Party as enunciated by its leader in the United States, Earl Browder, on the question of the Negroes in relation

to the class struggle and the march toward revolution. The two excerpts below sound like an echo of Bunche's words on the same subject. The following position was presented during the same period that Bunche wrote on the identical subject:-

"The purpose of our work on the Negro question is to establish unity of white and black proletariat in a common struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the leadership of the proletariat over the Negro masses in the struggle for their national liberation."

COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES, a book by Earl Browder Page 292 - 1935

"We live and fight within the world fortress of capitalism, of imperialism, which finds one of its main instruments of rule in the division between white and Negro workers. But this division also represents one of the weakest spots of American imperialism, where we can strike quickest and hardest, it represents a pre-capitalist survival, a relic of slavery and feudalism, a crying anachronism, embodying all the contradictions of the decaying imperialist world. In this discussion we have more effectively armed ourselves with the Leninist theory, whereby we can call forth for struggle all the revolutionary forces generated by this national oppression of the Negroes, link them up with the rising forces of the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, and thus with multiplied capacity for effective battle against the oppressors, the imperialist bourgeoisie, we will 'sail into the face of the storm' of the revolutionary mass struggles that are being prepared in America on a gigantic scale."

COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES by Earl Browder Page 303 - 1935
For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!

RACE MAGAZINE

In a magazine called "RACE", which was organized and completely controlled by well known communists (including one who had been a several times delegate to the Communist International in Moscow from the Communist Party of the U.S.), Dr. Bunche wrote an article reiterating the orthodox communist position that the race problem is a part of the class struggle and that The National Negro Congress, which was formed in 1936, reflected "the ideology of organized labor was dominant". In communist nomenclature the ideology of organized labor is Marxism, since Labor, as such, has no particular ideology separate and apart from the rest of the population:

"Biased individuals saw the Congress inspired and dominated by the 'reds'. A more sober appraisal is perhaps in order."

ALERT AND ALIVE, (Dr. Bunche's Sub-Title)

"Quite the most significant feature of the Negro Congress was the fact that it constituted the first sincere effort to bring together on an equal plane Negro leaders, professional and white collar workers with Negro manual workers and their leaders and organizers. The result was gratifying to the latter. It was, to say the least, an educational experience for the Negro leaders and professional and white collar groups. In no other general Negro gathering has the note of labor been so popularly received. The ideology of organized labor was dominant."

(RACE magazine Vol. I No. 2 Summar 1936 page 93
Article by Ralph J. Bunche - "Triumph? or Fiasco?")

It is quite significant, as will be shown later, that Bunche declares that those who called the National Negro Congress as "dominated by reds" are "biased".

What is particularly important is the fact that Bunche was associated with a Magazine that was not only run by known reds but openly proclaimed in its first issue that its object was to "plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist-imperialist order.":-

"That the special system of discrimination against the Negro in America is so deeply rooted in the very foundations of the present social order and the vested interests of dominant capitalism that there is no complete 'solution' of this basic problem of American life short of a fundamental reconstruction of society, a social upheaval which will plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist-imperialist order."

(RACE Vol. I No. 1 Winter 1935-1936 page 3 "Article on opening page)
(Note:- The magazine RACE did not appear after Vol. I No. 2)

THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS AND DR. BUNCHE

The story of The National Negro Congress is one whereby the Kremlin leaders managed to get a grip on the influential section of the Negro people in this country which they had not been able to accomplish until this Congress was put into action. Previous to 1936 the Communist Party of the

U.S.A., upon instructions from the Kremlin, began to send in its small negro membership into existing non-communist Negro organizations. When this infiltration job was completed, the Moscow leaders through the Communist International instructed the communists in America to organize a Negro Congress which would pretend to be a representative body for all the Negroes in the United States, but actually be under the firm control of the Kremlin.

The purpose of this maneuver was obvious. Hitherto the communists had been operating feverishly to get a grip upon the mass of American Negroes and had been very unsuccessful in their attempts. The Kremlin had decided many years previously that the millions of Negroes in this country would be ideal political fodder which could be used in revolutionary activity against our form of government. They had failed in this way to unite the negroes under the open banner of communism. Other subterfuges were needed. In preparation for this day, scores of Negro communists were trained in the advanced schools of revolutionary tactics in Moscow.

In the organization of the National Negro Congress, however, the Red bosses did not trust the Negro communists to do the job. Previous experience had shown that the freedom loving American negroes rebelled against communist discipline and the turnover of negroes in the Communist Party was higher than that of any other group. Therefore, even in the National Negro Congress, organizations of white membership were allowed to send delegates. Needless to say, most of these white organizations were either communist fronts or were other organizations which had been previously infiltrated.

The failures that the communists had among the negroes had taught them that this operation must be carefully and thoughtfully carried out. Only the most trusted and most thoroughly indoctrinated negro communists were to be entrusted with the task of organizing and launching this new endeavor.

A number of ex-communists, who had been in on the plot in high places, have testified to the extent of this operation and that only the most trusted red agents were given the task of launching the National Negro Congress.

In 1940, while writing about the National Negro Congress in the Gunnar Myrdal-Carnegie studies on the Negro question, Bunche boasted that the original meetings which initiated the National Negro Congress were made by him and his associates in Howard University and in his home in Washington, D. C. in 1935.

In fact, the official communist publications gave him full credit as one of the initiators in their own publications as follows:-

"Among other outstanding participants were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of Howard University; Lester Granger of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; and Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science." (The Negro and the Democratic Front - Book - Publisher - International Publishers, N. Y. copyright, 1938. P. 69.)

James Ford, the writer of the above, was the leading Negro member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and was involved in meetings with Ralph Bunche on the question of the National Negro Congress (according to testimony of leading ex-communists.)

The next quote, from a recent communist book, written by W. Z. Foster, the current head of the Communist Party, confirms Bunche's role in connection with the National Negro Congress:-

"Among those present were such notables as Ralph Bunche, W.E.B. DuBois, A. Philip Randolph, R.A. Carter, John P. Davis, James W. Ford, and others." (Book - History of the Communist Party by W. Z. Foster, International Publishers, 1952. P. 309)

Foster and Ford also confirm Bunche's contention that Howard University (where he worked as a professor of Political Science) was the locale of the Negro Congress planning in May, 1935, one year before the Negro Congress was convened:-

"The rising spirit of struggle among the Negro people during these years reflected itself in the National Negro Congress, organized in Chicago, February 14-16, 1936. The N.N.C. grew out of a conference held previously under the auspices of Howard University and the Joint Committee on National Recovery." (Book - HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S., W. Z. Foster, International Publishers, 1952. P. 308)

"There were other speakers who made valuable contributions on the plight of the Negro at the May Conference at Washington. Space will not permit us to quote from all of them. Among these were: Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, of Howard University; Lester Granger, of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; John McKinney, of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science." (THE COMMUNIST, April 1936, Vol. XV No. 4, page 322. Article: "The National Negro Congress" by James W. Ford.)

However, it should not be construed that the process which started the National Negro Congress originated with the May, 1935 conference, between Bunche and his cohorts. Actually the order to start the Congress, as is shown in the following quote, came from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as enunciated by its leading Negro member, James W. Ford, in 1934:-

"It may be remembered that the National Negro Congress was proposed last May at a national conference held in Washington. Earlier in January, 1934, at a symposium held in New York between Frank R. Crosswaith, Oscar De Priest, and myself, I made a suggestion for the calling of a National Negro Congress." (THE COMMUNIST, April 1936. Page 318 James W. Ford.)

The method in which the whole process of building the Negro Congress was frankly and clearly laid out a few months before the Howard University conference (mentioned by Bunche) by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to its members at a special plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party to give instructions as to how the entire matter was to be carried out among the Negro people. In reading this excerpt, it must be kept in mind that this was issued to members of the Communist Party more than a year before the National Negro Congress was convened:-

"In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question - if we work properly now and see that we must penetrate these organizations, there is the possibility of building up a National Negro Congress

on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the N. Y. District in which we discussed the Negro question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held. It means patient work in Negro organizations." (PARTY ORGANIZER, March 1935, Vol. VIII No. 3, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Article: "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations" (Excerpts from Report to Plenum). Page 21.)

This instructive to organize a Negro Congress was issued to all communists, whether secret or open, in the following directive:-

"In the development of this work it shall be our aim to lay a firm basis for the realization on a local scale of our major political task in Negro work nationally, namely:

1. The promotion of the movement for the National Congress on Negro Rights, tying up our local campaign with the general issues around which this Congress will be convened, such as the campaign for the enactment of the L.S.N.R. Bill for Civil Rights, for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys and Herndon, against lynching, etc." (THE COMMUNIST, JUNE, 1935, Vol. XIV No. 6, page 575, "The Development of Struggle for Negro Rights".)

After the National Negro Congress was organized, the Communist Party took full and public credit for the creation of the Congress. It was understood by all and sundry that this was a child of the Kremlin. Ralph Bunche, incidentally, was elected to the National Committee of the Negro Congress. The process of getting control of the minds of the Negro leadership was well on its way. The goal set for the Communist Party of the U. S. by the Kremlin through the Communist International in its World Congress in Moscow in 1935, on the question of the American Negroes, was gathering full steam. The boast by American Communists of their handiwork in this respect and the report on how the Communist International instructives were the guiding light is illustrated in the next two quotations:-

"It is equally beyond dispute that the pioneering and trail-blazing work of the Communists has played a great part in opening the road towards the now developing broad people's movement. Our Party as a whole can justly take pride - not to rest in self satisfaction - in the role it played and is playing in awakening the Negro people, in helping to organize them, in bringing forth such Negro leaders as Ford and Herndon, and in promoting that united and people's front for Negro rights which resulted in the creation of the National Negro Congress." (THE COMMUNIST, MARCH, 1936, Vol. XV. No. 3, page 202. "Review of the Month".)

"I would say that the main feature of the past year has been that in the field of work among the Negro people, as in most of the other fields of our work, we have begun to realize on a mass scale the results of the line of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. We have begun to emerge from sectarian isolation and become a mass influence, a mass power. As in our Party work generally, this has been accompanied by a sharpening of all the problems involved in our work. All of our weaknesses and inadequacies come out most sharply now, precisely because we have made some tremendous gains and thereby face responsibilities which politically we feel equipped to meet." (Book THE NEGRO AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT. By James W. Ford, International Publishers, page 95.)

It is necessary to present the following list of excerpts to emphasize the fact that the National Negro Congress was a Kremlin operation which could, and was, carried out by Kremlin agents, working consciously towards that goal:-

"Comrades: This convention, in my opinion, emphasized repeatedly the importance of the Negro question. I want to take the few minutes disposed to me to propose the concrete work of the Negro field.

Comrades, as the menace of fascism threatens the Negro people with double ferocity, we find at this moment the very sincere desire for both black and white to unite in a concrete form in the struggle against fascism. When we do this we carry out the tradition of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin told us years ago that we did not pretend to be pure Communists, at all times to be practical people. While we do not negate the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the United States, we are today seeking the most practical means to develop the struggle of the Negro people toward this ultimate slogan known as the right of self-determination. And this practical weapon is the National Negro Congress."

"....The question of securing these National Negro Congress sponsors should be one of the essential points of all of our discussions from now on. Comrades in trade unions should consult the educational committee of their unions and arrange to include in their educational program discussion on the National Negro Congress. Meetings should be covered by people with folders, leaflets, sponsor buttons. Even at this convention we have given sponsor buttons to many of the comrades. There is nothing to hide. We openly declare we are responsible for bringing 1,000 sponsors in the New York State apparatus of the Communist Party.

"The Communist Party will continue to see the Negro question as a special question of approach. The Communist Party precisely by assisting the building of the N.N.C. refutes the theories of the Socialists in their recent resolution that attempts to put the Negro people on the same par with the conditions of the white and other people in the United States. We recognize this as a special question. We bring this out at this convention in order that the comrades will see the necessity of using the building of the N.N.C. as a practical question and concrete means of approaching the Negro question in a special manner." (Book - PROCEEDINGS 10TH CONVENTION. Communist Party New York State, May 20-23, 1938, pp. 253-254-255)

"We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program. We should organize all our fractions and guide them in their work in the various organizations in which there may be Party members. If we develop systematic work on the basis of our concentration policies in the various Negro communities and carry on a fight against sectarian methods of work, we shall be able very soon to fulfill the task of developing a broad people's front among the Negro people in the United States against fascism and war and for the liberation of the Negro people." (THE COMMUNIST, June 1936, Vol. XV No. 6. Page 561. Article: "Build the National Negro Congress Movement" by James W. Ford.)

"We Communists were never doubtful about the significance or the outcome of the National Negro Congress. We were not deterred by the charges of 'Communist domination'. We were guided by what we knew of the desire of the Negro masses for united action."

".....The National Negro Congress recorded progress made by Communists and the many delegates who supported our program, in the increasing work we are carrying on in the various organizations of the Negro people. Our modest successes are, however, just beginnings. We must now undertake to profit from our experiences, mistakes, shortcomings and successes, by showing what changes are necessary in our methods of work to build the National Negro Congress."

"..We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program." (BOOK - THE NEGRO AND THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT by James W. Ford, Page 69, 76, 85.)

"Some people think because we do not insist that the issue of the right to self-determination be adopted now by the Negro Congress, our Party is abandoning its revolutionary demand for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt in the South. Nothing is further from the truth. Never was it more clear than it is today that the complete liberation of the people in the Black Belt will be accomplished only by the revolutionary overthrow of the white landlords and capitalists, the destruction of the semi-slave agricultural relations and the realization of the right to self-determination. But there is a problem which we must face. And how must we face it? The problem is how to link up the daily struggles of the Negro Masses in the Black Belt today for their partial economic and political demands with our revolutionary slogan for the right to self-determination. It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination. But they are ready to fight against jim-crowism and oppression, for democratic rights and other partial economic and political demands. Our task, therefore, is not to stand passively by and wait until the Negro toilers become ready for the revolution. No! Our task is to join with them in the organization for their immediate struggle and strengthen their position economically and politically, strengthen the bonds between the white and Negro toilers, and in this way create the transition to the revolutionary struggle which will make possible the realization of the right of the Negro masses in the Black Belt to self-determination."

THE COMMUNIST December 1935 Vol. XIV No. 12 Page 1120-21
The United Front-The Key to Our New Tactical Orientation by Earl Browder

The top leadership took official cognizance of the communist success through the National Negro Congress and published an account of the role of that organization in the process of communist revolution. This was published in the INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE, a publication which was the official organ of the Communist International and was published in every major language in the world.

"The work of the Communist vanguard within the Negro group is of the most profound importance. Success in the struggle for unity at the National Negro Congress, the development of a Negro people's front depends in a large measure upon the correct action of our revolutionary Negro cadres. The development of tried and true revolutionary cadres and the strengthening of our revolutionary organizations among the Negro people, is now of the most profound importance. The development of the Negro people's front is dependent upon this. In turn, the development of tried and true revolutionary cadres among the Negro toilers is dependent upon the development of the broadest possible united front of struggle among the Negro people. The programme of the National Negro Congress must be realized."

INT'L PRESS CORRESP. Vol. 16 No. 7 Feb. 1st, 1936
The Negro Movement - A National Negro Cong. in America pp. 195
(The article quoted above was published before the N.N.C. was held.)

The National Negro Congress was to be only one part of a Kremlin plotted world wide organization of negroes which was to have followed the formation of the N.N.C. Negro communist agents were sent throughout the world to inflame negroes (particularly in Africa) and to weld them into an international force serving the Soviet purposes. During the same year that the N.N.C. was formed and the call was issued through the Negro Congress for a "class conscious" organization to be called the "International Congress of Negroes", Ralph Bunche went to Africa and toured large areas of that continent. An investigation should be made to determine if Bunche had contact with some of the Negro agitators who are stirring up trouble and bloodshed in Africa today.

"Hence, the National Negro Congress in the United States occupies an important place in the life and struggles of Negroes everywhere. That is why the Congress adopted a resolution on an International Congress of Negroes, as follows:

Whereas, the exploitation and subjugation of the Negro masses is general, and world-wide in scope, and Negro toilers in one nation are not free so long as their brother toilers elsewhere are subjected to the degrading horrors of exploitation, and

Whereas, a deeper sympathy and class-consciousness of all Negroes throughout the world can best be developed by an International Congress of Negroes, be it

Resolved, that immediately upon the establishment of this Congress upon a permanent basis, it work for the fulfillment of such an International Congress of Negroes."

THE COMMUNIST May 1936 Vol. XV No. 5 Page 461
Political Highlights of the National Negro Congress by James W. Ford

The following message to the leadership of the National Negro Congress demonstrates beyond any doubt that the function of that organization is to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet Revolution. This quote incidently is from the INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE which only prints that which was cleared by top Soviet Leaders:-

"The history of the Soviet Union from the day of its birth is replete with lessons of utmost value to the National Negro Congress. These lessons can be an invaluable aid in the solution of every problem confronting the Congress, for the peoples of the Soviet Union have passed through just such struggles and have solved them."

INPRECORR February 1st, 1936 Vol. 16 No. 7 Page 195
The Negro Movement - A National Negro Congress in America

The nature of the National Negro Congress has been thoroughly probed by various governmental investigating agencies and they all have recognized its subversive character. The following taken from the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" page 86, sums up the investigations and testimony on the National Negro Congress:-

"NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

1. Cited as subversive and Communist.
(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)

2. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 on the ground that it was 'deliber-

ately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or sympathizers with Communists.'

Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress *** according to A. Philip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress has admitted that the Communist Party contributed $100 a month to its support.

From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party."

(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.)

3. "The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress.*** The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright communists."

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180.)

4. A "Communist-dominated mass organization."

(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 230.)

5. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. stated that the role of his party was 'one of central importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago, February 1936.'

(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 298.)

(Guide to Subversive Organizations and publications May 14, 1951)"

The reason for the lengthy analysis of the Negro Congress and the role of Dr. Bunche should be obvious by this time. Here is a man who has dealt in terms of a class conscious struggle of the workers allied with the Negro population against our system of society. At the same time he has pointed towards the Soviet Union as the example for the American Negroes to follow. He advocates a class war against our social order (on a world basis) and inveighs against the system of private ownership and free enterprise. During this exact same period (1935-36) he is a leader in a Soviet directed move to organize the National Negro Congress.

At the same time there was a manifestation from openly communist sources praising Bunche for his views and activities. First, there was the high praise by official red sources of his pamphlet "The World View of Race" and then there were several tributes given him for his "outstanding participation" as one of the "notables" who gave birth to the Negro Congress. His election to the governing national body of the National Negro Congress, where Bunche served with some of the most prominent communists of the day, ties in the accepted rule of the Kremlin that only the most trusted lieutenants of World communism can be allowed to plot out such of its vital activities as an organization which is to serve as the wedge to turn twelve million negroes against its own government.

A COMMUNIST PUBLICATION (SCIENCE AND SOCIETY AND DR. BUNCHE)

During the winter of 1935 there appeared a magazine called "SCIENCE AND SOCIETY - A MARXIAN QUARTERLY". (Vol. I No. 1 Winter of 1935-36)

This publication appeared stating that it intended to influence members of the academic world and those in the technical fields as well. The fact that this magazine announced on its front cover that it was a Marxian publication was an open admission to the world that it was dedicated to the Marxian principles of class struggle and revolution against existing society.

Ralph J. Bunche was listed in the first issue of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY as a contributing editor and his name continued on the covers of that magazine until 1940.

Dr. Bunche had an interesting accompaniment of Marxist revolutionaries on the editorial listing of the magazine. They included such communist luminaries as follows:-

J. D. Bernal - A publicly known British communist from Cambridge University.

Paul Langevin	- A top level member of the French Communist Party who upon his death was publicly lauded for his "dedication to communism."
Joseph Needham	- A British professor who has led in the Soviet charge accusing the United States of germ warfare in Korea.
W. P. Parry	- He was managing editor of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY when Bunche first appeared as contributing editor. Parry was director of the communist progressive labor school in Boston. Appearing before the Un-American Activities Committee he refused to answer whether he was or has been a communist.
Vladimir D. Kazakevich	- When about to be arrested for deportation as a communist he fled this country and returned to his native Russia. In testimony before the McCarran committee, probing the communist connections of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Elizabeth Bentley said that Kazakevich handed over information to Jacob Golos, Soviet spy chief, with the knowledge that this was going to Soviet Russia.

There are a score of other names which include known members of the Communist Party or those who refused to answer questions as to such membership before investigating committees.

In the issue of Summer 1939 (Vol. 3, No. 3) the statement of ownership bears the name of A. A. Heller as Business Manager of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY.

Alexander Trachtenberg, well known communist leader, testified in September 1939 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that A. A. Heller was the President and listed owner of International Publishers, the publishing organization of the Communist Party. This firm was required by the Government to register as a foreign agency representing the Soviet Union in the publishing field in the United States.

Trachtenberg also admitted that right after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin gave Heller the oxygen concession in the Soviet Union and that Heller introduced the acetylene industry into Russia. Trachtenberg also stated that

Heller was a member of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

In the excellently documented Lusk Committee Reports of Red Activities in New York State in 1920 A. A. Heller is listed as an official of the Soviet Government in the United States.

A listing and analysis of the Communist articles and the Soviet propaganda in SCIENCE AND SOCIETY would take up a prohibitive amount of space in this report. The fact that this is a communist magazine is obvious even on a superficial perusal of the publication.

After SCIENCE AND SOCIETY was in existence for one year the top Marxist-Leninist theoretician in the top levels of the Communist Party made an evaluation of the work of that magazine in the pages of the chief publication of the Communist Party known as "THE COMMUNIST!"

V. J. Jerome, the communist writer of this article wanted to make certain that the use of the word Marxist by this magazine would not be confused with other claimants to Marxism who did not adhere to the interpretations of those principles by the Kremlin. Jerome clarified the position of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY in this respect by pointing out that its function was to interpret Marxism in accordance with "The Party of Marxism, The Communist Party, inheritor of the proletarian party which Marx and Engels founded in their day". The following quote also makes plain the fact that this magazine is an instrument for communism in educational circles both for students and instructors:-

"Indeed, these constant rude interruptions by the proletariat interfere with the efforts of these philosophers to accommodate Marxism, groomed and respectabilized, to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories, such as the instrumentalism of Dewey, latest crusader in the cause of Trotskyism, or to the equally fashionable psycho-analysis of Freud.

Then, of course, there are the super-ultra Marxists of Socialism now or never, a cloak for counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. Their poison infects certain petty-bourgeois elements whose 'impatience' with the Soviet Union and the world proletariat is but a protective mask to cover their indisposition to toil for the revolution as the workers toil, by meeting practical problems

in daily struggle.

Naturally, such brands of 'Marxism,' ideologies of reaction, leave out of reckoning-except for slander-the Party of Marxism, the Communist Party, inheritor of the proletarian Party which Marx and Engels founded in their day, political leader of the proletarian class which is the historic carrier of the Marxian objective-socialism.

These anti-Communist 'Marxists' seem to say of the Communists: Let them occupy themselves with the unemployed, with strikes and demonstrations, with united fronts and other such mundane things; we will take care of the Absolute Idea of Marxism.

With such factors as these to contend with, the Marxist magazine, Science and Society, was launched a little over a year ago. It entered the arena with an important and complex task to perform: to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles and to develop contributors from these circles; to stimulate the study of Marxism-Leninism by demonstrating the integration of Communist theory and practice with American social life; to apply the dialectic-materialist analysis to the natural and social sciences, and to cultural processes as a whole."

THE COMMUNIST December 1937 Vol. XVI. No. 12 Pages 1148-9
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

Jerome further stresses the fact that the purpose of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY is to proceed on the premise that Marxism is "revolutionary Marxism", and impartiality is unthinkable because they are out to "realize their full role in the movement to achieve the Marxist-Leninist objectives". These objectives, as the whole world knows, is to capture all of society for the Soviet Masters:-

"The editors of such a magazine, however, have the important task of Marxist-Leninist study, in order to deepen their own understanding and provide leadership. Proceeding from the principle that Marxism is revolutionary Marxism, that it must continue to affirm its scientific theory and practice through unceasing struggle against open opponents and subtle perverters, their task is to help their readers overcome college-fostered misconceptions of Communism; depart from idealistic notions of history and from stultifying mechanical materialism; give up, in the face of objective truth, all remaining traces of the liberalistic 'both-sides-of-the-question' attitude; throw overboard the treacherous bourgeois instrumentalism; and realize their full role in the movement to achieve the Marxist-Leninist objectives."

THE COMMUNIST December 1937 Vol. XVI No. 12 Page 1149
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

That this was no mere academic journal but a means towards bringing about a revolution is clearly pointed out in the next excerpt. The conclud-

ing phrase which declares that "Science and Society" can be a "revolutionary weapon to fight a war and win it" demonstrates the motives and impelling character of the publication:-

"This magazine of Marxian scholarship can refute the notion that theory may in any way be scientific apart from practice; it can fuse learning with the vital flow of action. It can present the proletarian revolution and the Soviet socialist system, not as an 'experiment'...'purely Russian,' but as the inevitable outcome of the class struggle with international significance and application. It can demonstrate that Marxism for academic circles is in no way academic Marxism; that it is not a pacific, scholastic affair, but a scientific, revolutionary weapon to fight a war and win it."

THE COMMUNIST December 1937 Vol. XVI No. 12 page 1149
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

In the next issue of the COMMUNIST (January 1937) Jerome devotes a second article reflecting directives in respect to SCIENCE AND SOCIETY. Here he expresses in communist language the instruction that this magazine is required reading for all communists and their followers:-

"We have stated earlier, and we wish to reaffirm at the conclusion, the considerable achievements of the magazine, its auspicious beginnings, and the hopeful prospects for its realization of the purposes the editors have set for it. On the basis of its efforts and of its realizations to date, Science and Society is deserving of the fullest support of the Communist Party and of all progressives."

THE COMMUNIST January 1938 Vol. XVII No. 1 page 90
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

In the following quote, which concludes Jerome's article the frank admission that SCIENCE AND SOCIETY is designed to perform the work in the United States "of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, UNDER THE BANNER OF MARXISM;" which followed the dictates of no other than Lenin:-

"But the very emergence of Science and Society implies a conscious purpose to transform science into an instrument for re-fashioning society. So it is fitting to remember Lenin's counsel to the editors of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, Under the Banner of Marxism; that 'a magazine that desires to be an organ of militant materialism must be a militant organ'."

THE COMMUNIST January 1938 Vol. XVII No. 1 Page 90
Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science by V. J. Jerome

In considering Bunche's serving as contributing editor of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY it must be remembered that he appeared in that capacity in the very first issue. The same rule applies to communist publications that it does to communistic organizations i.e. only the most trusted and reliable partisans are to be placed in positions of responsibility, especially at the beginning. Today there is no doubt that SCIENCE AND SOCIETY was and is a Soviet inspired publication. Naturally during its origin only the most trusted hard-core adherents of communism were assigned to its editorship.

In the issue of Summer 1936, Bunche wrote a review of a printed work on minority problems and criticized it for not stressing the class nature of the status and problems of minority groups. Here again Bunche repeats the standard communist line that all minority groups should be fit into the class-struggle pattern.

During the hearings on the loyalty of Dr. Bunche, during May, 1954, before the International Organization Loyalty Board, it has been reported that Bunche read a letter that he had sent to the Editors of SCIENCE AND SOCIETY explaining that other duties prevented him from further serving and wishing them success in their future endeavors.

In concluding the section on SCIENCE AND SOCIETY and the activities of Bunche in that publication, herewith is the evaluation of it by official investigative bodies:-

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

1. Cited as a Communist publication.
   (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96.)

2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system."
   (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 225)

3. Cited as a Marxian quarterly distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. William T. Parry, director of the Communist Progressive Labor School in Boston, is the managing editor. (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938. p. 281 and 284)

(Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications - May 14, 1951) Issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities page 149.

DR. BUNCHE'S ACTIVITIES SINCE 1940

During 1939-1940 many Jewish and Negro persons defected from the Communist Party because of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Negroes in the Communist Party found it hard to swallow the Nazis as new found friends, especially in view of Molotov's remark that "fascism was a matter of taste." Hitler's categorizing the Negro race in a slanderous manner - relegating them into a sub-human classification - made the new line of friendship with the Nazis hard for communist Negroes to reconcile with the previous communist position. As a result many Negroes left the Communist Party. Most of them gravitated back after Russia was invaded and the entire Stalin-Nazi Alliance was explained away as just another clever Soviet maneuver to gain time to prepare for the onslaught.

Bunche was one of those who defected. In the Gunnar-Myrdal Carnegie studies in 1940, Bunche criticized the Communist Party and particularly laid stress on those communist policies which came about as a result of the pact with Hitler.

However within 90 days after Hitler invaded Soviet Russia, Bunche was appointed to the Colonial Division of the Office of Strategic Services. He states in an autobiographical article that he received this appointment as the result of a recommendation by Professor Charles McIlwain, who was professor Emeritus of Harvard and one of Bunche's former instructors. Professor McIlwain has a communist front record. (Reference: Appendix IX House Un-

American Activities Committee Report, March 1944, page 380.) If Bunche had continued his separation from the communist movement it is hard to see why a person with communist front connections would interest himself to suggest Bunche for the position. Secondly there is the fact that the O.S.S. was a highly infiltrated government agency by the communists and their followers. A great deal of public and secret testimony has proven this to be an incontrovertible fact as illustrated by the following Senate Report:-

"Network in National Defense

In its decision of April 20, 1953, the Subversive Activities Control Board found that the Communist Party, USA, had as its objective 'the overthrow of the United States Government' and the effectuation of policies 'for the purposes of defending and protecting the Soviet Union.' Toward this end, the penetration of key agencies engaged in national defense was paramount. With the limited resources and data available to the subcommittee, we have been able to indicate only the pattern of such infiltration by those who have invoked their privilege against incrimination when asked about the subcommittee's evidence of their Communist Party membership."

"The subcommittee was in no position to make any overall investigation of the agencies mentioned. The following data, therefore, was purely incidental and does not depict the full situation."

"The Office of Strategic Services, the United States intelligence agency operating abroad during World War II, and discussed previously, included within its ranks the following such individuals: Leo M. Drozdoff, Irving Fajans, Maurice Halperin (Chief of the Latin American Division), Jack Sargeant Harris (in charge of military intelligence of South Africa), Julius J. Joseph, Paul V. Martineau, Carl Aldo Marzani (Deputy Chief of the Presentation Branch), Leonard E. Mins, Helen B. Tenney, Milton Wolff, and George S. Wuchinich."

Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments
Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security
July 30, 1953 pages 35-36

The Jack Sargeant Harris mentioned in the above Senate report as being in charge of military intelligence of the South African Section of OSS (Bunche was the Chief of the African Section) later figured in a probe of his activity on behalf of the Soviets and the fact that Bunche had recommended him for the job.

In spite of the high degree of communist influence in the O.S.S. Bunche was promoted and in 1942 he was elevated to chief of the O.S.S. African

Section. (It must be remembered that a few years previously Bunche had toured Africa and had written articles on the basis of his travels against "Imperialist Capitalism, Class Struggle," etc.)

In 1943 Bunche was transferred to the State Department during the heyday of the Alger Hiss influence. Again it is inconceivable that one remaining anti-communist, having been in the communist camp previously, could have received such a job when the communist agents were riding hard on even those who had been entrenched in the State Department for years.

Bunche stayed in the State Department for three years working on his old specialty "Colonial questions". Bunche was an advisor at the Dunbarton Oaks conference and at the first U. N. session at San Francisco and was an advisor at both the Council of Foreign Ministers and the U. N. General Assembly. These movements as to locale followed closely that of Alger Hiss.

Early in 1946 Bunche went to work at the United Nations, first on loan from the State Department and later permanently as director of the UN Trusteeship Division.

It is a fact that those who had been through the communist movement and have remained opponents of their former "comrades" are generally castigated and vilified by the red apparatus without let up. It is also a fact that such defectors can easily recognize or spot another communist. There is no truce between former partisans of the communist cause and the official communist machine. It is a matter of official record that Bunche sponsored a communist to a key post in the UN. In fact this communist had received an award of $40,000 in lieu of reinstatement from the UN after he had refused to answer as to whether or not he had been and was a communist. The pertinent testimony on this question before the Jenner Committee of the United States Senate is as follows:-

"Mr. Morris. Now later, on December 11, 1945 did you state to the State Department official that you had applied for this position at the suggestion of Mr. Ralph Bunche?

"Mr. Harris. My answer remains the same, Mr. Morris, I decline to reply.

"Mr. Morris. And did you state to the State Department official that Ralph Bunche and Mr. John Ross, of the Special Political Affairs Committee, had told you that you were the best man for the job?

"Mr. Harris. I must decline to answer that on the grounds stated, Mr. Morris.
(Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations.) page 654 October 2, 1953

"Mr. Morris. On December 11, 1945, did you again write defending your record and complaining that you had not been told of the charges against you, and stating again that you had been invited to apply by Dr. Ralph Bunche in the first place?

"Mr. Harris. The same reply."

ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
page 655 October 2, 1953

"Mr. Morris. Do you know, Mr. Harris, that after your clearance with personnel for this P-6 appointment that the Security Office in the State Department disapproved of your appointment?

"Mr. Harris. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

"Mr. Morris. Do you know there was a memorandum prepared by the security official pointing out that there was strong evidence that you had been a Communist at least up to 1938?

"Mr. Harris. I must decline to answer that questior also, Mr. Morris.

"Mr. Morris. Do you know that Mr. John Ross was notified on November 1, 1945, about the decision of the security people in the State Department who again urged your appointment on the ground that Dr. Ralph Bunche knew you well and had cabled to that effect from London?

"Mr. Harris. The same reply. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

"Mr. Morris. What ground?

"Mr. Harris. On all the grounds mentioned.

"Mr. Morris. And among others, the fifth amendment?"

ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
page 655 October 2, 1953

"Mr. Morris. Mr. Chairman, I have a copy here of the administrative tribunal's decision, and it does read that the tribunal did award $40,000 in lieu

of reinstatement to Mr. Harris.

"One of the factors they mentioned here, Mr. Chairman, is item (c), the fact that he joined the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche, Director of the Trusteeship Division, thereby terminating his previous career.

"Now, Mr. Harris, did you, as a matter of fact, join the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche?

"Mr. Harris. The answer, Mr. Morris, as I stated previously in the executive session is "Yes".

"Mr. Morris. Will you give us the circumstances of your joining the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche?

"Mr. Boudin. May the witness be permitted to state several objections to this question, and then may it be deemed that the objections now stated will be applied to any other questions he wishes to decline to answer, without repeating them?

"Mr. Morris. Yes.

"Mr. Harris. Sir, I decline to answer the question on the ground that:....."

ACTIVITIES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED NATIONS
October 2, 29, and December 22, 1953. Page 647

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS & BUNCHE

One of the main channels of Soviet espionage and communist betrayal of China into the hands of the Reds has been the Institute of Pacific Relations. The American Council of the I.P.R. is studded with the names of Soviet agents, red partisans and sympathizers who managed to secure a grip on various government departments which included our State Department, the White House, the Treasury Department, the Office of Strategic Services, and who have been variously charged with stealing Government documents, spying for Soviet Russia, and for perverting American Foreign and domestic policy to fit the Soviet aims to prepare the ground to seize control of the whole world.

Ralph Bunche was a high official of the Institute of Pacific Relations. More than this, he rubbed elbows and entered into close and private conference in respect to matters involving our National Policy with subsequently known Soviet agents and convicted communist operatives.

In respect to the I.P.R. and its communist manipulations, Alfred Kohlberg, a member of that organization for almost 20 years, presented evidence before the Jenner sub-committee of the COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, THE UNITED STATES SENATE, and swore to the following facts:-

"Since 1944 I have learned much more about the IPR; its apparently completely Communist or pro-Communist staff; that all articles on Far Eastern politics are written by Communists or pro-communists (some articles on economic, scientific, geographic questions are not); and that it has ties through interlocking directorates or staff with various Communist or pro-Communist organizations."

"Through its influence in the staffing of the State Department, Army and Navy Intelligence, and Far Eastern Divisions of UNRRA, of OWI, and even General MacArthur's staff, our Institute has put considerable numbers of Communists and pro-Communists where they could and have done the most possible harm and spread the most confusion."

"It would be my intention to present first to this Investigating Committee witnesses, and by witnesses I mean more than one, who would testify that the Institute of Pacific Relations is considered by the National Committee of the Communist Party to be one of its organizations and that certain of the Executive Committee of the American Institute are members of the Communist Party."

"Since that time numerous qualified witnesses have testified under oath before the McCarran Committee that:

"1. Your organization constantly and deliberately followed the Communist line in its publications.

"2. Some espionage activities were carried on.

"3. More than forty of your staff, Trustees and writers were actual Communists, or espionage agents, or both, and others learned that way.

"4. That activities in infiltrating our government by such people were carried on both officially and unofficially in your name."

Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on The Institute of Pacific Relations, Part 14, May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 4940-4942-4944

Mr. Kohlberg also brought out the fact that the I.P.R. was involved in the gigantic espionage scandal of pilfered State Department documents which were seized by government agents in the offices of the "AMERASIA" magazine and for which the editor of that magazine Philip Jaffe (well known Soviet agent) was convicted. Mr. Kohlberg swore that:-

"Four of the six persons arrested in the Amerasia case were connected with the IPR."

A former official of the Soviet Government in testifying before the McCarran Senate Committee stated that:-

"In 1933 Soviet Military Intelligence officers used the 'Institute' (meaning the IPR - Ed.) as 'cover' for obtaining secret military intelligence".

The extent of Bunche's importance to the pro-Soviet group in the IPR is demonstrated in the following communication from the head of the American group, E. C. Carter, to W. W. Lockwood as to possible delegates to the International IPR conference in Mont Tremblant, Canada.

"In response to your request I have hastily jotted down a number of suggestions for the American group at the conference. It's a long list, of course, but I believe we should add to it considerably and then get competent advice-say that of Currie, Barnes, and Jessup-on elimination. This list runs too much in the regular groove as regards non-government people. So far as Washington is concerned, we need more intimate knowledge as to who really are in the key positions."

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, Part 14, May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 4973

In the long list which followed the communication there were included the following:-

Ralph Bunche
Joseph Davies (Mission to Moscow)
Alger Hiss (Soviet Spy)
Laughlin Currie (Named by Elizabeth Bentley as connected with Soviet spy ring)
Frederick Vanderbilt Field (convicted communist agent)
Philip Jessup (accused of following communist line)
Harry Dexter White (Spy exposed by the Attorney General of U.S. and Edgar Hoover of FBI)
Henry A. Wallace (Former head of Communist led Progressive Party)
Joseph Barnes (Identified as a member of the Communist Party)
Benjamin Kizer (Identified as a member of the Communist Party)

The final list of delegates as sifted through by Laughlin Currie (accused as spy for Soviets), Joseph Barnes (identified as communist) and listed above along with Bunche were:-

Frank Coe (Cited as Soviet spy)

Len DeCaux (identified as an important communist)
Harriet L. Moore (E. Bentley testified that spy chief Golos told her Miss Moore was one of their people)

There were a number of other delegates like Mrs. Ogden Reid, who were picked either as window dressing or were so surrounded by the communist agents that they could not effectively make their opinions prevail. It was a completely staged communist show.

At the end of the IPR Canadian conference E. C. Carter, the head of the American IPR, wrote to Jessup as follows:-

Dr. Philip C. Jessup
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Here are the rapporteurs' reports for the last group of Round Tables. I think you will be particularly interested in the reports of Harriet Moore, Fred Field, and Ralph Bunche.....

Sincerely yours,
Edward C. Carter

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS
Hearings before the Subcommittee of the COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, UNITED STATES SENATE, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on the Institute of Pacific Relations, Part 14 - May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 5210

The official government records of the above mentioned persons are as follows:-

Moore, Harriet L. (Gelfan), research associate; acting executive secretary (exhibit 801); chairman; nominating committee (p. 3858, 3859):
Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses
Refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination
Made one or more trips to Communist territory
Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT OF U. S. CONGRESS
June 1952 p. 156

Field, Frederick V., Secretary, American Council (p. 995); executive (Exhibit 801); trustee p. 264).

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses.

Collaborated with agents of the Soviet intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony.

Refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination.

Made one or more trips to Communist territory.

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

Subject of action by agency of American Government or a foreign non-Communist government on grounds involving loyalty or national security.

INTERNAL SECURITY SUB-COMMITTEE REPORT OF U. S. CONGRESS
June 1952 p. 153-154

Carter, Edward C., Secretary American Council; secretary-general IPR; trustee; executive vice chairman (exhibit 801):
Made one or more trips to Communist territory
Affiliated with: Amerasia (exhibit 1355); American Russian Institute (p. 296); Russian War Relief (p. 295).

INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, U. S. CONGRESS
June 20, 1952 p. 152

The linking up by the head of the I.P.R. of a report by Bunche along with Harriet Moore and F. V. Field (exposed as Soviet agents) is significant in itself. It is obvious that the three reports mentioned above are recommended as a distillation of this communist dominated conference.

In a 1943 communication of the IPR, Bunche is listed as a member of a private discussion group which included the usual pro-Soviet stalwarts such as Frank Coe, Len DeCaux and David Weintraub (there were 43 derogatory FBI reports on Weintraub as to red activity and he resigned under fire from the U.N.)

At the 1945 International conference of the IPR, Bunche was accompanied as delegate by the usual names of Frank Coe, Len DeCaux, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Philip Jessup and by the additional names of John Carter Vincent (who was accused of aiding in the sell out of China to the Reds) and Owen Lattimore who is now under indictment.

At the end of 1944 it became obvious to the Kremlin leaders that Japan

was on the verge of surrender. Therefore orders were issued to communist agents all over the world to concentrate on preparing the groundwork for the seizure of China by the reds. The preliminary phase was to create the condition whereby the Chiang Kai-shek Government was to be criticized for the internal situation in China. Almost continuous war in Chinese territory since 1937 had naturally created havoc with the internal life of the country. Therefore by harping on demands for reforms and conditions which were impossible of realization, the reds managed to create and channel dissatisfaction against the Chinese government.

In the United States the Communist agents were to influence official government bodies, especially the State Department, to force the Chinese Government to adopt reform measures and make concessions to the reds which would pave the way for seizure of China by Soviet forces.

The IPR was the major instrument used by the Kremlin to do this job. The following official conclusions by a Senate committee were published on this matter as follows:-

"It was the continued practice of IPR to seek to place in Government posts both persons associated with IPR and other persons selected by the effective leadership of IPR."

* * * *

"The effective leadership of the IPR used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States."

* * * *

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE June 20, 1952 pp. 223-4

On October 28, 1944 there was held a preliminary conference of the American Delegates of the IPR in preparing to drag the internal situation of

China into a forthcoming international IPR conference where Chinese delegates from the Chinese Government would be present. This small meeting was made up of persons who were predominantly Soviet agents and communist partisans as listed previously in this report. There was only one person present who fought the communist line at this conference in respect to the Chinese question. This was Admiral Yarnell. The testimony and documents on this meeting before the Senate Sub Committee on Internal Security was as follows:-

"Mr. Morris. Who else gave their opinions at this conference?
"Mr. Mandel. We have here a digest of the opinion of Mr. Dennett, Admiral Yarnell, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Field.
"Mr. Dennett. I don't recall. He wasn't in the delegation, I don't think. I don't know who Mr. Chase was.
"Mr. Morris. Who was Mr. Field?
"Mr. Dennett. Frederick Vanderbilt Field.
"Mr. Mandel. Mr. Coe.
"Mr. Morris. Who was Mr. Coe?
"Mr. Dennett. Frank Coe.
"Mr. Mandel. Miss Farley.
"Mr. Morris. Who is Miss Farley?
"Mr. Dennett. Miriam Farley.
"Mr. Mandel. Mr. Johnstone.
"Mr. Morris. Who is Mr. Johnstone?
"Mr. Dennett. William C. Johnstone.
"Mr. Mandel. Mr. Bunche.
"Mr. Dennett. That is Ralph Bunche.
"Mr. Mandel. Mr. DeCaux.
"Mr. Morris. Is that Len DeCaux?
"Mr. Dennett. Yes.
"Mr. Morris. As far as you can recall, what was the purpose of that advance session?
"Mr. Dennett. I think it is well described by the statement of the chairman; that is, to see what the attitudes of the members of the delegation were, many of them strangers to each other, and to discuss particularly at this session the degree to which it would be possible to examine as part of the discussions the internal developments in China.
"Mr. Morris. Have you read that through completely?
"Mr. Dennett. I have read this through. There are a lot of others I have not read, however.
"Mr. Morris. With the exception of Admiral Yarnell, would you not agree there was uniformity of opinion there?
"Mr. Dennett. I think that is a fair statement; yes.
"Mr. Morris. What was the underlying expression of this majority of people there with the exception of Admiral Yarnell, with respect to the Chinese question?
"Mr. Dennett. The underlying agreement was that we certainly should discuss the internal situation in China as it bore very definitely upon postwar situations in China.

Admiral Yarnell's position is, I think, best summarized in one statement, and I am quoting:

> 'But if criticism leads to the overthrow of the Chungking Government, what will take its place? No other party is strong enough at present to assume control.'

"Mr. Morris. Nobody agreed with him?
"Mr. Dennett. They seemed not to."

Page 990 * * * *

The above testimony was based upon an official IPR minutes of this meeting which was as follows:-

"The main point under discussion during this period of the morning's meeting was what the American attitude should be in regard to the discussion of the internal problems of China, at the Hot Springs conference. Mr. Jessup felt that if the American delegation could decide what slant to take in bringing forth a discussion of China's domestic difficulties, it would facilitate a free discussion of this problem at the conference. He pointed out that the Chinese delegates have not wished and will not wish to discuss the internal situation in China. The domestic Chinese situation is covered in an indirect way in the agenda of the conference, as a diplomatic concession. He then asked Mr. Lattimore what factors in the Chinese internal situation were likely to come under discussion at the conference."

Page 991 * * * *

"Mr. Lattimore: He thought that the method of including India as well as China in the topic on the agenda might cushion the Chinese discussion. He said that the Chinese delegation at Hot Springs may occupy the position formerly held by the Japanese delegation at IPR conferences. The Chinese will present the party line, well cloaked in fog, and individual members of the Chinese party will hew to the party line although they may differ from it as individuals. They won't care to speak of their differences of opinion. Owing to the scarcity of information about Chinese internal affairs, the discussion at Hot Springs is likely to boil down to a discussion of the Kuomintang and the Communists, although the actual situation is far more complex; there are many smaller groups who are playing active parts in the political picture whose roles will be ignored. Developments in China today will have important political consequences. One example: the developments in southeast China, with the United States getting closer and closer to the Chinese coast. China's military leaders may decide to break through the Japanese lines to commandeer United States equipment when we land. The political affiliation of the Chinese commander who might make this move would influence the whole political set-up. The Chinese delegation will present no real data on China's internal situation, even though this situation is of military as well as political importance in the whole international picture."

Page 991 * * * *

"Admiral Yarnell: But if criticism leads to the overthrow of the Chungking government, what will take its place? No other party is strong enough at present to assume control."

Page 992 * * * *

"Mr. Bunche: How can we divorce national policies from domestic conditions? We cannot avoid discussing internal conditions in China in relation to her future foreign policy, and all other countries as well."

Page 993 * * * *

"Mr. Bunche thought that under section C-I of the agenda, Dumbarton Oaks should play an important part. And also he brought out the fact that a United Nations conference might take place before the Hot Springs meeting, and that too should be included in the agenda."

Page 993 * * * *

Dr. Bunche, as the above remarks indicate, proposed the line which the Kremlin wanted, to prepare the ground work for the seizure of China by red forces. Thus the IPR was used to swing U.S. foreign policy behind Soviet objectives. The preliminary move was to trick the Chiang Kai-shek government, through our State Department pressure, to allow the reds more lee-way in the internal affairs of China. In a weakened war-torn country this was all the foot hold the Moscow trained reds needed.

It is interesting to note that in his last statement Bunche asked that the IPR forces be injected in helping shape the future of the United Nations.

It is hard to believe that one who has been trained and experience in advanced communist propaganda and theory (as indicated in Dr. Bunche's earlier writings and associations) could do these things in the company of Soviet Agents and oppose Admiral Yarnell's pro-American position, without realizing the serious traitorous consequences of the preparations for betrayal of China to Moscow.

After sifting through thousands of seized IPR documents and hearing the testimony of numerous witnesses on the activities of this organization, a Senate sub-Committee arrived at the following conclusions as to the nature of

its pro-Soviet character:-

"The IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet Officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence."

* * * *

"The IPR disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources."

* * * *

"Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist."

* * * *

"Effective leadership of the IPR had by the end of 1934, established and implemented an official connection with G. N. Voitinski, Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the Communist International."

* * * *

"A group of persons associated with the IPR attempted, between 1941 and 1945, to change United States policy so as to accommodate Communist ends and to set the stage for a major United States policy change, favorable to Soviet interests, in 1945."

* * * *

"During the period 1945-49, persons associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations were instrumental in keeping United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China."

* * * *

"The net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been such as to serve international Communist interests and to affect adversely the interests of the United States."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION, PURSUANT TO S. RES. 366 (82nd Congress) A RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES. HEARINGS HELD JULY 25, 1951-JUNE 20, 1952 BY THE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE pages 223-4-5

STOCKHOLM PEACE APPEAL

The main Soviet line during the last few years has been to set up a barrage of activity to disarm the non-communist world by a so-called "peace" drive. The main instrument in this endeavor has been the self-styled

"Stockholm Peace" drive with which the Kremlin intends to build up pressure to disarm their opponents throughout the rest of the world, while the red drive towards subversion and conquest is to go right on without a letup.

In a Soviet organized movement, called the "Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace", (which in turn was promoted by an organization called the "World Peace Council", which is located behind the Iron Curtain in Warsaw, Poland.) there is published a well known Soviet publication called WORLD REVIEW IN DEFENSE OF PEACE. The acknowledged head of this enterprise is M. Frederick Joliot-Curie, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

In this magazine, Dr. Bunche is referred to in the most complimentary terms and his speeches are quoted as reflecting the line which fits into the propaganda issued by the Soviet organized "Stockholm Peace" Appeal. The following quote of the complete text amply illustrates this:

"DR. BUNCHE'S WARNING."

"The Stockholm appeal continued to progress. The banning of the atom bomb and control of that ban appear more and more as an imperative necessity. Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the United Nations Trusteeship Division and winner of the 1950 Nobel Prize for Peace, warned listeners at Western University where he received an honorary degree last month that:

"'If the United Nations cannot keep peace, there will be war-catastrophic, final, atomic war. A war, perhaps the final war, in which there may be survivors but none who dare boast of themselves as victors.'

"Dr. Bunche repeated his warning to a meeting of the Canadian United Nations Association in Toronto:

"'The road ahead is not inviting ... it will not be easily traversed. But, it will be more easily undertaken if the peoples of the West and the East come to believe that in the atomic weapons they have a common enemy.'

"Dr. Bunche warned against the idea of reorganizing the United Nations with Russia excluded. He said:

"'This idea misses the fundamental concept of the U.N. We do not propose to choose up sides for an ultimate fight but to have all nations in ... particularly those who have differences among themselves.'

"He criticized the slogan 'cold war' and said emphasis should be on winning peace, and expressed his opinion that a peaceful means of settling major disputes is possible."

WORLD REVIEW OF PEACE. Magazine - official organ of the BUREAU of the COMMITTEE FOR THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE. President M. Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE, November 15, 1950. Published twice monthly in Chinese, English, French, German, Hungarian, Rumanian, Russian and Spanish. Page 65.

An official Congressional evaluation of this communist peace organization lists it as:-

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL (See also Second World Peace Congress)
1. Cited as having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow radio as "the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace."

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 378 on the Communist "peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original date April 1, 1951, p. 38.)

THE DAILY WORKER

Finally, the Official Communist newspaper, THE DAILY WORKER, gave full support to Dr. Bunche, during the obviously inadequate "quickie" hearing held before the Government Loyalty Board during May of 1954.

In an editorial on the Bunche case, this communist newspaper was almost hysterical in support of him. (It is a long established fact, supported by expert testimony, that the top polit-buro of the Communist Party must pass on the text of all editorials of THE DAILY WORKER):-

"DR. BUNCHE'S CASE
"The UN was getting ready to appoint Dr. Ralph J. Bunche to a new high post when certain racist 'anti-Communist' forces moved fast to stop this.

"This is the obvious explanation of the fact that two sordid characters making a profession of 'fingering Communists' were quickly dragged out of the cellar to knife Bunche.

"And so Dr. Bunche again had to solemnly prove his 'loyalty' - meaning that he had to prove he is innocent of the 'crime' of Marxism and is a reliable supporter of the 'anti-Communist' policy.

"The plans of the 'anti-Communists' who could not stomach the idea of a Negro in top UN posts couldn't be carried through. The same enormous anti-racist pressure which in the U.S.A. and throughout the world, compelled the Supreme Court to declare segregated schools and housing un-Constitutional also blocked this scheme.

"But what was revealed again was the un-American machinery of the 'anti-Communist' frameup mill. Bunche, thanks to the new anti-racist upsurge, escaped but the same McCarthyite machine hounds and jails hundreds of innocent Americans. Two stool pigeons not only lied about Dr. Bunche - this type of FBI 'anti-Communist' stoolie has been lying to courts and juries for more than five years; their lies have served as the basis for the 'red menace', Smith Act jailings and McCarthy's '20 years of treason' forgeries.

"It is good that the attempted political knifing of Dr. Bunche was balked; but America's safety requires that the Big Lie about Communism which the political assassins tried to use against him be discarded for the forgery it is."

DAILY WORKER - Editorial, Monday, May 31, 1954. P. 5

There is one certain criterion by which one can determine the position of any official by reading the DAILY WORKER. It is axiomatic that never, under any circumstances, is that newspaper known to praise or support sincere and effective anti-communists, especially editorially. In fact, communist publications have been known even to publish slight slaps on the wrists of actual Soviet agents in order to divert suspicion. Alger Hiss is one example. When praise and support is detected in communist papers of a high UN official as Ralph Bunche, it should appear conclusive that the communists consider him important enough to their cause to defend him.

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R82

Churchill

OXFORD, ENGLAND, JULY 20-(REUTERS)-SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL HAD AN UNEXPECTED REUNION HERE DURING THE WEEKEND WITH AN OLD WARTIME COLLEAGUE NOW DRIVING A 19TH-CENTURY COACH AND FOUR.

CHURCHILL SHOWED VISIBLE SURPRISE WHEN SIR ARTHUR HARRIS, 67-YEAR-OLD COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF BRITAIN'S BOMBER COMMAND FROM 1942-45, DROVE UP IN THE COACH TO TAKE CHURCHILL FROM OXFORD TO BLENHEIM PALACE, A SUMPTUOUS HOME EIGHT MILES FROM HERE WHICH NOW IS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC.

HARRIS EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD TAKEN THE UNPAID JOB AS COACHMAN, DRIVING TOURISTS TO THE PALACCE, BECAUSE "I'VE ALWAYS BEEN KEEN ON HORSES."

HU333P

Retired Generals in Britain don't fade wway and become influence peddlers, they merely drive away.

L.L.

R83

400 EAST 57TH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

January 26th, 1960

Mr. Edward Murrow
Connaught Hotel
London, England

Dear Ed:

I'm sorry I haven't written to you since I returned from London at the end of November but I am sure you have had other means of keeping abreast of the situation concerning the Churchill programs. As you must know, Lloyd Burns of Screen Gems and I met with Mr. Seward of CBS as soon as we returned to New York. From that point on Screen Gems did the negotiating directly with Sig Mickelson and the next thing I knew there was a switch and ABC moved into the picture. I regret that I did not participate in the discussions with Sig or in the preliminary negotiations with ABC.

However, we now seem to be in a deal with ABC and I think this could be for the best. They are good guys at that network and are anxious to make a big splash with this program. I think we will be able to go all out to make the Churchill series the finest documentaries television has seen. Screen Gems will not enter into the production aspect in any way.

I would still love to work with you on this project but I have no idea as to ABC's feelings in the matter or even as to your availability under the new circumstances. The earliest we can get on the air now appears to be January, 1961.

I am coming to London to see Sir Winston when he returns from Monte Carlo and will give you a ring at that time. I will probably have Ollie Treyz and Tom Moore of ABC with me. Tentatively I am counting on leaving here about February 4th or 5th.

See you soon. Meantime, best regards.

Cordially,

Jack Le Vien

JOHN D. Le VIEN

Books and Men

"This — is London" meant throughout the war years one powerful fact for American radio listeners: they were about to hear one of EDWARD R. MURROW'S *characteristically bold, accurate, steadfast accounts of Britain's struggle against the Nazis. A great reporter and a wise analyst now broadcasting on our own national affairs, Ed Murrow appraises for* Atlantic *readers* The Hinge of Fate, *the fourth and most controversial volume of Churchill's history of the Second World War, published by Houghton Mifflin.*

CHURCHILL: THE HINGE OF FATE

by EDWARD R. MURROW

1

I AM certainly not one of those who need to be prodded. In fact, if anything, I am a prod." (Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, February 11, 1942.)

"With all his faults, right or wrong, he was always for fighting; which is something." (From Winston Churchill, of Marlborough.)

The Hinge of Fate (Houghton Mifflin, $6.00) is the fourth volume dealing with World War II, produced by that ancient and honorable son of the House of Commons — Winston Spencer Churchill. It is, I think, the most revealing document to come from the pen of this great craftsman of the English language. At the not inconsiderable age of seventy-five he demonstrates again that he is a reporter without equal, a diplomat of great skill, a man of war with the habit of command heavy upon him. No other man of the century has made and written such history. And Churchill the Historian supports Churchill the Statesman.

This chronicle begins in 1942 with the onslaught of Japan; with the prolonged exchanges between Mr. Churchill and Prime Minister Curtin of Australia.

Mr. Churchill has been criticized for burdening this book with so many cables, telegrams, minutes, and directives. His explanation, not defense, is in essence that he has had enough of being criticized as a "partial editor and sub-editor of history" and he prefers to give his readers the raw meat of official data which they may digest, if they are able. The difficulty is, of course, that by no means all of the documents are here presented. The selection is Mr. Churchill's; and even giants are rumored to welcome additions to their strength. For example, Mr. Churchill gives us a glimpse of his exchange with General Auchinleck in the Desert in 1942. We find the Prime Minister advising the General as to enemy dispositions and what the General's action should be; telling Auchinleck to withhold certain information in his communiqués in order that Reporter Churchill might divulge this information to the House of Commons.

Mr. Churchill's chronicle moves to the fighting in the Malay Peninsula; the retreat to Singapore; more telegraphic argument between Mr. Curtin and Mr. Churchill; Mr. Churchill's dismay that there were no permanent fortifications covering the landward side of the naval base in the city of Singapore. Then we are back to domestic politics: a vote of confidence in the House of Commons in the face of Far Eastern disasters, Mr. Churchill's unsuccessful effort to persuade Sir Stafford Cripps to take the Ministry of Supply, the hostility between Lord Beaverbrook and Sir Stafford Cripps, Churchill trying to reshuffle his Cabinet to include Cripps; while the battle cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* with the cruiser *Prinz Eugen* came out of Brest and ran the gantlet of the Channel, thereby creating more public dismay and resentment than was produced by the fall of Singapore. Mr. Churchill still isn't quite sure what happened at Singapore, and implies that an inquiry should be held.

In the early months of 1942 disaster continued in Asia, while shipping losses mounted in the Atlantic. There were more differences between Mr. Churchill and the Australian government, the Prime Minister failing to realize why Australians didn't react like Englishmen. Sir Stafford Cripps took off on his mission to India. Mr. Churchill makes it clear that his attitude toward the brightest jewel in the Crown had not changed in fifty years. He describes the desperate efforts to force convoys through to Murmansk, and he is unusually restrained in reporting the rough and surly answers he received from Stalin regarding both supplies and the second front.

But diplomacy, naval warfare, disposition of land forces, and domestic politics were not enough to occupy Mr. Churchill's time. He was prodding the scientists and the airmen about GEE, OBOE, and WINDOW. He accepted responsibility for everything, but would accept no diminution of his

own authority. He even found time to set down his ideas of the post-war Europe which was not to be dominated by "barbarism."

Meanwhile he continued to prod Auchinleck to attack in the Desert. Rommel attacked first. Churchill counseled Auchinleck from a distance. The British were driven back, but it did not appear to occur to Mr. Churchill that if they could not hold on defense, they might not have had the force necessary to take the offensive against Rommel.

In March and April of '42 the correspondence between Churchill and Stalin became slightly more agreeable. Molotov arrived in London and stayed at the Prime Minister's country place at Chequers, where there occurred "some remarkable incidents." Mr. Molotov's room "had been thoroughly searched by his police officers. The bed was the object of particular attention. The mattresses were all prodded in case of infernal machines; and the sheets and blankets were re-arranged by the Russians so as to leave an opening in the middle of the bed, out of which the occupant could spring at a moment's notice, instead of being tucked in." One night the sentries in the garden saw a chink of light showing through Mr. Molotov's blackout curtains. The housekeeper at Chequers, "a Scottish lady in her prime, and of placid temperament," went up and knocked at Mr. Molotov's door. The door was opened about a foot, and Molotov confronted her with an automatic pistol in his right hand. Mr. Churchill believed that "the incident reveals one aspect of the gulf between the Soviet way of life and that of the Western Powers."

2

THROUGHOUT this volume Mr. Churchill exercises the utmost restraint in reporting his differences with Stalin, De Gaulle, and President Roosevelt. He devotes considerable space to critical debates in the House of Commons. And it is clear that a victory in the House pleased him only slightly less than a victory in the field. His affection and respect for Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins is never beneath the surface of his memory or his dispatches.

Regarding the deal with Admiral Darlan, Mr. Churchill deprecates purely military decisions, still retains his irritation with General de Gaulle, and fails to make clear that Admiral Darlan ordered the cease-fire in North Africa after the firing had ceased of its own accord. Darlan's assassination "relieved the Allies of their embarrassment at working with him." Churchill the Parliamentarian is obviously not proud of the "Darlan Deal." But Churchill the Man of War was and is persuaded that it contributed to victory, and he hopes the tortured Admiral may rest in peace.

Churchill is candid when he discusses the invitation to General de Gaulle to join the two giants at the Casablanca meeting. He says that Elliott Roosevelt hastened to write about the confidential talks he heard at the meals to which he was brought by his father. "He seems to suggest that the President suspected me of trying to stop De Gaulle coming, and objecting to his being brought there." Churchill produces the cablegrams to refute this and says of young Mr. Roosevelt's book: "This rubbish has had a wide and long currency."

The phrase "unconditional surrender" gave Mr. Churchill a feeling of surprise when he heard the President use it at a press conference at Casablanca. He thinks perhaps it had been mentioned in prior conversations, but he isn't sure. As usual, he takes his share of responsibility. And anyway, whatever the origin, he doesn't think it was a mistake. It is not Mr. Churchill's habit to regard decisions once taken as having been in error. He still believes that his desire to go into northern Norway instead of North Africa was correct, and it would be difficult to prove that he was wrong. He was impelled in part by a desire to bring more effective and immediate help to the Soviet Union, although he was under no illusion as to Russia's past or probable future policy. And he was, during the period of this narrative, subjected to harassing and "needling" correspondence from Stalin.

The Hinge of Fate reveals Mr. Churchill as one of those rare Englishmen who can get along with foreigners; who insisted that only his view should prevail, after reasonable but not too long discussion. He clearly found his relations with American officers agreeable, although in recounting his experiences with Generals Eisenhower and Mark Clark he appears to neglect to report what might be called a typical Churchillian intervention.

On one occasion, during lunch at 10 Downing Street, General Clark so far forgot himself as to preface a remark to Mr. Churchill by saying: "Of course you civilians . . ." The General's remaining words of wisdom were unspoken, because the Prime Minister growled at him: "Young man, I was killing people when you were puling and puking in your blanket."

Throughout the war Mr. Churchill never really regarded himself as a civilian. He was quite prepared — as he did — to order his pilot to gain altitude in order to avoid a mountaintop which was nowhere near the course of flight. The habit of command was strong in this incredible individual with the restless, ranging mind, who throughout his life has found that green and pleasant Island too small a stage upon which to play.

He regarded himself, I suspect, as a great commander, unavoidably and unfortunately prevented from commanding armies in the field because his services were more urgently needed for the central and supreme direction of the war. He could scarcely endure to see a conflict looming over the horizon without being seized with an almost irresistible urge to grasp the English language in both hands

and use it as a cudgel. His favorite adjectives appear to be "austere," "sombre," "sordid," and "squalid." He seldom employs a phrase that has lost its cutting edge.

He acknowledges only one master, which is the House of Commons, unless it be his wife, whose judgment of individuals and issues often surpasses his own, and who can and does interrupt what the late Harold Laski once called "those thunderous and well-rehearsed improvisations" with the remark: "Shut up, Winston, and listen to this."

Mr. Churchill was, in his own words, "brought up and trained to have the utmost contempt for people who get drunk." But at the same time he cannot resist the attraction of an intoxicating phrase that rolls well off the tongue. He labors long over his public utterances and has the rare ability to taste a sentence before he writes or utters it. He was able, during the war years, to mobilize Elizabethan language in a manner that lifted the hearts of his fellow countrymen. He divined and tapped the wellsprings of their tradition, their fears, their hopes, and their arrogance.

He was and is an astounding combination of a gallant gambler, an aristocrat, an historian, and an early eighteenth century cavalry officer. At the same time his sense of humor labels him as one of the world's indestructible juveniles.

He is, I think, the most considerable man to walk the stage of world history in the last fifty years. His own version of history will support his actions. He both made it and wrote it. Later historians who have access to full documentation may amend or reverse his conclusions. But he is, as they will be, the prisoner of experience.

In these four volumes, with which historians may disagree but which they cannot ignore, Winston Churchill has permitted himself two mild expressions of personal regret or bitterness. One, over the fact that the House of Commons refused him permission to install recording apparatus for one of his great speeches; and two, over the fact that the British electorate "turned him out to pasture" when victory had been achieved.

The four volumes contain a substantial clue as to why his fellow countrymen denied him political power when the fighting was done. He was, in a sense, scarcely aware of them. For him the battle was everything. He drove himself so hard in the intoxicating atmosphere of high command that he failed to realize that other millions of nameless Britons, without his heritage, ability, or vision, were driving themselves as relentlessly; that they had visions of a fuller measure of equality — milk and hot lunches for their children, decent houses, and "fair shares for all."

I think it is true that most nations in time of war and dire peril dig back into their history, their folklore, and their traditions for support and sustenance. The British did that, and fortunately found them all wrapped up in one man. In the dark days they committed their present to his keeping. But they refused him the burden of the privilege of guiding their future.

This volume is Mr. Churchill's version of the turning tide or the hinge of fate. Historians may disagree with him about Dieppe or Darlan. They may feel that he selected his documents to sustain his judgment. They may conclude, as I did at the time, that his popularity was greater in this country than it was in Britain — just as Roosevelt's was greater in Britain than it was here. They may conclude that his knowledge of the past was so great as to becloud his perspective of the future.

I do not pretend to know upon what myth or fact future historians will agree. But I would hope that out of these four volumes, those to come, and all the footnotes and documents of the era, those historians will succeed in dredging up the essential greatness of Mr. Churchill.

That greatness is not, I suggest, his courage, his eloquence, patriotism, tenacity, or knowledge of history. His critics who condemn him for arrogance, for not having changed his mind for fifty years, for his imperialistic — or if you like, reactionary — utterances will, I hope, be confounded by a single fact. He truly regarded himself as a servant of the House of Commons. No democracy in modern time has been nearer than was Britain to the all-consuming flame of totalitarianism — and survived. It was Mr. Churchill's purpose and policy that the nation he led should survive or perish in freedom, and in a manner calculated to bring applause and respect from ancestors and descendants. This adherence and scrupulous attention to parliamentary procedure may prove an example, a hinge of fate more powerful than anything recorded in these four volumes.

I find no indication that there was ever a time when Mr. Churchill could have lost the war in an afternoon. But there were certainly times when he could have destroyed, or at least irreparably damaged, the faith of the Western world that it can defend its freedom without losing it in the process.

The conduct, the character, and the behavior of Mr. Churchill and his fellow countrymen were more eloquent than any book even he is likely to write. It was proof of what he said in a moment of serious levity at Ottawa, in December of 1941: "We have not journeyed across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy."

Books and Men

A conference of distinguished poets was held in Cambridge last summer in connection with the Harvard Summer School, and their discussion brought out these illuminating words of PIERRE EMMANUEL, *the French poet and critic. Mr. Emmanuel, who was born in 1916, is the author of some fifteen volumes of prose and verse; he taught mathematics and philosophy at a French lycée but stepped out of academic dress to take an active part in the Resistance movement. He is now in charge of the English-language broadcasts of the French government radio station,* Radio Diffusion Française.

THE POWER OF THE POET

by PIERRE EMMANUEL

1

I WISH to examine here a general problem, that of the communicability of poetry — or, more precisely, the conditions poetry must fulfill in order to become a common mode of expression and to cease being an idiom for initiates, a sacred but dead language. We are living in a world where the interest of such a discussion may appear quite insignificant to certain minds. Without a doubt, we believe in poetry in general, but the poet, in his heart, doubts the seriousness of what he conceitedly calls his poetic activity, as soon as he becomes attacked by the monstrous sorrow of the world, by the images of war, bombardments, concentration camps, and slums.

In these days, to allow oneself the luxury of sitting before a sheet of paper to lament the flight of time, or, as Unamuno says, to sing of the thighs of a passing mistress, would seem a childishness so scandalous that, lacking irony, simple modesty would be sufficient to deter us.

We are plunged into a century which leaves us no way out, involved as we are in the confusion, the misery, and the crimes of our time. That communion which men cannot attain in the harmony of a mutual ideal, they are attaining today in the universal anguish which drags them into mutual ruin.

We feel that this solidarity in destruction and death is our most precious asset, the hallmark of our human condition, our only place in the sun. If there is in man a ferment of love which inspires him with the thirst for language, the need of surpassing himself by expression, to create universal values, it can be found only where the weight of history is the most compelling and the abandonment the most despairing: that is, in the common human fabric that suffers, that cries in vain toward happiness, and dies in order to find it — or too often because of not finding it.

In the face of this suffering which invades us, how disarmed we are — we, the manipulators of phrases. We should like both to say and to act — and we are ever but sayers, "*les diseurs de mots.*"

Words have lost their power; if they have still an effect of magic, they are incapable of carrying us forward, of bearing witness to our faith in them. Language no longer has the value of a moral action which would create the example and the type, the ratio between what should be and what is.

Of course, we speak learnedly of the stars, we meddle with unexpected metamorphoses, and the richness of imaginary marvels encumbers our verses. We are proud of having delved very deeply into what we call poetic experience, to have enlarged the field of imagery and liberated words from their ordinary sense.

But is not this precisely our mistake? We no longer speak like ordinary men, and our isolation humiliates us, in spite of the proud solitude with which we mask our humiliation. For we feel keenly that what man lacks most in the present disorder of thought is the common meaning, the verity that is true for all, a verity whose formulation escapes us. We have lost the power to utter it with a conviction which the words exact.

We believe ourselves responsible for language, and it belongs to the dignity of the artist to carry that responsibility to the end. But what does this responsibility require from us if not to preserve, to search out, and to magnify more and more the common meaning of everybody's words, the concrete experience by which the humblest lives grow?

Do you remember the line by Hölderlin in his elegy "Brot und Wein": "*Brot is der Erde Frucht, doch ist vom Lichte gesegnet* — Bread is the fruit of the earth, but by light is it blessed"? The things of common experience, sentiments, aspirations, receive their true meaning from this double reality, earthly and luminous. The vocation of the poet is to give to all things their part of light, their portion of beauty which transfigures them.

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February 29, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Sir Winston:

I was distressed to learn that you were inconvenienced on your return from the south of France. It seems to me that you should not be subjected to the vicissitudes of travel that afflict ordinary mortals.

Should you be inclined to re-consider the television project outlined in my letter of July 25, 1955, copy of which is enclosed, I should be delighted to fly over to London any week-end to discuss it with you.

I have just returned from a fortnight in Israel where you are much revered and where there appears to be no residue of resentment against the British.

I beg you to convey my warmest respects to Lady Churchill.

Sincerely yours,

The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., C.H., F.R.S.
28 Hyde Park Gate
London, W.1
England

rh
cc: Messrs. Paley, Stanton

EDWARD R. MURROW

485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

C O P Y

July 25, 1955

My dear Sir Winston:

I venture to address you again regarding our conversation dealing with television.

We at the Columbia Broadcasting System have given considerable thought to a television program or programs which would perform a public service to the English-speaking peoples and which might merit your consideration and participation. We have considered and discarded many possibilities and have finally become persuaded that we should like to prepare a visual document for posterity. This to consist of a total of five hours of filmed conversation with you. This film could be made at your convenience, either in Britain or on the Continent. It would be done outdoors, in natural light so that you would not be subjected to the inconvenience of artificial lighting.

The questions put to you would cover the great sweep of your experience and participation in world affairs and would not be calculated to make news or stimulate current controversy. The film could be made not all at once, but perhaps in sequences of one hour each, spread over as many days as might be convenient to you.

You would, of course, retain the right to cause us to eliminate, and indeed destroy, any of the film which did not meet with your approval after it had been processed and developed.

The entire proceedings would require five hours of your time, those hours to be scheduled at your convenience, and I suggest that the result would be an historical document altogether unique which will be available to future generations. Consider the instruction and inspiration that might be drawn from similar visual documents of Lincoln, Pitt and Hadrian if such documents existed.

We are primarily interested in having the film available for our own television use. At the same time, we can foresee the desirability of a wider dissemination of this historical document and its component parts. For that reason, we would wish to have unlimited rights to use, and to permit others to use, the film and materials contained therein in all media.

If this proposal has merit in your view, the Columbia Broadcasting System is prepared to pay over to you the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars ($100,000.00) in return for your participation in the film and for all rights in the film and of copyright. It would be my privilege to ask the questions and edit the film, a task that would be undertaken with deep admiration and affection as well as with such technical skills as I may possess.

These five hours of your time might be stolen for posterity any time between mid-August and mid-September. Should you care to discuss this matter in person, I, of course, stand ready to fly to London at your command.

Sincerely yours,

The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., C.H., F.R.S.
28 Hyde Park Gate
London, W.1
England

fc
(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

Conf. C F. 502

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Paley

From Mr. Murrow

Station

October 19, 1955

I remain convinced that correspondence with Sir Winston would be fruitless. Perhaps we can talk about it further after you have heard from Korda's representative.

E.R.M.

rh

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Paley

Station

C O P Y

original returned with
memo from Murrow to Paley
dated October 19.

September 30, 1955

I will have more information about the Sir Winston setup after Korda's representative reports back to me, but what concerns me about your proposed visit to London is his message to you some time ago that he had already commited himself to Sir Alexander Korda for any television work which he would do.

I should think your trip might have more fruitful results if you wrote to him, expressing the hope that it still might be possible for you to work out a filmed interview along the lines of your letter to him on that subject and suggesting that, if there is any chance that it might be worked out, you would be happy to fly to London in November. It might catch him just at a moment when your proposal might strike him as being easier to fulfill than the others he is receiving, or the success of the record album might make him feel that he would be in better hands by dealing and working with you.

What do you think?

/s/ WSP

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 502

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Paley

From Mr. Murrow

Station

September 29, 1955

I am inclined to write Sir Winston suggesting that I fly over to see him when he returns to London in November. What are your wishes?

E.R.M.

rh

sent Churchill letter

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 502

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Mickelson

From Mr. Murrow

Station

August 23, 1955

I don't quite know what to suggest further regarding Churchill. I received the distinct impression, both from Korda and Churchill, that Korda's rights was other than the great sweep of Churchill's experience and participation in world affairs. Churchill's letter implies that he has made an over-all deal with Korda; this, of course, may be a polite way for Churchill to turn us down. My own feeling is that if we desire to pursue the matter, it would be best for Mr. Paley to try and unscramble the situation in a telephone call to Korda.

E.R.M.

rh
(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Mickelson

August 17, 1955

In view of Churchill's rejection of your proposal, is there any point going back to Korda?

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 502

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Messrs. Paley, Van Volkenburg, Mickelson

From Mr. Murrow

Station

August 16, 1955

Sir Winston Churchill has declined our proposal in the following terms:

"I am afraid it is no longer open to me to entertain your suggestion of a five-hour personal television talk, as I had already made certain arrangements with Sir Alexander Korda several months ago. Let me express my thanks to you for making this proposal to me."

E.R.M.

xx

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Julius F. Brauner

from: Edward R. Murrow

July 19, 1955.

Please cast your eye over this and
let me know what you think.

E.R.M.

Letter to Churchill re Television Project.

50

My dear Sir Winston:

I venture to address you again regarding our conversation dealing with television.

We at the Columbia Broadcasting System have given considerable thought to a television program or programs which would perform a public service to the English-speaking peoples and which might merit your consideration and participation. We have considered and discarded many possibilities and have finally become persuaded that we should like to prepare a visual document for posterity. This to consist of a total of five hours of filmed conversation with you. This film could be made at your convenience, either in Britain or on the Continent. It would be done outdoors, in natural light so that you would not be subjected to the inconvenience of artificial lighting.

The questions put to you would cover the great sweep of your experience and participation in world affairs and would not be calculated to make news or stimulate current controversy. The film could be made not all at once, but perhaps in sequences of one hour each, spread over as many days as might be convenient to you.

You would, of course, retain the right to cause us to eliminate, and indeed destroy, any of the film which did not meet with your approval after it had been processed and developed.

The entire proceedings would require five hours of your time, those hours to be scheduled at your convenience, and I suggest that the result would be an historical document altogether unique which will be available to future generations. Consider the instruction and inspiration that might be drawn from similar visual documents of Lincoln, Pitt and Hadrian if such documents existed.

We are primarily interested in having the film available for our own television use. At the same time, we can foresee the desirability of a wider dissemination of this historical document and its component parts. For that reason, we would wish to have unlimited rights to use, and to permit others to use, the film and materials contained therein in all media.

If this proposal has merit in your view, the Columbia Broadcasting System is prepared to pay over to you the sum of One hundred thousand dollars ($100,000) in return for your participation in the film and for all rights in the film and in materials embodied in it, including, of course, all rights of copyright. It would be my privilege to ask the questions and edit the film, a task that would be undertaken with deep admiration and affection as well as with such technical skills as I may possess.

These five hours of your time might be stolen for posterity any time between mid-August and mid-September. Should you care to discuss this matter in person, I, of course, stand ready to fly to London at your command.

Sincerely yours,

ACR

27

JULY 13, 1955

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL
28 HYDE PARK GATE
LONDON ~~S.W. 7 ENGLAND~~

WILL WRITE YOU NEXT WEEK REGARDING TELEVISION PROPOSALS DISCUSSED IN LONDON STOP RESPECTFUL REGARDS.

ED MURROW

fe
444-710-43

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MISS CAMPBELL

from: Mr. Brauner

July 25, 1955

I have just spoken to Mr. Murrow. He would like to have you send out today, by air mail, the letter to Sir Winston in accordance with the attached draft.

JULIUS F. BRAUNER

mm
Enc.

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow cc: Mr. Flynn
Mr. Harrison

from: Mr. Van Volkenburg July 19, 1955

This is your authority to offer on behalf of CBS Television $100,000 to Sir Winston Churchill for five hours of film shooting as discussed in Mr. Paley's office this afternoon.

Good luck!

J. L. VAN VOLKENBURG

JLV:ejp

50

B.I.S.

Telephone
CIRCLE 6-5100

Cable:
DIGESTION, NEW YORK

Reference for reply

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
45 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

December 19, 1958.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I am most grateful to you for allowing B.I.S. to use any portion of Sir Winston Churchill's best known speeches, which you kindly sent to us in album form. It will help us immeasurably in preparing some of our future public service programs.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Rodney Chalk

Rodney C. Chalk
Director
Radio-Television Division

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

RCC/mz

(Copy)

November 17, 1958

Anthony Montague-Browne
28 Hyde Park Gate
London S.W.7.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

ANSWERING YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 10TH INDIVIDUAL INVOLVED WOULD NOT REPEAT WOULD NOT BE SUITABLE INSTRUMENT FOR YOUR PURPOSES

REGARDS

Edward R. Murrow

514-70
News

Montague-Browne, A.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE 7972.

28, HYDE PARK GATE,
LONDON, S.W.7.

17 November, 1958.

Dear Mr Murrow

Sir Winston Churchill has asked me to express to you his very warm thanks for the trouble you have taken. It was most useful to us to have the views of someone of your standing on this matter.

Sir Winston asks me to send you his very good wishes, and to say that he hopes to see you over here before long.

Yours sincerely

Anthony Montague Browne

Mr. Ed Murrow.

Eng Pass

November 25

ANGIER BIDDLE DUKE
255 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

October 27, 1958

$30 Check sent Nov. 10. Mrs. Murrow told.

Yes

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Murrow:

I invite you to join in paying tribute to Sir Winston Churchill on the occasion of the presentation to him of the Admiral Richard E. Byrd Memorial Award given annually "for leadership in the cause of the free world." Our Award will be presented at the 25th Anniversary Dinner of the International Rescue Committee, of which I am President, on the evening of Tuesday, November 25th at the Hotel Astor in New York City.

This Award was established in 1957 in memory of the late Admiral Richard E. Byrd, who contributed immeasurably during the latter part of his life to the aid of refugees from Communist tyranny.

Sir Winston's message to us on that evening will be delivered by Commander, The Rt. Honourable Allan Noble, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom and Chief of the British Delegation to the United Nations.

In honoring Sir Winston for his unparalleled service to the free world, we are also helping to focus attention on those refugees from totalitarianism who have escaped to freedom. Indicative of the human values salvaged by the work of the International Rescue Committee, to which Admiral Byrd devoted the last decade of his life, we will have with us on that evening the world-famous sculptor, Jacques Lipchitz, the heroic Lord Mayor of Budapest, Joseph Koevago, and Merek Hlasko, Polish author of the Eighth Day of the Week, all of whom have escaped from oppression. Their presence will symbolize the spirit which animates all men who desire to be free and whom our organization is pledged to aid.

I know that you share my veneration for Sir Winston Churchill, and I hope very much you will consent to lend your name as a sponsor of our dinner in his honor.

I hope also to welcome you to our gathering on that occasion and I am enclosing a reservation card for your convenience. Please let me know how many places you and your associates desire.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Angier Biddle Duke

Angier Biddle Duke

ABD:A
Encl.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

A158CC 5B NL PD

FAX NEW YORK NY OCT 15 1958

EDWARD R MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485 MADISON AVE NYK

WINSTON CHURCHILL WILL BE RECIPIENT ADMIRAL RICHARD E BYRD MEMORIAL AWARD AT DINNER NOVEMBER 25. AWARD WILL BE ACCEPTED BY COMMANDER ALAN NOBLE. IN THIS CONNECTION WOULD LIKE TO USE EXCERPTS OF YOUR TRIBUTE TO WINSTON CHURCHILL. ADDITIONAL DETAILS HAVE BEEN PHONED TO YOUR SECRETARY.

ANGIER BIDDLE DUKE, PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE.

547PME

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WESTERHAM-3344

at La Capponcina,
Cap d'Ail,
~~CHARTWELL~~, A.M.
~~WESTERHAM~~,
KENT.

~~19~~ 7 September, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Sir Winston Churchill has asked me to thank you very much for your letter of September 8, and for all the trouble you have taken. It is most kind of you, and it is useful to know how we stand in the matter.

Yours very sincerely,

Anthony Montague Browne

Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

Churchill

September 8, 1958

My dear Sir Winston:

I write further regarding the possible disposition of the movie rights to "History of the English-Speaking Peoples". My friends in Hollywood are of course lavish in their praise of the literary merit of the work but seem to feel that they lack either the skill or the financial resources to turn it into a movie. I think they are wrong, but then I am not a producer.

Respectfully yours,

The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., C.H., F.R.S.
28 Hyde Park Gate
London W. 1
England

KRM:skh

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

July 28, 1958

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your letter.

I would not be interested in doing Churchill's "History of the English-Speaking Peoples". However, you are very kind to write me about it.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Churchill

July 21, 1958

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

Dear Sam:

It rather looks now as though I will be going to the Middle East instead of to the West Coast, but I am not yet sure.

I think I mentioned to you that when I talked to Sir Winston Churchill in London last May he asked me, in his usual gracious fashion, to enquire whether there might be any interest in this country in the television or movie rights to his "History of the English-Speaking Peoples". I have pretty well determined that there is no interest in television and I am wondering what you would think of the possibility of developing any interest in the movie world.

My love to you and Frances.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

PA231 1958 JUN 23 AM 7 23

P ZLB052 INTL=ZL TD LONDON VIA WUCABLES 25 23=

LT MR ED MURROW=

COLOMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485 MADISON AVE

NYK22=

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR TELEGRAM AND THE TROUBLE YOU ARE TAKING=

WINSTON CHURCHILL.

Hold for July 15th

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Churchill, W.

Conf.

June 19, 1958

The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., C.H., F.R.S.
28 Hyde Park Gate
London, W.1
England

REGRET TO REPORT NO ACTIVE INTEREST BY TV COMPANIES INQUIRING RIGHTS TO THE HISTORY STOP GENERAL IMPRESSION SEEMS TO BE ITS MORE SUITABLE FOR LARGE SCREEN CINEMA PRESENTATION STOP PURSUING MY INQUIRIES AND WILL ADVISE YOU OF DEVELOPMENTS STOP PRAY CONVEY MY RESPECTS TO LADY CHURCHILL

Ed Murrow

514-43
News

VL

GA

RECEIVED
1958 JUN 18 AM 9:00
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

K

NPA001 INTL PD

N LONDON VIA WUCABLES JUNE 17 616P

LT MR ED MURROW COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

485 MADISON AVE NYK

PRAY INFORM ME IF YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER ANY MARKET EXISTS IN AMERICA FOR THE SALE OF THE TELEVISION RIGHTS IN THE HISTORY

WINSTON CHURCHILL.

756AMEST JUNE 18.

Browne, Anthony M.

June 4, 1958

Dear Mr. Browne:

Many thanks for your kind letter of May 20.

I shall do as you suggest and take some discreet soundings on the matter we discussed. I will let you know in due course what the developments are.

I, too, enjoyed our meeting and shall hope that we may renew our acquaintance the next time I am in England.

Sincerely yours,

Anthony Montague-Browne, Esq., O.B.E. D.F.C.
Chartwell,
Westerham,
Kent

mcc

WESTERHAM 93.

CHARTWELL,
WESTERHAM,
KENT.

20 May, 1958

Private

Dear Mr Murrow

I discussed with Sir Winston the matter of the sale of the television rights of A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES which came up at luncheon. He quite agrees that it would be very helpful if you could take discreet soundings and let him know if there is any market for it. As you know, it was on offer some 18 months ago, but nothing came of it.

Sir Winston himself could not, of course, appear or assist in any way - it would be merely a straight sale of the television and/or film rights.

I so much enjoyed meeting you here, and I hope that I shall have an opportunity to do so again.

Yours sincerely

Anthony Montague Browne

Mr. Ed Murrow.

July 25, 1955

My dear Sir Winston:

I venture to address you again regarding our conversation dealing with television.

We at the Columbia Broadcasting System have given considerable thought to a television program or programs which would perform a public service to the English-speaking peoples and which might merit your consideration and participation. We have considered and discarded many possibilities and have finally become persuaded that we should like to prepare a visual document for posterity. This to consist of a total of five hours of filmed conversation with you. This film could be made at your convenience, either in Britain or on the Continent. It would be done outdoors, in natural light so that you would not be subjected to the inconvenience of artificial lighting.

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We are primarily interested in having the film available for our own television use. At the same time, we can foresee the desirability of a wider dissemination of this historical document and its component parts. For that reason, we would wish to have unlimited rights to use, and to permit others to use, the film and materials contained therein in all media.

If this proposal has merit in your view, the Columbia Broadcasting System is prepared to pay over to you the sum of One Hundred Thousand Dollars ($100,000.00) in return for your participation in the film and for all rights in the film and in materials embodied in it, including, of course, all rights of copyright. It would be my privilege to ask the questions and edit the film, a task that would be undertaken with deep admiration and affection as well as with such technical skills as I may possess.

These five hours of your time might be stolen for posterity any time between mid-August and mid-September. Should you care to discuss this matter in person, I, of course, stand ready to fly to London at your command.

Sincerely yours,

The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., C.H., F.R.S.,
28 Hyde Park Gate
London, W.1.
ENGLAND

fe

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

WESTERN 1617.

28, HYDE PARK GATE,
LONDON, S.W. 7.

6 August, 1955

Confidential

My dear Murrow,

I am afraid it is no longer open to me to entertain your suggestion of a five-hour personal television talk, as I had already made certain arrangements with Sir Alexander Korda several months ago.

Let me express my thanks to you for making this proposal to me.

Yours very sincerely,

Winston S. Churchill

Mr. Ed Murrow.

2068NY COLBROCO RC 2 RB

INZ255

RECEIVED
1958 FEB 10 PM 2:00
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

RFZ 29

[redacted]MØNTECARLO 22 10 1804

MREDWARD MURROW COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485 MADISON AVENUE

NEWYORK

E.R.

re P.T.S.

I FEAR I CANNOT MAKE ANY ARRANGEMENTS NOW WARMEST REGARDS

WINSTON CHURCHILL

Person to Person

FEBRUARY 7, 1958

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., O.M., C.H., F.R.S.
ROQUEBRUNE, FRANCE

DELIGHTED YOU X ARE TO VISIT OUR SHORES AGAIN STOP IF YOU ARE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE ONE BRIEF TELEVISION APPEARANCE I SHOULD BE HONORED TO ARRANGE IT STOP WARMEST REGARDS TO YOU, LADY CHURCHILL AND SARAH.

EDWARD R. MURROW

514-43
fc

see pt P

HN27 VISIT (TX)

NICE, FRANCE, FEB. 7-(INS)-SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL HAS DECIDED TO VISIT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER NEXT APRIL.

CHURCHILL'S SECRETARY ANNOUNCED AT ROQUEBRUNE THAT THE FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER DEFINITELY HAD ACCEPTED PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S INVITATION.

SA532PES

February 10, 1958

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of a cable to Sir Winston.

If the opportunity affords, perhaps you would, in the American vernacular "put in a good word."

Janet joins me in sending best regards to you and Lady Caccia.

As ever yours,

Sir Harold Caccia
British Embassy
Washington, D.C.

fc

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. Lower, Elmer F. 502

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Lower

From Mr. Murrow

Station

March 14, 1956

I am now negotiating on Mr. Paley's behalf with Sir Winston on a special project and would under no circumstances be prepared to intervene in the two you suggest. I think there is no possibility of his doing either one.

E.R.M.

rh

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow cc: Messrs. Mickelson and Seward

from: Elmer W. Lower

March 13, 1956

The Insurance Company of North America has inquired whether Winston Churchill would be available to make a 7 or 8 minute talk on a subject of his own choosing to be used during a special one-hour Radio program of the Philadelphia Orchestra.

This is the company which sponsored the Christmas SING WITH BING. It is interested in sponsoring three or four hour-long shows per year.

Mr. Mickelson suggested that I consult you on this matter in view of your previous discussions with Mr. Churchill.

The CBS Radio Network also has had an inquiry whether Mr. Churchill would be available to do a regular weekly commentary.

Your advice on the above matters would be appreciated.

WESTERN 1617.

28, HYDE PARK GATE,
LONDON, S.W. 7.

4 August, 1955

Confidential

My dear Murrow,

I am afraid it is no longer open to me to entertain your suggestion of a five-hour personal television talk, as I had already made certain arrangements with Sir Alexander Korda several months ago.

Let me express my thanks to you for making this proposal to me.

Yours very sincerely,

Winston S. Churchill

Mr. Ed Murrow.

June 21+22, 1955

CHURCHILL--Life and Times.

Prospectus: 26 half-hour television programs based on the life and times of Winston Churchill.

Materials: Near-complete Churchill broadcasts covering his epoch. There is also adequate film material from 1914 on.

The period 1874-1914 can be developed through stills and Churchill voice, plus sufficient ancient footage covering that era.

GENERAL APPROACH: There have been numerous television and film programs dealing with the newsreel history of our times. This series could be much more gratifying from all points of view--scholarship, general interest, living history, prestige--if first-rate historical interpretation is adhered to rigorously. Secondly, great dramatic impact could be achieved by using Churchill broadcasts to narrate many of the historical periods covered. Thus, the rise of Hitler could combine the brilliant film now ~~kkmt~~ held by Alien Property with that prophetic broadcast of Churchill's in 1934. Russia's entrance into WW2 could be almost completely narrated by Churchill's 22 Jun 41 broadcast. Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor never had more dramatic commentary that Churchill's 8 Dec 41 or 26 Dec 41 speeches. Churchill's childhood, youth and early manhood could be narrated by portions of his various later-year speeches over the numerous photos of those early days. And so on.

Note: See Folder CBS - Consultative News - Public Affairs for covering memos.

CHURCHILL--Life and Times.

#1. Victorian Glories.

"For us in Britain, the nineteenth century ended amid the glories of the Victorian era, and we entered upon the dawn of the twentieth in high hope for our country, our Empire and the world...Little did we guess that what has been called the Century of the Common Man would witness as its outstanding feature more common men killing each other with greater facilities than any other five centuries put together in the history of the world. But we entered this terrible twentieth century with confidence."

* * *

There is an endless supply--probably all copyright--of still photos of Churchill the baby...his American mother...his politically prominent father...his days at Sandhurst...the army...Cuba...India...the Nile... the Boer War...his return to England...in politics...still photos or even film footage of the Royal Family, symbolic of British imperial sway... the massing of German power...American internal expansion--rails, auto-- fashions of the time...beginnings of the film...Russo-Japanese 1904 war... Teddy Roosevelt mediation at Portsmouth.

* * *

This first program could combine much of Churchill's humourous reminiscent commentary of his early days, and would serve as a brief survey of "the nineteenth century ending amid the glories of the Victorian era."

#2. Trial of Strength.

"In the first decade of the twentieth century with new patterns of warships, naval rivalries became acute and fierce. Civilized governments began to think in terms of dreadnnughts. It was in such a setting very difficult to prevent the first world war...The impulses toward a trial of strength in Europe were far stronger at this time. Germany, demanding her 'place in the sun,' was faced by a resolute France with her military honour to regain. England, in accordance with her foreign policy of 300 years, sustained the weaker side. France found an ally in the Russia of the Czars and Germany in the crumbling Empire of the Habsburgs. The United States...stood aloof and expected to be able to watch as a spectator, the thrilling fearful drama unfold across what was then called 'the Broad Atlantic."---

* * *

Film footage on first world war...

Especially trench warfare which Churchill hated...

British, German, US, Russian fronts...

Churchill as First Lord...disaster at Gallipoli...

Lloyd George...Wilson at home...Liberty Bond drives...

Attacks on 'pro-German' civil liberties within US...

Still photos of Churchill at front...

Chateau Thierry, Belleau Woods...

Revolution in Russia...

Victory in Europe...

Assemblage at Versailles...

CHURCHILL--Life and Times.

#3. The Bolshevik Revolution.

"The failure to strangle Bolshevism at its birth and to bring Russia, then prostrate, by one means or another, into the general democratic system lies heavily upon us today."

* * *

See It Now footage on Bolshevik Revolution is one of best done, although there's a tremendous amount of material kicking around--Artkino, Soviet films--that could add up to a powerhouse of a half hour...Churchill was a leading exponent of intervention, but war-weariness and British Laborite sympathies, plus Bolshevik defense, defeated the intervention...This half hour could start with 1905 and go down to 1930, with Stalin triumphant... William Randolph Hearst's full page editorials 1918-1933 calling for recognition of Bolshevik Russia--"truest democracy in world today"--might lend a nostalgic touch...

CHURCHILL--Life and Times.

#4. The Peace-Makers.

"After four years of hideous mechanical slaughter...the victorious allies assembled at Versailles. High hopes and spacious opportunities awaited them. To stop another war was the supreme object and duty of the statesmen who met as friends and allies around the Peace Table. They made great errors... Nevertheless, the statesmen of Versailles, largely at the inspiration of President Wilson, an inspiration implemented effectively by British thought, created the League of Nations. This is their defense before history, and had the League been resolutely sustained and used, it would have saved us all."

* * *

Film footage undoubtedly available on Versailles...

Europe greets Wilson...

Wilson, George, Clemenceau, Orlando

US troops demobilizing...

Cabot Lodge, Johnson...fight against League...Wilson travels thru US

Civil war in Russia...Germany...Hungary...rioting in Italy...

Harding president...US returns to normalcy..Black Bottom...

CHURCHILL--Life and Times.

#5. Return to Normalcy

1920-1930.

Death of Lenin and Wilson...

Harding in Power...

British Labor Govt

Churchill back to Conservatives...

Germany, Weimar Republic...

Russia...dislocation...Quaker Missions...Stalin-Trotzky

Italy...Mussolini to power...

Hungary...Revolution and counter-revolution...

China...Sun Yat Sen, Chiang Kai Shek-Communist alliance, rupture, civil war

India...Warnings of colonial breakdown...

Sacco and Vanzetti

Bootlegging...

William Jennings Bryan-Darrow Scopes Trial...

Autumn, 1929--the Great World Depression

There is not much social history on this period in available Churchill recordings, and yet this may be one of the most fascinating film periods of all in its nostalgia and historical impact...Film footage should abound...

CHURCHILL--Life and Times.

#6. The Rise of Hitler.

"You see these dictators on their pedestals, surrounded by the bayonets of their soldiers and the trucheons of their police..."

Churchill's 1934 and 1938 broadcasts have about fifteen minutes of magnificent stuff on the rise of Hitler (and Mussolini by indirection) and this could be laid over the best film footage available on Hitler's rise, such as was used by You Are There (which evidently came from Alien Property out of the original German terror films)...

background footage possibly available--certainly in stills--on Hitler-Von Ludendorff Munich putsch...

Anti-semitic outrages in streets...film available from US army...

Remilitarization of Rhineland footage...

Austrian Anschluss...Dolfuss...Stahremberg, etc...

Litvinoff on collective security...

Hitler points towards Czechoslovakia...

CHURCHILL Life and Times.

#7. Death of a Dream.

"It is said that the League of Nations failed. If so, that is largely because it was abandonned, and later on betrayed; because those who were its best friends were till a very late period infected with a futile pacifism; because the United States, the originating impulse, fell out of the line; because while France had been bled white and England was supine and bewildered, a monstrous growth of aggression sprang up in Germany, in Italy and Japan."

* * *

Chinese Incident (with Churchill commentary) Japan at Mukden...Manchuria...
Mussolini's invasion of Ethippia...war footage...Haile Selassie
Brief recap of Hitler's growth....
Miniature World War in Spain...
Non Intervention in Spain...
Roosevelt's "quarantine the aggressor"...WPA..unemployment...breadlines...
Father Coughlin...Huey Long...Lindbergh...dance marathons...strikes...goldfish.
Abdication of Edward 8th and Churchill(s lost golden opportunity to come back to power...
Hoare-Laval Abysinnia deal...Eden's resignation....
Cloud over Europe...

CHURCHILL Life and Times

#8. Munich.

"We have sustained a national disaster." "We must arm...Britain must arm. America must arm."

* * *

Adequate footage exists on this whole period...much of it in the United States, probably better stuff in Europe...

Chamberlain...

Hitler and Musso at Brenner Pass...

Benes...Masaryk...

Czechoslovakia falls...Entire military position of Europe is changed...

Stalin's warning he will pull no one's chestnuts out of fire...

Curious Strang Mission to Moscow...

Roosevelt stuff...

Joe Louis...Schmeling...

Churchill out of power...perhaps some travel footage on him exists in England..

Hitler points at Poland...

Unfortunately, the brilliant Churchill speeches warning on the disaster of Munich do not exist in BBC library...It is possible that some of Churchill's friends may have this material.

CHURCHILL Life and Times

#9. The Battle for Poland.

"We tried again and again to prevent this war, and for the sake of peace we put up with a lot of things happening which ought not to have happened. But now we are at war, and we are going to make war, and perservere in making war, until the other side have had enough of it."--

* * *

Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939--Churchill's commentary...film footage on pact probably exists with Germans and Russians, possibly in US too...

Hitler invades Poland...undoubtedly great footage exists...

Russian moves from east...probably plenty of footage...

EHurchill recordings describing plight of Poland...

Defeat of Poland...

Phony war...sitzkrieg...wash on the maginot line...Churchill commentary...

Roosevelt vs. isolationism in United States...

Churchill in command of Admiralty...

Russo-Finnish war...plenty of footage probably with Russians, but let's not use that shot of three Finns surrounding an ~~xxxxx~~ entire Soviet division...

Brilliant Churchill commentary on Russo-Finnish war...

Chamberlain agreement to permit British volunteers to fight in Finland...

End of Finnish war...talks of peace deals between Hitler and England...Churchill's violent negative on deals...

War in Scandinavia...

Churchill brought to power....

CHURCHILL Life and Times.

#10. Battle for France.

"I speak to you for the first time as Prime Minister in a solemn hour for the life of our country, of our empire, of our allies, and above all for the cause of freedom. A tremendous battle is raging in France and Flanders."

* * *

Churchill takes over...

Hitler stabs in Holland and Belgium

British move into Belgium

Hitler breaks into France...

Churchill's 19 May '40 broadcast can narrate entire footage on German victory in West...

Dunkirk...

Roosevelt, Charlottesville, 10 Jun 40--"hand that held the dagger"--Italy in war...

France defeated...Compiegne...

Churchill 18 Jun '40--Battle of France is over..."This was their finest hour."

CHURCHILL Life and Times

#11. Battle for Britain.

"Never in the history of human conflict did so many owe so much to so few."

There must be some splendid, rarely seen German footage of their naval buildup for invasion of England...

Churchill's broadcasts describing this buildup could narrate almost this entire program...

British defensive buildup...

air raid shelters...

Home guards...

Churchill visiting battle stations...

Roosevelt arsenal for democracy...

Russia takes over Baltic provinces...

DeGaulle appeals to French..British sink French fleet off Dakar...

Air War over Britain...

Britain Can take it...

#12. His Finest Hour.

"It was my good fortune to give the Lion's Roar!"

This should be a half hour dedicated to Churchill, the organizer of the British spirit. There must be considerable footage of Churchill in England in 1940-41, in every imagineable situation, dressed in every possible dress, going about the country, talking at meetings, boarding ships, examining rifles, sitting on rooftops, going into air raid shelters...And this should be accompanied by some of his most stirring speeches calling on his countrymen to stand fast.

The film itself should become an historic item of Churchilliana.

CHURCHILL Life and Times.

#13. Battle for the Balkans.

"...the crafty, cold-blooded, black-hearted Italian, who had thought to gain an empire on the cheap by stabbing fallen France in the back--he got into trouble."

Churchill's greatest Barrymore-like orations were left for Benito Mussolini. His recordings could narrate half this program as we see Mussolini in war dress, speechifying, his troops cutting into Greece, his meetings with Hitler to get Hitler to bail him out...British response in Greece...British defeat...

Roosevelt's third term...

Wilkie's visit to Churchill--"Sail On O ship of state..."

America's first peace-time draft...Stimson picks first draftee...

Molotov-Hitler discussions--possibly German film available...

Hitler's secret decision to invade Russia...

Yugoslvia beaten down...Mihailovitch-Tito footage if any available...

Defeat in the Balkans...

CHURCHILL Life and Times.

#14. Battle of the Atlantic.

"That is what is called the Battle of the Atlantic."

*****

Anyone of the 26 Victory-at-Sea gives you an idea of the type of footage involved in this program. But let's not use the same ship--it got boring after twenty six half hours.

US supplies for Britain...

Lend Lease

Old Age Destroyer deal

Battles in Near East , Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Lebanon

Gandhi's support of England...Nehru's opposition...(or other way around?)

Victory in U-boat warfare...

Film footage on continued bombings on London...

Churchill narration of sea war...Hitler's continued invasion threat...

Churchill's famous Rochester NY speech: "The old lion and her lion cubs stands alone...Is the tragedy to repeat itself once more? Ah no, this is not the end of the tale."

#15. Battle for Russia.

"At four o'clock this morning, Hitler attacked and invaded Russia..."

* * *

Background footage of Stalin-Hitler pact...

German-Soviet collaboration...

division of Poland...

Russia moves in Baltics...

Churchill's public approval of Russian actions and public hope that Russia will see the light...

Churchill's warnings that Hitler planned invasion of Russia...

War in Russia footage...German footage....

Churchill's great speech of 22 Jun 41 can practically narrate this entire program...

Stalin's summer 41 speech calling for scorched earth...possibly available in film from Artkino...

Churchill's meeting with Roosevelt--the Atlantic Charter--plenty of footage, can be used with Churchill's broadcast on meeting...

#16. Pearl Harbor.

"Should the United States become involved in war with Japan, the British declaration will follow within the hour."

* * *

Background on Japanese in China, southeast Asia, Kurusu-Nomuru-Hull meetings...

Churchill commentary on Japanese provocations...

Pearl Harbor footage...

Roosevelt before Congress...

British defeat at Singapore...

Japanese victories...Japanese footage...

threats to India...

Burma...Stilwell...

American total mobilization...footage of troops with broomsticks...

Soviet call for second front in Europe...

Churchill's appearances before Cong Dec 41, and Canadian Parl, Dec 41.

"Some Chicken, some neck."

#17. Battle for Africa.

"Until El Alamein, we survived; after El Alamein, we triumphed."

**

This half hour in two sections...

Section One. War in North Africa...Rommel...Montgomery...Alexandria...El Alamein...Desertx Rats (British film exists on this whole operation)...Church ill in North Africa...

US invasion of North Africa...Campaign in Tunisia...

Collapse of the German and the Italian.

****

Section Two:

Battle for Stalingrad...

German defeat...

turning point of second war...

tremendous Russian footage exists--availability questionable.

****

In both these sections, Churchill's broadcasts of the time could supply unmatchable commentary...

CHURCHILL Life and Times...

#18. Battle for Italy.

"It is certain that before the leaves of autumn fall, we shall come to closer grips."

***

Footage on Dieppe...an operation which confirmed Churchill's negative attitude towards a second front in France until the odds were better...

Footage on surrendering Germans and Italians in North Africa...

Russian offensive on Eastern Front...

Japanese continued offensive in Pacific...

American buildup in England...

Roosevelt and Churchill at Casablanca...Unconditional Surrender...

Churchill before US Congress May 43 promising new offensive...

July...invasion of Sicily

Late July, Mussolini overthrown...

Invasion of Italy...Anzio...Salerno...push up the boot...

Italy's surrender in September...unresolved war in Italy.

*****

There is considerable Churchill stuff to narrate most of this footage.

CHURCHILL Life and Times

#18. Invasion of Europe.

"The hour of our greatest action and effort is approaching."

***

Quebec Conference...plans against Japan...decision to invade France 1944.

Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin at Tehran...D-Day settled...

Churchill commentary on his reluctance on second front in France over footage on Dunkirk...Dieppe...Anglo-merican buildup in England...

Eisenhower--not Marshall--heads up allied invasion forces...

Churchill's brilliant recorded commentary on course of war, 26 Mar 44.

D-Day

Conjoined Soviet offensive from East

A llied operations in West

Battle of the Bulge

Renewed Nazi air blizt on England, Antwerp...

Remagen breakthrough

Link-up American Russian troops on Elbe.

****

Churchill commentary exists in detail for this entire section...Because of his personal involvement in operations, his broadcasts became fewer, and his commentary on American operations never had the oratorical flair that he had used when Britain's--and Russia's--backs were to the wall...

CHURCHILL Life and Times

#20. Victory in Europe.

"The German war is therefore at an end."

***

Yalta Conference...

Death of Roosevelt...

Elbe Linkup

Victory in Leyte Gulf...

Soviet breakthrough to Berlin

Patton breakthrough to Czechoslvakia

Montgomery in North Europe

Trouble over Greece (recap) ...Poland...

Victory in Berlin...Russian footage...

Death of Hitler...Mussolini...

Germany Surrenders...

V-E Day

*****

There is considerable Churchill commentary on all this; but, again, rhetoric does not flow on American operations either in Europe or Pacific, although there is enough to get by on. Film footage abounds.

CHURCHILL Life and Times....

#21. Victory and Disillusion.

"An iron curtain has descended across Europe..."
Potsdam conference...

Berlin destroyed...Europe sacked...

Churchill out...Attlee in.

A-bomb in Pacific...

Russians into Manchuria (nice footage if can get)

Japan surrenders...

Churchill warning broadcast (13 May 45) about freedom threatened in Eastern Europe...

American demobilization...point system...

Truman warning America intends to keep A-bomb monopoly Oct 45

Communist-Chiang renwed struggle for power

Soviet dominated governments in East

Churchill and the Iron Curtain, Fulton Missouri, 1946.

****

Plenty of film footage, plenty of Churchill recordings.

#22. The Cold War

"The situation has been well described by distinguished Americans as the 'cold war.' And the question is asked: 'Are we winning the cold war?'"

***

Breakup of Empire...India...Israel...Indonesia...

Trouble in Indo China...Malaya...Burma...Iran...

War in China...(Marshall Mission)

America convulsed about more meat on table without ration points...

Greece-Turkey aid; Marshall Plan

Czechoslovakia goes under...Benes...Masaryk...

Berlin Blockade...

Germany broken in half

American monopoly of A Bomb disappears

***

Good Churchill commentary available, especially 31 Mar 49 Boston.

Footage in plenitude.

Churchill Life and Times....

#23. The Hot Cold War

"We seek nothing from Russia but good will and fair play. If however, there is to be a war of nerves, let us make sure our nerves are strong..."

***

Oragnization of Europe under Nato

Beginnings of EDC

German resurgence

Trieste

War in China; Communist triumph

Invasion of Korea

***

Plenty of footage; adequate Churchill commentary

#24. Hot and Thaw

"...lasting peace...It is the last great prize I seek to win."

***

US and the hydrogen bomb

Churchill calls for talks on highest level

Churchill back in office

Ike: "I shall go to Korea."

Churchill: "But at the critical moment, the Great Khan died."

Death of Stalin

Malenkov...Beria...

EDC...trials and transformation,,,Dulles, Eden, Mendes France...

Eisenhower's '53 atoms speech to UN

The day we almost went to war in Indo China

McCarthy runs the foreign offices

Geneva and Indo China

CHURCHILL LIFE and times...

#25. Plummet or Summit.

***

"I cannot help coming back to this idea of another talk with Soviet Russia upon the highest level. The idea appeals to me of a supreme effort to bridge the gulf between the two worlds so that each can live their lives, if not in friendship, at least without the hatreds of the cold war."

***

Churchill's 1952 speech to Congress urging defense of Formosa...

See It Now footage on Chiang's army

The rim of hell--Matsu and Quemoy

Nehru's conciliation...American fliers..Dag Hammerskjold

Churchill retires...

Eden in...

Austrian treaty...

Yugo-Kruschchev

Meeting at the summit...

UN Tenth anniversary...

Plenty of film footage; adequate Churchill...

CHURCHILL Life and Times...

#26. Rim of Hell, or

Broad, sunlit uplands?

"It was my good fortune to give the Lion's roar."

****

This should be a recap of highlights in Churchill's life with best historic speeches over best possible symbolic footage.

Fletcher, Lynton
Special Programs
Churchill

February 28, 1955

Dear Lynton:

I do indeed remember you from BBC days during the war.

Many thanks for taking the time to write about the Churchill Birthday recording. I can assure you that every word of it was vintage Churchill. There were no imitations of any kind.

Both Sir Winston and Lady Churchill had been kind enough to write me very generous and gracious letters about the recording.

I hope there will be an opportunity for us to get together the next time I am in London.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Lynton Fletcher
6A Whitehorse Street
Piccadilly
London W.1, England

fc

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THE ASSOCIATION OF PROFESSIONAL RECORDING STUDIOS

DIRECTORS
R. I. FLETCHER
H. L. FLETCHER

14th February, 1955.

Dear Ed,!

I don't know if you will remember me from B.B.C. days during the war when I was in charge of Recording? I left in 1946 and have had my own Recording Studio off Piccadilly ever since. We have done some work for your people here, and I am writing now to tell you how much impressed I was with your Birthday Programme, which I heard with Howard Smith and our Manager at No. 10 on Wednesday. Of course Howard Smith will have written you his impressions and I heard the P.M. say that he was going to write, but remembering you from days gone by, I thought I must write and tell you my own impressions.

I was particularly interested because N.B.C. invited me to do a four minute talk which they included in their programme. It was only an outline of how the P.M. goes to work on his scripts and so on, based on visits I have paid to Chartwell and our experiences when he came to my Studio here. We of course did the copying of the B.B.C. records (they didn't ~~entrusting them to anyone else and of course I know them very well as I helped collect them).~~

Although I have been to see him several times before I don't remember an occasion quite like the other night. He was dressed in a maroon corduroy boiler-suit over his pyjamas, and Lady Churchill was with him. She told me you had been to visit them, and said some very nice things. We played the tapes back in the Regency Drawing Room upstairs, and they were both as usual most hospitable. ~~He insisted on giving me another book although he had already inscribed several for my family and myself.~~

But what was important was his reaction to your programme which, if I may say so, I thought admirable. I was particularly interested in the fact that when it was over he remarked on how good "the imitations" were. I thought he must be referring to the early speeches as President of the Board of Trade or Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1908 and 1909, and have forgotten that these were recorded on cylinders at the time.

So I tried to assure him that there were no "imitations". However, he knew better and said there must be because "some of the things were from his book".

If this is correct all I can say is that they were the best imitations I have ever heard, and I should be very interested to know who did them. I agreed with Lady Churchill that you couldn't have done them unless you had been concealing your skill as an imitator all these years.

He seemed very well but I thought very old, and he was not exactly optimistic about the new developments.

He was delighted with your programme and said he thought the continuity was wonderful. He is still very bitter about the eleven years during which he wasn't allowed to broadcast over here, but he remembers his friends.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely

(H. Lynton Fletcher)

P.S. By the way, if there is anything that we can do for you at any time don't hesitate to let us know. We are moving to new premises at Marble Arch, on the site of the old Post Office Sorting Bay there, in March where we shall have three Studios. It looks as if one of them would be much occupied by the B.B.C. for the next few months, but we shall always be able to help you.

I don't know if you remember the original Radio Gazette I did which preceded Radio News Reel? Have you ever thought of a News Letter on these lines? We get around a lot and hear a lot of news which I should have thought would have made an interesting weekly bulletin.

Ed Murrow, Esq.,
C.B.S. News,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York, 22.
U.S.A.

HLF

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

10 February, 1955.

My dear Mr. Murrow,

I feel I must tell you how much I appreciate your moving broadcast tribute on my birthday, and your kindness in sending us a recording of it so that we could hear it. I value deeply the sentiments you expressed, and I was touched and pleased by all that you said.

Yours sincerely,

Winston S. Churchill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

3-C-6

WINSTON CHURCHILL
TRIBUTE ON HIS
80TH BIRTHDAY

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
C.B.S. RADIO NETWORK

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1954
7:45--8:00 P. ., E.S.T.

This is the news:

The President agrees with Secreatry of State Dulles that an air or naval blockade of Communist China would amount to "war actions"..Mr. Dulles said last night that we want to use peaceful means to sustain our international rights...and those of our citizens...rather than resorting to "war actions." White House Secretary Hagerty today told reporters the President agrees. And Senate Majority Leader Knowland who suggested the blockade, says he'll support any effective alternate plan that will secure the release of the 13 Americans now in Red Chian's jails. Knowland also said his split with the Administration's foreign policy is not as great as some would lake it appear to be. Mr. Dulles promised vigorous action to get the release of the 13 Americans. Knowland says he'll wait to find out what this will be.

We now have told Red China that we are indignant over "their deliberate flouting of international agreements and civilized practices."...in the way they handled the 13 Americans. This message was communicated by an American official in Geneva. The Chinese refused to accept the protest. And the Communist radio today broadcast details purporting to prove that two of the imprisoned Americans were spies.

In Washington tonight, reporters were told that the Administration will ask Congress for authority to join in a new economic program to help the free nations of South Asia and the Far East. West European nations will be asked to join. There's no suggestion yet on how big the project will be.

The Senate today heard opposing views on whether to censure McCarthy. Democratic Senator Fulbright of Arkansas said his colleagues must demonstrate their honor and self-respect by rebuking McCarthy for having "shaken con-

fidence in schools, the churches and government." But Republican Senator Mundt said if McCarthy is censured the Communists will misrepresent it as a retreat in the fight against Communism. Fulbright said McCarthy aas "so preyed upon the fears and hatreds of the uninformed and credulous people that he has started a prarie fire" which neither he nor anyone else may be able to control. He said since this debate started the character of his mail has changed. Fulbright said: "It is no longer criticism, it is unadulterated hate, vituperation and abuse. It is highly emotional, irrational and designed to intimidate and over-awe" the Senate. And Senator Mundt said that to censure McCarthy for his alleged abuse of General Zwicker would "shrivel and shrink" the prestige of Congress as against what he called the "arrogance" of executive agencies. Mundt said that through the New Deal years Congress lost power to the executive branch of government..because Congress didn't dare stand up. He says he will have no part of what he called "this new surrender." And Mundt warned Southern Senators to beware. He said there was " a hidden bomb" in the censure resolution that "someday is going to explode all over Dixie". Mundt called for what he described as a "third course" in the censure debate. He would set up new rules for investigation committees and have a study made on a code of conduct for Senators...on and off the Senate floor. Republican Senator Martin of Pennsylvania says he'll vote against censure...has long admired McCarthy's Americanism. And new Senator Brown of Nevada said censure would establish dangerous precedents limiting Congressional investigations.

Defense Secretary Wilson says the next Congress will be asked to extend the draft law for four years beyond its expiration date..now set for the end of June. Wilson says Congress will also be asked to set-up a madified universal military training program ..to train 100-thousand men a year for six-months periods and then assign them to reserve outifts. Wilson

will also sk for pay increases for military men...ranging from three to six percent of present schedules.

Field Marshal Montgomery said in Los Angeles today that the United States must be ready to "take it"..and to strike back...if we are to survive in the years of "co-existence with conflict" we face in the future. He said history will measure American success "not so much by the quantity of your dollars as by the quality of your leadership."

South Africas governing Nationalist party today chose Johannes Strytom to be the new prime minister. He favors a stern policy of racial segregation...would abandon use of the English language..and make his country a republic. It's not clear whether he wants South Africa to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The British are an emotional, sentimental people, with a great fondness for antiquity. The sentiment and the emotion are seldom displayed, but it happened in London today. The occasion was the 80th birthday of Sir Winston Churchill - a flood of gifts, a joint session of Parliament, nonpartisan oratory, a portrait, a fund that may go to three million dollars - all in honor of perhaps the most considerable man to talk the stage of history in our time. His own island, wrapped in the Atlantic mists, was never a large enough stage for him to play upon. He has served six soverigns; his experience of war extends from the last full-dress calalry charge to the Hydrogen Bomb. For 52 years he has sat in the House of Commons. He hasnot always bee right; but never has he been ambiguous.

Today was the most memorable public occasion of his life. Today, in recalling the war years, he said: "The people's will was resolute and remoreseless. I only expressed it. They had the lion's heart, I had the luck to be called upon to give it the roar."

This ancient aristocrat, born in the tranquil, serene Victorian era, has spent much of his life as a man of war. His recognition of the enemy's of freedom was sure and certain. His faith in constitutional procedure was never shaken. During the late was Sir Winston Churchill presided over a coalition government, equipped with dictatorial powers, and was scrupulous in his regard for the authorith of the House of Commons.

His political obituary was being written when he had scarcely passed 40. He sat for years in the House, warning of the menace of Nazi-ism, while the big clock above the Speaker's Chair ticked off the wasted hours. He was a lonely but not a bitter man, always enjoying the cut and thrust of parliamentry debate, where no man was his match. When he came to power in the Spring of 1940, he brooked no recrimination about the past, lest the future thereby be lost. He mobilized the English language and sent it into battle, to steady his fellow-countrymen and hearten those Europeans upon whom the long dark night of tyranny had descended. He understood the first principle of war, which is to recognize the enemy; and had Hitler invaded Hell, Mr. Churchill would have found opportunity in the House of Commons to make pasing and not altogether unfavorable reference to the Devil.

He is both a humble and an arrogant man. Once, after a particularly savage right raid on the East End of London, he walked and scrambled over hills of broken brick, through puddles of shattered glass; and the gallant grimy Londoners ceased their digging for buried bodies, and cheered him. And he said with bewilderment in his voice, and tears in his eyes: "They act as though I had brought them a great victory."

I am sure that if he could pluck one year from the incredible eighty, and print it indelibly in the pages of history, he would choose that one year when Britain stood alone, while those who were half asleep became

half prepared. He would choose it, not because of his rhetoric, not because of the Battle of Britain, or the steadiness of the civilian population; but rather because democratic processes, the rights of the individual, did not shrivel or shrink even when held so near the fire of total war.

The British Prime Minister is both a gambler and a crying man - Mr. Lincoln did considerable crying too. One of the greatest gambles in the history of warfare occurred in the Autumn of 1940, when he stripped the Island of its pitiful remnants of armor - most of it had been lost at Dunkirk - and shipped it aound the Cape to Egypt.

When the German beam was on London, guiding their bombers in, he would drive up from the country for no other reason than to be there with the other subjects of the King. There was a grim gaity about the man; a certain fascination with physical danger; a restless, roving mind which caused him to be concerned about minute details - memorandum showering right and left, reading : "Pray inform me on this matter within 24 hours" - telephone calls to Cabinet Ministers in the middle of the night. And always the ability to savor and taste a well-turned phrase, to polish it until it would come out in the House of Commons in a fashion described by a friend as a "Thunderous and well-rehearsed improvisation."

When victory had been achieved his fellow-countrymen turned him out to grass. With one brilliant exception he did not complain. His mind had changed on very few subjects, and it was a time of change. He wrote and he painted, and sought power again. Finally it was his. Scarred and toughened as he was by political wars, the charge that hurt most in that last campaign was that he was a man of war not to be trusted with power. He remains the man of war seeking peace. Younger men, waiting for him to lay down the heavy burdens of office, grow old and impatient while waiting/

He moves with uncertain steps; some of the fire has gone from his voice; but his language continues to illuminate the political scene in England and abroad. He said today: "I am now nearing the end of my journey, but I hope I still have some services to render". His services to date have not been inconsiderable, for men who love freedom, and indeed those who now enjoy it, are considerably in his debt. He has enriched our language and fortified our heritage.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a minute with the Word for Today. But first, a word from Bob Dixon.

DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: When the definite history of our times is written, there will be a special place in it for Sir Winston Churchill, who in 1943, speaking of nations as well as individuals, said: "The price of greatness is responsibility." Perhaps Sir Winston was too modest to conclude, as Thomas Fuller once did that "Great hopes make great men." Whatever the case, Will Rogers put it well when he said: "It is great to be great, but it is greater to be human."

Good Night and Good Luck.

February 10. 1955

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

My Dear Ed. Winston and I listened to the master Recording which you collected arranged a broadcast for his birthday. We are moved that you should have such knowledge & understanding to honour him - We felt sad for the time because of the situation which is

unfolding & developing
such grim mystery & hopes
the War one War
much that our Russo
Comradeship with
wonderful courtesy & we
They seem not to
us at all but to
in their immensity.
sufficient to themselves.

I do thank God
much for having
this for Winston in
our country
Please give Jan
my love. and see
Clementine S.
Churchill

Sedgwick, Harry
Special Program
Churchill

January 11, 1955

Dear Harry:

I hope you will forgive the belatedness of this note. The holiday season has been such a busy one and I am only now beginning to catch up with my correspondence.

I am delighted to hear that you enjoyed the program we did in commemoration of Sir Winston Churchill's eightieth birthday.

As you can imagine we all had a good time putting the show together, the only difficulty being having to reduce such a wealth of material to a single hour.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harry Sedgwick, President
Rogers Radio Broadcasting Company
37 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Canada

fc

CFRB

ROGERS RADIO BROADCASTING COMPANY
LIMITED
37 BLOOR STREET WEST
TORONTO

HARRY SEDGWICK.
President

December 3, 1954.

Thanks

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have followed a great number of your programmes recently, on both TV and radio, and admire very much the courage you display in presenting some of the controversial subjects so well.

What I am really writing you to say is how much I enjoyed your radio programme on Churchill's birthday. From the comments of our listeners, I believe that they felt as I did. It was an excellent job, done as only Ed Murrow seems to be able to do that kind of thing.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harry Sedgwick
President.

HS/C.

Special Programs
Churchill

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Paley

from: Mr. Murrow

December 3, 1954

Lord Beaverbrook has heard the Churchill program. The attached is his comment. Informatively, Janet is planning to fly to London the first week in January to play it for Lady Churchill and Sir Winston, and we hope at that time to get permission to "beef it up" a little and produce an album. Jim Conkling is enthusiastic about its possibilities.

E.R.M.

rh

563

Prog Bus Churchill

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Paley

December 3, 1954

I have a note today from Adolph Zukor, Chairman of the Board of the Paramount Pictures Corporation, telling me that he had talked about your Churchill radio program with Lord Beaverbrook who is now here, stopping at the Waldorf Towers, Suite 35F. Zukor says that Beaverbrook would like very much to hear this show and I am wondering whether we could get a copy of the tape and a simple tape recording play-back so that we could send them over to him for his listening.

I tried to get you on the phone right after the broadcast to tell you that it was an outstanding job. I enjoyed it thoroughly and once again it made me realize how much depth, vision and courage this guy Churchill possesses. I hope you will arrange for him to hear the show. I am sure it would give him great pleasure.

P

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the dr ers is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

DC603 LE561 1954 DEC 1 AM 2 38

L.LSA609 LONG NL PD=WUX LOS ANGELES CALIF 30=

:EDWARD R MURROW:

AR =580 PARK AVE NYK=

=DEAR ED: FIELD MARSHALL MONTGOMERY AND I JUST FINISHED LISTENING TO YOUR BROADCAST AND THE TRIBUTE YOU PAID TO CHURCHILL WAS JUST GREAT. I WILL LET THE FIELD MARSHAL TELL YOU HIS OWN REACTION. HERE IT IS QUOTE I BEING A VERY GREAT PERSONAL FRIEND OF WINSTON CHURCHILL FOR MANY YEARS AND ACOMRADE IN ARMS WITH HIM DURING THE DARK ERA OF THE WAR THOUGHT THE TRIBUTE TO HIM BY EDWARD MURROW WAS SUPERB UNQUOTE. COLONEL PAUL WIVLL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU TOMORROW AND ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN YOU AND THE FIELD MARSHAL.

WARMEST REGARDS=

=SAM=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Beaverbrook: 1

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

Churchill

to: Mr. Paley

from: Mr. Murrow

Accept Regret
Appropriate action
Background?
FYI File JSM
Note & return
Phone WSP
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to WSP
URGENT f/u

December 3, 1954

Lord Beaverbrook has heard the Churchill program. The attached is his comment. Informatively, Janet is planning to fly to London the first week in January to play it for Lady Churchill and Sir Winston, and we hope at that time to get permission to "beef it up" a little and produce an album. Jim Conkling is enthusiastic about its possibilities.

E.R.M.

Thanks and good luck to Janet

rh

693

TELETYPE NY 1-1327 TELEPHONE: ELDORADO 5-3000

The WALDORF-ASTORIA

PARK AND LEXINGTON AVENUES / 49TH AND 50TH STREETS / NEW YORK 22

From Lord Beaverbrook

2nd December, 1954

My dear Ed,

Thanks so much for allowing me to hear the broadcast.

It was a brilliant piece of editorship, and I hope very much that it will be repeated in England.

And with congratulations on your widespread influence which appears to grow with astonishing rapidity,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

Beaverbrook

Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 502

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Edward R. Murrow

From Virginia Dillard

Station

Special Program Churchill

December 1, 1954

Your tribute to Churchill Monday and Tuesday nights were magnificently done.

VBD:GD

V.B.D.

TELEGRAPH ADDRESS - LOS ANGELES

Special Program

Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation

Churchill

STUDIOS
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA

November 30, 1954

Dear Ed:

Your birthday tribute to Winston Churchill was just wonderful. If there is such a thing as a recording I'd very much like to obtain one.

Congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harry Brand

"DON'T MAKE A MOVE WITHOUT CALLING

Special Programs
Smith, Arthur

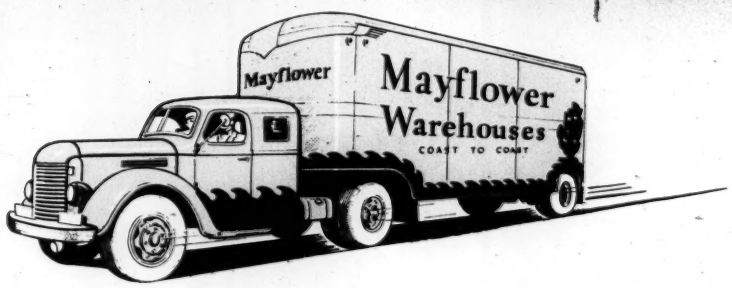
SMITH

Mayflower

SMITH'S TRANSFER & STORAGE CO., INC.

1313 YOU STREET, N. W. NORTH 7-3343

WASHINGTON 9, D. C.



SERVING THE NATION'S CAPITAL
OVER 45 YEARS

1

Churchill

November 30, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

My sincere congratulations to you, Fred Friendly and your great broadcasting station for the wonderful tribute you paid to Winston Churchill on your hour program last evening.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr. (44)

Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr.
Chairman, Board of Directors

Copy to:
Mr. Fred Friendly

MAYFLOWER WAREHOUSEMEN'S ASSOCIATION

EXCLUSIVE AGENT AERO MAYFLOWER — NATION-WIDE FURNITURE MOVERS

October 28th 1954

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

My dear 'Ed',
Thank-you to me
for cabling
about Senator Chase
Smith. What an
agreeable and
intelligent woman.
I met her at
luncheon with
Lady Reading; &
she

Came & saw Winston
in the Cabinet Room.
I was impressed by
her energy & quickness
in travelling all the
way to Blackpool
for the Conference.
I hope your & Janet
& your little son
are all well.
Ever
yours
Clementine S.
Churchill

Townsend, Dallas
Churchill File

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Dallas Townsend

from: Mr. Murrow

October 20, 1953

I would, as you know, be glad to do anything you ask in connection with Churchill's obituary. However, when the sad event occurs I will presumably have to do it on my own programs, both on radio and television. I just don't see how I could undertake an additional program on the subject without improper repetition.

Many thanks for asking me.

E.R.M.

rh

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Dallas Townsend October 19, 1953

None of us likes to face the fact that Sir Winston Churchill may not live much longer. But faced it has to be, and I am sure you have thought about it more than the rest of us. To prepare for the inevitable, Television News is making up an obituary of Churchill, composed largely of the Prime Minister on film, plus recorded excerpts from his speeches over film of London under the Blitz and other events during World War Two.

In our opinion, this obituary - to have the effect we hope it will have - should conclude with an estimate of Churchill's achievements and his probable place in history. It seems to us that no one is as well qualified to handle this as you are. I do not venture even to suggest what you might say, except that we would like to plan on your doing from three to five minutes. Naturally, we would prefer to have you do it live, but if it would be more convenient for you to film your portion in advance, on a "hold for release" basis, that would be perfectly all right. The obit would logically be carried on the network at some suitable evening period. I hope we may count on you in our planning.

DT.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EUROPEAN OFFICES
26 HALLAM STREET, LONDON, W.1

OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
HOWARD K. SMITH

TELEPHONE: LANGHAM 1866 & 1867
TELEGRAMS: COLBROSYS LONDON

23rd April 1953.

Dear Ed,

I could not bring myself to bind this letter into my Churchill books. Save it for Casey. The old reprobate (not Casey; Churchill) is undeniably a great man, and the value of having known him will increase with the years.

See you soon.

Howard

Howard Smith.

Mr. Edward Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22 New York.
U.S.A.

WESTERHAM 93.

CHARTWELL,
WESTERHAM,
KENT.

December 17, 1945.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I regret the unavoidable delay in replying to your letter of December 5, but as my Secretary has explained over the telephone, I cannot undertake to broadcast to America on Christmas Day, as you have so kindly suggested. I thank you nevertheless for your courtesy in writing to me.

Yours sincerely,

Winston S. Churchill

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
The Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.

BROADCAST MUSIC, INC.
580 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

August 9, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a letter received from Mr. Churchill's secretary. I hope that you can prevail upon Mr. Churchill when you see him to change his mind.

I still look forward to your being with us during some of our clinics. The West Coast swing was a brilliant success.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Carl

Carl Haverlin

Enclosure

Haverlin, Carl

BROADCAST MUSIC, INC.
580 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

July 23, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

We have scheduled clinics (nos. 22 to 26) through August and we look forward to about eight more during 1951 -- probably the northeast in one group and Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas in another. Puerto Rico is set for a single shot in early December.

In 1952 we will start the series all over again, with plans to wind up in a three-day seminar at some mid-west university - possibly Illinois.

If you are back in time, you might like to get a taste of the 1951 series. Otherwise you can have your choice of 1952's most interesting tours.

Hope you have a good vacation and a pleasant visit to the British Isles.

Sincerely,

Carl

Carl Haverlin

Chartwell,
Westerham,
Kent

8 July, 1951

Dear Sir,

Mr. Churchill asks me to thank you for your letter of June 25 and for your invitation for him to be the guest of honor and principal speaker at the annual banquet of the Radio Pioneers next April. While he is complimented that you should wish him to come, he has no plans to visit the United States at that time, and therefore much regrets he is unable to accept. Nonetheless, he much appreciates your invitation, which it has given him pleasure to receive.

Yours truly,

/s/ L. M. Marston

Private Secretary.

Mr. Carl Haverlin.

Hurwitz, Sam.
Quincy Howe's friend

Brooklyn College
BEDFORD AVENUE AND AVENUE H
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ACADEMIC BUILDING

July 6, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In accordance with your suggestion, I am sending you some information about myself so that you may be able to send on to Lord Beaverbrook any of the facts that you deem to be pertinent.

I am thirty-eight years of age, born in New York City. I am at present a member of the Department of History at Brooklyn College. I have taught at Columbia University and was also Visiting Professor at New York State Teachers College, Fredonia. I received my A.B. from Brooklyn College, and my A.M. and Ph.D. from Columbia. I also have an L.L.B. degree from St. Lawrence University and am a member of the New York Bar. I am, however, not engaged in the practice of law. I was for a time a social worker and also was one time Director of Research for the American Association for Social Security under its executive secretary, Abraham Epstein.

I am the author of State Intervention in Great Britain — copy on shelf and of articles and reviews including, among others, articles in Collier's Encyclopedia, an article entitled Diagnosing the German Malady, which has been reprinted in the Making of Modern Europe, and an article on Winston Churchill, which is to appear later this year in a volume on British Historians: Essays in honor of Professor Robert Livingston Schuyler, President of the American Historical Association.

I have also engaged in research and editorial work and I am at present associated with Quincy Howe in connection with his three-volume work, World History of Our Times.

My interest in David Lloyd George grows out of my work in twentieth century history. I view Lloyd George as a prototype of the modern politician (or statesman) in the age of mass communication, universal suffrage, and general literacy.

Brooklyn College
BEDFORD AVENUE AND AVENUE H
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ACADEMIC BUILDING

I want to thank you again for your courtesy and interest. I am most grateful to you for providing me with the possibility of getting access to the Lloyd George papers. I would be most happy to send you any other information about myself or my thoughts on the Lloyd George biography. I have read practically all of the relevant printed material, but I have seen little in the way of manuscripts.

I am taking the liberty of sending, under separate cover, a copy of my State Intervention in Great Britain. I am not sure that Lord Beaverbrook would like the work, though I quote from his Politicians and the War, at least once (on p.79). I am enclosing a carbon copy of the Winston Churchill article. I will send you a copy of the published work as soon as I have one.

Many thanks again for your kindness. My best wishes for a happy holiday.

Sincerely,

Samuel J. Hurwitz

Samuel J. Hurwitz

To be included in volume British Historians: Essays in honor of Professor Robert Livingstone Schuyler President of The American Historical Association.

WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL

To reverse one of his malicious phrases ("Mr. Atlee is a modest man and he has much to be modest about"), Winston Spencer Churchill is a very immodest man and he has indeed much to be immodest about. Soldier, journalist, lecturer, ruler of the King's Navy, of the Army, and of the country, bricklayer, painter, politician and statesman, and historian too, Churchill has enjoyed, and the word is used advisedly, a very full and successful life.

Like other charismatic heroes, Churchill believes that he is a man of destiny. Though ours is not the best of all possible worlds, Churchill believes that, for him at least, everything in it has been for the best--certainly in the telling. To earlier generations, the days of wrath inflicted upon God's children served as a test of faith; in the crucible of misfortune the dross is purged away and the true believer stands out tempered and refined. Churchill, however, has never looked upon bad fortune as a trial of men's souls, but rather as an invisible web of circumstances so devised as to enable him, the individual, to play his fated role.

Even seeming personal misfortune and "great mistakes" have always turned out for the best. Too "stupid" to learn Latin and Greek, held back in the lowest form at Harrow, Churchill was taught English while brighter boys were winning prizes for Latin poetry and Greek epigrams--but neglecting the English they needed "to earn their living or make their way."[1] He was captured by the Boers, but instead of being cut off from the whole "exciting war with all its boundless possibilities of adventure and advancement," he made his escape, and thus gained "a public reputation or notoriety" which he well knew how to exploit. In later years, intermittent political exile was always turned to pecuniary gain ~~and to political advantage. In his narration of the events of the~~

and to political advantage. His exclusion from the Conservative Government in 1935 was in the best Churchillian tradition of good fortune. "I can see how lucky I was. Over me beat invisible wings."[2]

In his narration of the events of the spring and summer of 1940, when the invasion of Britain seemed imminent, he does not conceal his regret that Hitler dared not follow through with his worst. Wasted--except in the telling--was the slogan he had carefully prepared for the occasion: "You can always take one with you." Ruined was his calculation that the ensuing butchery would bring the United States immediately into the conflict. For Churchill is not merely prepared to accept misfortune in order to convert it into good fortune; he is ready to go much further--even to create misfortune, to provide the conditions of disaster, as a gambit to achieve victory. Yet all turned out for the best: Hitler veered Eastward and brought Russia into the war. Nor did Tojo fail him. The attack on Pearl Harbor saved Britain "from the awful danger" that Japan would attack only British or Dutch possessions in the Far East, and that "in consequence Congress would not sanction an American declaration of War." Delivered by Japanese treachery, Churchill "slept the sleep of the saved." Earlier, the German invasion of Norway had ended the "trance" which "had proved most harmful to the Allies", and, best of all, made Churchill Prime Minister. "I was conscious of a profound sense of relief... I felt as if I were walking with Destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial... Therefore although impatient for the morning, I slept soundly and had no need for cheering dreams. Facts are better than dreams."[3]

This favored child of fortune was born on November 30, 1874 to Randolph Churchill, a son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, and to his beautiful and wealthy American bride, the former

Jennie Jerome. Winston Churchill grew up under the care of the traditionally devoted nurse, his "dearest and most intimate friend," who tended all his wants, the "confidante" to whom he poured out his "many troubles." His mother, he tells us, "shone for me like the Evening Star. I loved her dearly--but at a distance." Nor could he penetrate the armor of dignity and reticence which his dazzling father wore "before strangers, children, and servants." Lord Randolph was "immediately offended" at "the slightest idea of comradeship" and, when his son offered to serve as assistant private secretary, "froze" him "into stone." The scion of the great Duke of Marlborough expected little from his own eldest son. Winston, a very backward pupil at Harrow, barely had passed the entrance examinations for Sandhurst, and only after the third try. Seemingly Lord Randolph Churchill had good reason at this time to warn his son of the danger of becoming a social wastrel.

Thirty-five years later, Churchill recalled the incident with relish, for, though he is filled with awe when he surveys himself and his accomplishments, he does not, like Sir Thomas Browne, consider himself a miracle. Proud as he is of his ducal descent, he is even prouder that, "Everything I have got I worked for."

Entrance into military school ended a wretched interlude, a "barren and unhappy period of my life...a sombre gray patch upon the chart of my journey. It was an unending spell of worries that did not seem petty, and of toil uncheered by fruition; a time of discomfort, restriction, and purposeless monotony." Yet, in retrospect, this too was all for the best. Churchill was undoubtedly thinking of his own youth when, in explaining the success of John, first Duke of Marlborough (like himself, the son of a brilliant and promising failure), he wrote that "famous men are usually the product of unhappy childhood. The stern compression of circumstances, the twinges of adversity, the spur of slights and taunts

in early years are needed to evoke that ruthless fixity of purpose and tenacious mother wit without which great actions are seldom accomplished."[4]

When he left Sandhurst, the world "opened like Aladdin's Cave... I have been happier every year since I became a man...An endless moving picture in which one was an actor...Great Fun!...All the days were good and each day was better than the other." Grateful "for the gift of existence", he assures us that, if he had his life to live over again, it would not be different.

He went to Kipling's India, as a subaltern, "living all day long" for the evening polo. Unlike Kipling's subalterns, he also turned to reading. Questions about ethics, the Socratic method, and other abstruse matters intruded on his leisure during the long afternoons when it was too hot to play polo, and he resolved "to read history, philosophy, economics, and things like that." He began with Gibbon and "rode triumphantly through it from end to end." He went on to Macaulay, "with his captivating style and devastating self-confidence," to whom, despite his later criticism of this "prince of literary rogues," he acknowledges an "immense debt." The influence of Gibbon and Macaulay never wore off. Churchill always had a "liking for words", using them, he admits, rather indiscriminately and without learning their meaning. He studied books of quotations intently, for "quotations when engraved upon the memory give you good thoughts."

While still in the Army, he became a war correspondent and in 1898 published his first book, The Malakand Field Force, which was based upon his newspaper dispatches reporting an action against Pathan frontier tribesmen. He now devoted himself to writing with the same zest with which he had taken up soldiering, reading, and learning to drink whiskey in the tropics like an English gentleman. Savrola, a novel which he now urges his friends to avoid, netted him over £700

in a few years, and convinced him that writing was both a "splendid" way of making a living and of "asserting" himself. "I would free myself from all discipline and authority with nobody to give me orders..."

He resolved to enter Parliament and to earn his way with his pen, but tarried to play polo and to serve under Kitchener in the Sudan Campaign. At the same time he busied himself in writing about the Campaign; The River War, a two-volume work in which he tried to embody all the material available on the subject. "I affected a combination of the style of Macaulay and Gibbon, the staccato antithesis of the former and the rolling sentences and genitival endings of the latter; and I stuck in a bit of my own from time to time...I already knew that chronology is the key to easy narrative...Writing a book is not unlike...planning a battle or painting a picture...the whole when finished is only a successful presentation of a theme. In battles however, the other fellow interferes all the time..." 5.

In 1899, at the age of twenty-four, he became the highest-paid war correspodent in Britain, covering the Boer War at a salary of £250 per month plus expenses. "Journalism requires advertisement," he has said, and his capture by the Boers and his melodramatic escape made him a popular hero and insured his journalistic success. Capitalizing on his fame, he sought and won election to Parliament as a Conservative in the Khaki Election of 1900, and immediately left on an extensive lecture tour, visiting the United States and Canada. Henceforth he was rarely to be out of the news.

In Parliament Churchill became increasingly restive as a member of the Conservative Party and soon swung over to the Liberals on the tariff issue. He combined literary activities with his Parliamentary duties, and by 1908, when he became a member of the Liberal Cabinet, he was already the author of a number of works, including additional war books and a "standard" two-volume biography of his father.

It is a wondrous experience to read these books published forty

and fifty years ago. Time has taken its toll, but little about Churchill has changed. "It is better to be making the news than taking it; to be an actor rather than a critic." He affirms his credo, borrowed from Machiavelli: "...It is better to be impetuous than cautious. For Fortune is a woman who to be kept under must be beaten and roughly handled; ...she suffers herself to be more readily mastered by those who treat her so, than by those who are timid...and always, like a woman she favors the...less scrupulous and fiercer...A bold heart, a true eye...leading...."[6] His vitality, his zest for adventure and for flamboyant expression, are all there. The influence of Gibbon and Macaulay is so pronounced that some paragraphs read like parodies. Touches of Kipling, of Tennyson, of Omar Khayam, of Shakespeare, and of Byron--apparently culled from Bartlett--add piquancy, though sometimes giving the effect of a string of quotations. Churchill had many "good thoughts" and expressions--though not always quite original. The "war" books are clear and vivid, the material well arranged and forcefully presented. His descriptions of the Indian and South African campaigns rival any in his later Marlborough, The World Crisis, or The Second World War. More limited in scope, with less of the political story that was later to occupy him, these early works are models of military narrative. If his accounts are overdrawn, his enthusiasm is nevertheless infectious, and his pageantry colorful. Much of it is, in the words of an early friendly critic, Bop, Bop, Bang, but its appeal to the age that celebrated the Diamond Jubilee was unmistakeable. Kipling's generation was drawn to the Imperialist, who admired "the perseverance of a vigorous race who pursue their policies in spite of delay and disaster to victorious ends," and who viewed with disdain the untutored savages with unpronounceable names ("another pestilent tribe, whose name alone is an infliction"). It was journalism, at its most popular, if not at its best.

His two-volume life of his father was in the classical tradition

of the time. Winston Churchill makes much known about his father: his sppeches, his letters, his interviews, his personality. All this is useful, if not indispensable, as a record. But nowhere in the two volumes does there emerge, nor can the reader even reconstruct, a coherent story of what made Randolph Churchill what he was and what impelled him to do what he did. Certainly the written record was available: "Nothing that related to politics, whether creditable or not, whether important or petty, seems to have been excluded from his [Randolph Churchill's] archives." The rhetoric is there, both of father and of son, and so are occasionally brilliant insights, even a dim consciousness of the times. Yet in a fundamental sense it is not a biography, nor is it history. Seldom does Churchill ask "how", rarely "why", and he never tries to answer. In 1873, Randolph Churchill could, with every evidence of sincerity, write to his fiancee: "public life has no great charms for me, as I am naturally very quiet, and hate bother and publicity...." The biographer quotes, and the reader is intrigued, for certainly few men have acted so at variance with their words, but no attempt is made to show the forces of personality or of events that enabled Randolph Churchill to compel attention. Perhaps "no one could guess beforehand what he was going to say nor how he would say it," but certainly it is the duty of the historian or of the biographer to explain <u>why</u> he did. Churchill will not attempt this task. His but to narrate, with often brilliant asides, but never to go behind the scenes. The great admirer of Tennyson acts like the Light Brigade, his not to reason why.

Unable to explain personality or events, Churchill is best able to dramatize them. His description of the Gladstone Cabinet of 1882-1885, written in 1906, impressionistic and overdrawn as it is, evokes the mood of the following decade of that liberal pre-war period in which he was to play a prominent role:

> It was the end of an epoch; the long dominion of the middle classes, which had begun in 1832 had come to its close and with it the almost equal reign

> of Liberalism. The great victories had been won. All sorts of lumbering tyrannies had been toppled over. Authority was everywhere broken. Slaves were free. Conscience was free. Trade was free. But hunger and squalor and cold were also free and the people demanded something more than liberty. The old watchwords still rang true; but they were not enough. And how to fill the void was the riddle that split the Liberal party. It happened, moreover, that at this very time, already so critical, a Liberal Government had been forced to deal with all kinds of affairs for the effecient conduct of which their formulas furnished no clue. They were compelled to intervene by force of arms..., to repress popular movements, to banish popular leaders, to hang revolutionaries, to devise ingenious instruments of coercion, to mutilate Parliamentary procedure... And thus, while half the Cabinet were ransacking the past for weapons of Executive authority, others were groping dimly towards a vague Utopia. 7.

It is significant that Churchill has not attempted a history ofthe Liberal era that ended with the coming of the War in 1914. He has, however, utilized the experience and knowledge gained as First Lord of the Admiralty, as Minister of Munitions, and as Secretary for War, to write of the war itself. Thrust out of office on the dissolution of the Coalition in 1922, even losing his seat in Parliament, he strove for vindication. Blamed for his part in the making of history, he sought to square the account by writing a multi-volume story of the First World War and of his part in it. The pen would restore the reputation the sword had lost. Churchill, like Disraeli, knows that "with words we govern men." Refusing to be consigned to limbo by the prevailing mood of post-war disillusionment, Churchill proceeded to present to the judgment of his country men his *apologia pro vita sua*. As H.G. Wells has said, "his imagination is obsessed... Before all things he desires a dramatic world with villans-- and one hero." After the fashion of Defoe's *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, Churchill's "contribution to history" hangs "the chronicle and discussion of great military and political events upon the thread of the personal experiences of an individual." He was impressed by "the example of so great a master of narrative," but it is of interest that Churchill should take as his model one who was also a master of fictive biography

and history.

Undoubtedly, The World Crisis compares favorably with other accounts of the First World War. Faced with a situation so vast and so complex, historians no less than rulers have found themselves at a loss. Churchill ~~(has failed to present a coherent account although he sought,~~ ~~he sought~~ essayed "to find and follow stepping stones of fate. I set myself at each stage to answer the questions, 'What happened and why?' I seek to guide the reader to those points where the course of events is being decided...."[8] But only the reader who can accept the author's evaluation of his own importance, will feel that the aim has been achieved. The account "will follow throughout," the author promised, "The pathway on which footsteps were decisive." In the vast tangle of arguments, here will be found the unraveling thread. In the clash, overbalancing or equipoise of gigantic forces, here were the determining factors. Amid increasing chaos here lay the potential dominants."[9] Alas, the sole "unraveling thread" which Winston Churchill presents is Winston Churchill!

Perhaps not every man is his own historian, but every man may make history: "No one can tell that he may not some day set a stone rolling or take or neglect some ordinary step which in its consequences will alter the history of the world." Other people may not be able to tell, but Churchill makes it plain that, at least in retrospect, he can. No sooner did he lose favor in the British Government than mankind seems to have lost control over events. "Thereafter [after the middle of 1915] events passed very largely outside the scope of conscious choice. Governments and individuals conformed to the rhythm of the tragedy and swayed and staggered forward in helpless violence."

The World Crisis is bombastic, confused, at times even absurd. Churchill's overriding concern with himself often distracts the reader from the story to the author. Nevertheless, certain phrases, sentences, paragraphs, even whole pages will deservedly be read for long to come. Though he is more stirred by the magnificence of war than by its tragedy, and though there is much puffing and blowing which does not always leave the reader as breathless as it leaves the author, Churchill does convey a sense of drama of events, and uses his gift of eloquence to present a brilliant, even gorgeous pageant. Though the reader is made dizzy by the author's ubiquitousness and appalled by his keen appreciation of his own qualities, Churchill is so charmed with himself that he charms the reader. Churchill, the orator, often seems to pause for cheers, and at times the audience is indeed moved to applause. Even the cold and cynical Balfour was fascinated by "Winston's brilliant Autobiography disguised as a history of the universe."[11] Israel Zangwill's comment on G.B. Shaw is very apt: "In these days when so few men believe in any god at all, it is refreshing to find a man believing so much in himself." Above all, the spirit of the work is redeemed by an Elizabethan gusto, by an exhilaration, an unfaltering energy which fully matches the actions and events that it records. If we cannot participate in these great actions directly, we can at least appreciate the grandeur of the splendid vista limned in such flaming colors. Danger is exhilarating and Churchill's exhuberance and his graphic account transport the reader to that land of fancy where man, in his dreams of glory, ever strays.

Churchill's volumes are spiced with maxims, notions, and descriptions, that, often despite their extravagance and perhaps sometimes because of it, are tempting to quote. His description of Lenin is full of sound and fury: "Implacable vengeance, rising from a frozen pity in a tranquil, sensible, matter-of-fact, good humoured integument. His weapon logic; his mood opportunist. His sympathies cold and wide

as the Arctic Ocean; his hatred tight as the hangman's noose."[11] Churchill's rhetoric is so rich that its organ tones often drown out the sense. Yet despite many passages of resonant absurdity, it would be an injustice to ignore his frquently pithy and trenchant observations on men and things. Witness his observations on the danger of holding high office:

> The temptation to tell as Chief in a great position the things he likes most to hear is one of the commonest explanations of mistaken policy. (He)... is in the main surrounded by smiling and respectful faces. Most people who come in contact with him in times of strain feel honoured by contact with so much power or in sympathy with the bearer of such burdens. They are often prompted to use smooth processes, to mention some favourable items, to leave unsaid some ugly misgivings or some awkward contradiction. Thus the outlook of the leader on whose decision fateful events depend is usually far more sanguine than the brutal facts admit.[12]

No one has better summed up the underlying--and confused--strategical problem of the war: "...Military policy oscillated throughout... between two opposed conceptions of strategy... To attack the strong or to attack the weak." No one better or so tersely summed up the breakdown of all moral values in the effort to achieve victory: "When all was over, torture and cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian States had been able to deny themselves; and these were of doubtful utility." His cold comment on the art of generalship should be engraved on the portals of all military academies: "Battles are won by slaughter and manoeuvre; the greater the general, the more he contributes to manoeuvre, the less he demands in slaughter." The costs of the war are soberly presented: "Before the war, it had seemed incredible that such terrors and slaughters, even if they began, could last more than a few months. After the first two years it was difficult to believe that they would ever end... Victory was to be bought so dearly as to be almost indistinguishable from defeat."[13]

Churchill wrote the major part of <u>The World Crisis</u> during his

Parliamentary exile but completed it amidst the distractions of holding office in the Baldwin Government of 1924. The cares of office robbed him of time and the inclination to embark on new studies. Once again, however, the fates were kind to Churchill. Cast out of office with his colleagues in 1929, he set about the grand project, in which he had extensive research assistance, of rehabilitating the reputation of his illustrious ancestor, John, First Duke of Marlborough. The first volume of Marlborough, His Life and Times was published in 1933; the sixth and last volume appeared in 1938. Swift, Pope, Thackeray, and Macaulay had written critically of Marlborough; Churchill contested them all, and especially Macaulay, to whom he admittedly owed so much. He did not succeed, however, in fundamentally modifying Macaulay's portrait.

Macaulay had granted Marlborough his historical due but had painted him warts and all. To Churchill, the Duke was "the first of English soldiers and a chief Architect of Britain's imperial power;... to pretend that the triumphs of England in the age of Anne were the sole work of Marlborough would be an exaggeration. But it would only be an exaggeration." Churchill must have Marlborough not merely as a Titan, ("that is not disputed") but also as "a virtuous and benevolent being," who "possessed to a degree almost sublime the prosaic gift of common sense... He made up his mind with cold, human sagacity and a profound weighing of all the largest and smallest circumstances." Well he should, for "he thought for all, he acted for all." Even his use of English was "worthy of Shakespears."

At the same time Churchill acknowledged some of Marlborough's blemishes. "He was a greater worker than man... No one can read without regret and repugnance the long wearisome tale of the frauds and injuries which Marlborough perpetrated..." But whereas Marlborough's frailties provided Macaulay with an opportunity for literary expression and emphasis which he did not hesitate to exploit, Churchill seeks to

explain them away. He cannot deny Marlborough's avarice, but as its motivation was the elevation of his family, avarice becomes a virtue. Churchill explained Marlborough's war-time haggling with England's deadly enemy, Louis XIV : "Marlborough was not to be bought for money. He could accept it as a reward, but not as an inducement." Young John became the lover of the Duchess of Cleveland, mistress of James II. She was considerably older than John and paid him well. But they were cousins: "kinship...sanctioned intimacy and did not prohibit passion. Affections, affinities, and attractions were combined. Desire walked with opportunity and neither was denied." Macaulay viewed the situation unkindly, but he was incapable of understanding affairs of the heart for, as Churchill charges, to Macaulay love was "a localized aberration which distorts judgement" instead of "a sublime passion whcih expresses and animates all things."

Churchill presented the facts in narrative style but without adequate analysis. He made no attempt to dredge below the surface of events, no inquiry into how society lived, how it operated beneath the gorgeous panopoly. He was content with rich daubs of color, the slap-dash of the amateur artist. The panorama is not that of workaday life, in days of old, but of knights who were bold. The book is replete with the usually vivid portraitures and impressionistic imagery.

Churchill has elsewhere said that to him history is made by the "glorious few", the "exceptional human beings, whose thoughts, actions, qualities, virtues, triumphs, weaknesses, and crimes have dominated the fortunes of the race," not "the anonymous innumerable many."[16] The great villain is now Louis XIV, "petty and mediocre in all except his lusts of power," but also, oddly enough, "masterful, competent, hard-working." Anne is summed up as "a great queen," not "because of her benevolence or her understanding...certainly not because of her right judgement--but because of her toughness and will power." George I is

described as "a narrow, vindictive, humdrum German martinet, with dull brains, coarse tastes ("he brought with him a pair of ugly and rapacious German mistresses"), crude appetites; a commonplace and ungenerous ruler, and [this above all!] a sluggish and incompetent commander in the field..." Poland was "a large, unkempt, slatternly Kingdom;" Spain was "in decrepitude, insolvent, incoherent, tracing her genealogies and telling her beads;" the Dutch Republic was "the most perfect manifestation of obstinacy--constitutuional, moral, temperamental...Obstinacy, stolid, valiant, harsh, even brutal, dwelt in every fibre of the nation..." Unable to improve on the Duke of Buckingham's rhetoric, Churchill is content to quote Buckingham's plaint after being dismissed from office:

> "Good God, how has this poor nation been governed in my time! During the reign of King Charles the Second we were governed by a parcel of French whores; in King James the Second's time by a parcel of Popish Priest's; in King William's time by a parcel of Dutch Footmen; and now we are governed by a dirty chambermaid, a Welsh attorney and a profligate wretch that has neither honour nor honesty![17]

Unhappy on his back-bench, Churchill compared the age of Marlborough with his own and, as was to be expected, found the present wanting. His thoughts on the present discontents are reflected in his bitterness with an age that had become impersonal, mechanical, and materialistic. How he yearned for the olden days! He does not conceal his nostalgia for war and military glory: "Battles are the principal milestones in secular history. Modern opinion resents this uninspiring truth, and historians often treat the decisions of the field as incidents in the dramas of politics and diplomacy." In the age of the warrior hero, personal courage and perseverance were the highest good. For "all the great struggles of history have been won by superior willpower wresting victory in the teeth of odds." They still are. The slogan, he cries, is: "Fight on."[18]

Yet, apparently courage and striving are not enough. It was as

true of Churchill himself as of Marlborough that he "was capable of enduring endless vexations and out facing extreme hazards. But he had one sensitive spot....He sought not only glory but appreciation." More than ten eventful years later, Churchill was to write about himself: "I acquired [in 1940] the chief power in the State which...I wielded in ever growing measure for five years and three months of World War at the end of which time, all our enemies having surrendered unconditionally, or being about to do so, I was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all conduct of their affairs."

While writing Marlborough, Churchill published two volumes of collected essays, Thoughts and Adventures, (1932), (appearing in the United States as Amid These Storms), and Great Contemporaries (1937). Many of these essays are merely"pot-boilers," though Great Contemporaries contains some interesting sketches. It is hardly true, however, that "taken together they...present not only the actors but the scene... the stepping stone of historical narrative." By the outbreak of the Second World War he had also managed to complete the History of the English Speaking Peoples, which, he promises, "will some day be published."

The coming of war in 1939 provided him once again with the opportunity to make history. Like Lenin, who left off writing about revolution to make one, Churchill preferred to make wars rather than to write of them, to be maker rather than a writer of history. Recalled to office as First Lord of the Admiralty, he soon attained, for the first time in his long and ambitious career, the position of His Majesty's First Servant, a post he held until the 1945 General Election. Once the military crisis was past, the British electorate apparently believed, as Bonar Law had phrased it a quarter of a century earlier, that a "drummer boy who had been an asset in the hour of battle, was now a nuisance among the casualties in the hospital ward."

The sequel was inevitable: once again he became the recorder. He had prepared himself for the task by keeping careful records of the War Years. During his five years as Prime Minister he had issued memoranda, orders, and directives and kept minutes that amounted to nearly a million words in all. Here was the raw material of history. Even before becoming Prime Minister, he had sent Chamberlain a series of daily letters on the problems presented by the War. The long-suffering Chamberlain at last became exasperated by Churchill's "I hope you will consider carefully what I write to you," and finally pointed out in writing that, after all, he was seeing Churchill every day and felt that formal replies were hardly necessary.

The Second World War, four volumes of which have already been published, is offered as a "contribution to history," as a record of thirty years of "action and advocacy which comprise and express my life-effort." Churchill assures us that he is "content to be judged upon them." History, however, does not judge a man at his own evaluation and it will certainly consider, also, the decade that Churchill significantly omits from consideration, the decade from 1905-1914, when he and Lloyd George were the great "radicals" in the Liberal Government, under which a united Britain entered on the war.

With characteristic immodesty, he equates his own "action and advocacy" with history. As always, the data are focused on Churchill the Statesman and Wise Leader. Along with the enthusiasm and delight with which he presents himself to posterity is his constant concern to play his self-appointed role. Mr. Churchill, Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, may not be quite able to recall his emotions in tranquillity, but he betrays nothing but satisfaction with himself and his accomplishments. While it would be churlish to begrudge him

all the credit he accords himself, it is impossible not to admire his artistry in the use of whitewash, the skill with which he manages to ignore or to overcome the record of the many mistakes which haunt his ambitions. More than forty years of political experience have taught him never to acknowledge failure, never to admit a mistake. ~~He has never repented his performance in the House of Commons back in 1906, when he confessed to "terminological inexactitudes."~~

Once again recur the brilliant passages and memorable scenes, epigrams, and maxims; once again one feels a well-nigh irresistible temptation to quote. His trenchant descriptions of Baldwin and Chamberlain merit quotation in any history of the era. Baldwin "knew little of Europe and disliked what he knew....He had a genius for waiting upon events and an imperturbability under adverse criticism. He was singularly adroit in letting events work for him and capable of seizing the right moment when it came....Neville Chamberlain on the other hand was alert, business-like, opinionated and self-confident in a very high degree. Unlike Baldwin, he conceived himself able to comprehend the whole field of Europe and indeed the world....Mr. Chamberlain continued to believe that he had only to form a personal contact with the Dictators to effect marked improvement in the world situation." There is also the story of Anthony Eden expressing his misgivings about the situation and of Chamberlain telling him to "go home and take an aspirin."

The weakness of The Second World War is that, despite the fact that its author has been closer to the center of political action and military strategy, it lacks the narrative virtue of the first series. With all the advantages inherent in his position, Churchill fails in the first obligation of the historian, he fails to give us a coherent account of the past. Instead, and this has become increasingly evident as volume succeeds volume, Churchill relies upon his files, content

to provide us with the scrap books and recollections, substituting reminiscences for narration. What he presents to us, more and more, is a series of documents linked, more or less successfully, by a few lines of text. Memoranda, minutes, letters, telegrams, and speeches, are strung together and quoted at length though necessarily, and oftentimes unfortunately with many omissions. Possibly, with advancing years, Churchill may have decided that he must conserve his energy for other tasks which he expects to be "thrust upon him," but, since he is never one to spare himself, it is more likely that he is seeking to demonstrate to his readers the basis for what he seems to regard as an inescapable conclusion, that he has had no misgivings, has made no mistakes, did the right thing always, and at the right time. Churchill is his own hero and he never falls below the level of his idolatory. Apropos of a letter he had written on April 2,1941 to Japan's Foreign Secretary, Yosuke Matsuoka, he remarks, "I was rather pleased with this when I wrote it and I don't mind the look of it now," it is a comment that might apply to all his actions, words, and thoughts. Like the Lord in Genesis, Churchill looks to his work an finds it good.

In peace and in war, history to Churchill is primarily, if not exclusively, a matter of dynasties, cabinets, generals--and Churchills. Not that he is entirely indifferent to the condition of the people--numerous memoranda which he resurrects attest to his concern, but the interest is that of a magnanimous aristocrat troubled by the unfortunate plight of the lower orders. Similarly, in the midst of terrible events he found time to be concerned over the condition of the flag flying atop the Admiralty, and penned a note to the First Lord, ordering him to put up a new flag because: "It grieves me to see the present dingy object every morning."

Churchill the historian is Churchill the man. Blessed with a sense of heritage, as well as with vision and ability, Churchill was born too late. What he wrote of war reflects his fundamental attitude in peace: "From the moment Democracy was admitted to, or rather forced itself upon the battlefield, war ceased to be a gentleman's game. To Hell with it." But the son who on his father's death had resolved that, "There remained only for me to pursue his aims and vindicate his memory," was not free, in the age of Democracy, to follow his inclinations. Churchill might write, in the biography of his father, "There is an England which stretches far beyond the well-drilled masses who are assembled by party machinery to salute with appropriate acclamation the utterances of their recognized fuglemen; an England of wise men who gaze without self-deception at the failings and follies of both political parties; of brave and earnest men." It was to that England that Randolph Churchill had appealed -- and had failed. Winston Churchill also would have preferred to appeal to that England. But that road led to disaster, and he was determined to succeed. Undoubtedly one of the foremost politicians of his time, he wasted no sympathy on "persons of exquisite sensibility," who are shocked by modern politics and who are inclined to "sniff disdainfully...and to console themselves for a lack of influence upon the course of events by the indulgence of a fastidious refinement and a meticulous consistency." The politician of the modern age, whatever his longing for the past, when England was "governed by the few -- the very few" cannot, without courting certain failure, ignore Burke's "swinish multitude."

Unquenchable ambition has forced Churchill to make concessions to the demands of the age, and his tireless energy and industry have enabled him to cope with the forces of Democracy, but he has no basic

sympathy for the goals of Democracy. He might proclaim that Hitler "could not comprehend the forces of our island people" who "had come through the centuries to regard Victory as their birthright," but he himself could not quite comprehend that by 1945 the British people had come to regard victory over poverty - or at least "fair shares for all" - as also their birthright. Though he has been forced to bow to Democracy in political life, no such necessity has existed for him as an historian. His values shine forth without obscuring modifications of compromise. Here, clearly, is revealed his lack of genuine feeling for the man in the street, in the field, in the factory, and in the fox-holes. Here lies his real failure as an historian of the modern age.

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Samuel J. Hurwitz
Brooklyn College

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"WHITHER BRITAIN?"
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ANNOUNCEMENT AT #3:29 P.M. -4

3:29:53 — 4:02:29

Tuesday, January 16th, 1934.

CUE: (COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM)
(.....30 seconds.....)

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen! At this time it gives us great pleasure to present the second in a new series of programs to be heard each week at this time under the title "Whither Britain?" This series is offered in cooperation with the British Broadcasting Company, and brings you England's most famous ~~men~~ name. The speaker this afternoon is the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, distinguished soldier, statesman, and author. Mr. Churchill served England's flag in Cuba, South Africa, and India; and during the World War, he commanded a regiment in France. He has been a member of Parliament for the past thirty years, serving successively as President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, War Minister, Air Secretary, Colonial Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ANNOUNCER CONTINUED: Winston Churchill will speak to you from the studios of the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corporation in the English Capital. We now transfer you to LONDON ENGLAND! (CUE)

****

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to the Right Honorable Winston Churchill, distinguished soldier, statesman, and author, in the second of a series of weekly addresses titled "Whither Britain?" The speaker from London next week at this same hour will be_____. This series is offered in cooperation with the British Broadcasting ~~Company~~ Corp. Your announcer is _____.

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WABC NEW YORK

Very Reverend Walter Robert Inge, Dean of Exeter, and for 8 years chaplain to King George V

And now, for the remainder of this period, we present the Salon Orchestra from our New York studios in excerpts from the June Memorial Memorium.

Miss Law

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For Immediate Release

WINSTON CHURCHILL STRESSES NECESSITY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IN CBS BROADCAST (Tuesday, January 16)

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill stressed the necessity of national defense in a talk on "Whither Britain?", broadcast from London, England over WABC and the Columbia Broadcasting System, Tuesday, January 16, from 3:30 to 4:00 P.M., EST. The British statesman defended the system of parliamentary government, surveyed Britain's economic progress in the past few years, and pleaded for cooperation with the League of Nations.

Churchill's talk was one in a special series of international broadcasts presenting prominent English speakers on the same subject. The complete text of his remarks follows:

HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I am very glad to have the chance of speaking to you all about the affairs and future of our country. We have to ask ourselves tonight, two questions: Where do we stand? What ought we to do? My time is so short, I can only deal with a few big things and can only tell you what I think about them without arguing them out as I should like to do. What I say, will not, perhaps, be pleasing to Prime Minister Macdonald nor the opposition party. I really ought to count how many of these there were -- at any rate, I am sure no one will send me a bouquet tomorrow morning. Still, as you sit around your fireside, wondering how it is all going to turn out and what you can do to help old England, I hope you will listen to my advice and if you do not agree with what I say, I trust you will think it over.

First of all, it seems to me that we have much to be thankful for. We have been brought safely through the fires of Armageddon, and now in this great world depression, we are not only holding our place but we are doing better than almost any other country. Our finances have been put back into much better order and though we are not paying off our debts, at any rate we are paying our way, which is much more than the Americans or the Germans or the French have done.

(More)

What a comfort it is to think that there are over 700,000 more men at work now than there were last year. I rejoicedat that at Christmas time. I ask you to give a cheer for the health and the giant strength of our wonderful Nation, amid all the economic trials and problems of this modern world. Surely, recognition is also due to the Government which has presided over this great improvement and aided it in some respects by important factions.

But more than that, more than this economic aspect, more than this material side, we have preserved so far the rights and freedom of our men and women and the existence of our Parliament during the time when in every other country such things have been trampled down by tyranny and dictatorship. We have preserved the decencies and the tolerances, the stability and the dignity of our Island life which our forefathers gained for us by their wisdom and hardy courage. We have preserved them while almost everywhere beyond our shores there is a very different scene. Look where you will, over this confused, tumultous world, and you will find no land where thought and action is so free, where property is so respected, where the courts of law and the Government are so free from corruption, where there is less class hatred or where more money is spent or more pains taken to deal with suffering and misfortune. Britain has so far proved herself able to come through the storms of war and peace and tonight, now, here, we still have the power to choose our destiny and to clear a broad, sure high road for our children to

tread.

What then are we to do? The world around us has changed greatly and is changing fast. Much has happened which does not help our country. Gone, far gone, are the palmy days of Queen Victoria, when we manufactured the goods and our ships carried them for nearly all the world, in days before the airplane and submarine had been invented, in days when Britannia ruled the waves and we were safe in our Island home. There is no doubt now that we are faced with many dangers.

First, there is the danger of war. You see what is happening between Russia, China and Japan and the tremendous strides, accomplished by trade and by the sword that the japanese people are making and are going to continue to make. We have our interests there, large interests. Some of you will say, "Well, that's all along way off." But what is happening in Europe is not a long way off. This is quite close. It is only a few hours away. Anyone can see what is going on there. I say surely we ought to put our defences in such a state that we can, if we choose, live our own life in our own way and develop our own country and its great possessions. We have never been so defenseless as we are now.

When the Great War broke out, in August 1914, I was at the Admiralty. In those days you could send a whole army out of the country if you wished. Our great Admiral said, "The fleet is ready and we can guarantee the Island against invasion or starvation." That was a considerable undertaking but it

was made good by the Royal Navy. No one can say that now. The hideous curse of war from the air has fallen upon the world and I say to you, don't you think we ought to make ourselves as strong against attack from the air as our Navy used to make us from invasion across the sea. We used to say that we would have a navy stronger than that of any two powers. What we ought to do now is to have an airport. That is my point of view. I do not believe we should be in danger. Till we have that, we are no longer the same kind of independent country that we used to be, that any of you were born into. With all our wealth and civilization exposed to the ferocious interests that tear the continent of Europe, we have nothing but our diplomacy and our good intention. I am all for diplomacy and good intention but, first of all, we ought to make the Island safe.

Our finances are sound. We have the best record in the world. No one can make such fine machinery as we. We breed a type of young man nursed in freedom, who will do all required of him. Even if having a one-power standard in the air should make more work for builders, engineers and skilled men unemployed, I think we could put up with that.

But that is not all we ought to do. We ought to have a clear, honest foreign policy which anybody can explain and everybody can understand. Mr. Wells whom you heard last week, sneered at the League of Nations. He is one of those visionaries who are always talking about a world state and a planned

destiny and a new order of society and then when any practical steps are taken to urge those very remote ideas, he is one of those who is first to come forward to pick them to pieces, to point out their shortcomings and to mock at them. I don't agree with those who say that the League of Nations is no use and could never prevent another European war. It may be indeed the only chance of preventing one or if it cannot prevent it, of making sure that the guilty disturber of the peace get the worst of it. If the League of Nations is not close enough involved in the intrigue about disarmament, it might still remain an august tribunal to which not only the powers of small people may use, if not for protection, at any rate for a declaration of where right and justice lie.

It would indeed be a melancholy ending to the hopes of those who strive for peace and for justice, which is higher than peace, if that great instrument of the public opinion of the world and of the public law of Europe were to flounder in increasing disorder of the age. We must take our place there and do our duty with the other countries large and small, not only those countries which fought in the late War but the neutral countries like Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, we must bear our share in building up a confederation of nations so strong and sincere that in Europe, at least, no aggressor will dare to challenge.

(More)

No doubt, my friends, there are dangers in every course but it is a wise saying, that there is safety in numbers and I believe that we must not desert the League of Nations but rather make it plain that we intend to play our part there and do our duty there, be it what or be it who.

Now I come back home to our own country and to its troubles and hopes. It is not true, as Mr. Wells suggested, that the world is getting poorer, or that our standard of living here is getting worse. Life in the cottage home is not getting better as quickly as it ought, or perhaps that it might, but it is better than it was and it is better than it was even before the War and if we pull together there is no reason why there should not be a continuous improvement. The cause of this world depression is not famine or scarcity; it is in our power to supply our wants more abundantly than under the old arrangements. The problem now is to save. Find out the answer to that and I believe it is certainly not by the Russian brand of exploitation, exploiting hatreds and sharing misery.

Look at the Minister of Agriculture, that able man, crying out against the extra pigs and milk and eggs as the result of his experiment last year in England. Fancy that! While at the same time his colleague, the Minister of Health, in a building a few hundred yards away is making scientific calculations to find out exactly what is the very least food - vitamines and proteins and all that learned jargon - that will keep an unemployed man and his family alive, per week and per diem. There seems to be some mixed thinking there - one minister cutting down the rations and the other moving back the food supplies pouring in from the countryside.

You don't want a revolution to put that straight. All you want is a little more commonsense and a better organization. Then look at those slums they talk about so eloquently and so elegantly. You don't want a New World order but Mr. Wells calls for a new world order to clear them out. What you want is a pickaxe and someone to take off his coat to the job. I don't say President Roosevelt is right in all his experiments, but one does admire the spirit in which he grapples with difficulties, especially in contrast with the timidity and the mental indecision which we see, well, where shall I say - which we see in some other places. I will let it go at that.

But do you think our Parliament is strong enough to cope with the problems of the present day? You know quite well that many forces threaten our Parliamentary system. Some threaten it from politics and some from other sources. There is no doubt people do not think so much of the House of Commons as they used to. The Second Chamber is in a state of decay. I would far rather be governed by those Parliamentary institutions which have so long presided over the growth of our race and nation than by any sect or faction, or Socialist or Fascist organization or by finance and industry or by the officials of public departments or even by the newspapers. We ought to guard carefully and prudently in this age when Parliaments are everywhere being destroyed that mother of parliaments by which we have all been brought up, and not so badly brought up after all.

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We hear a great deal about the reform of the House of Lords. Surely it is not only the House of Lords but all parts of parliaments that ought to be reformed to enable the parliamentary citizen of England to resist the danger of dictatorship or violent overthrow by a sect or faction of extremists on either side of politics. No one generation has the right even if they have the power, to overtuen the whole constitution and tradition of our Island. No single generation is the owner of all that has been built up here during so many centuries. We are only the trustees and life tenants, owing much to the Parliament and hoping to derive from it in the future as we have done so far.

These enormous political landslides which occur, now one wave and now another, after some stump election campaign, are harmful to our trade and livelihood. The people ought to be able to turn out a Government of which they are tired without endangering the whole life and constitution of the country. There ought to be some very much stronger security against violent change in the fundamental laws of our state and society. When such changes have to be made, they should be measured and careful. Everything ought not to be thrown into the melting pot just because a particular government is unpopular. It is too great a risk for any state to run and it might even land us in a great disaster. Therefore, I hold that the House of Lords should be reformed and made into an effective Second Chamber. It should be different in character from the House of Commons, and its task should be to keep the main structure of our National life beyond the danger of sudden and violent change. We need more

(More)

structure in our system. John Bull should have strong bones. The House of Commons also should be strengthened and brought more effectively in touch with the active might of the people.

Now that everybody has votes, you know for yourselves many millions never take the trouble to use them and millions more have to be whipped up to go to the polls by some trap slogan or other. All views should be represented in the House of Commons and both sides should be heard on every question. If we go on lurching about every few years, now to one side of the road and now to the other, it will not be long before we find ourselves and the National lion in the ditch.

The franchise ought to be strengthened and what is called, weighted. There is no need to take away votes from anybody. We should give extra votes to the millions of men and women, heads of households and fathers of families who are bearing the real burden and responsibility of our fortunes upon their shoulders, pushing and dragging our National barrel up the hill.

I hope it will reform the House of Lords and put it in its proper place in relation to the House of Commons and I hope also it will reform the franchise of the House of Commons itself and make it a more true and permanent expression of the real forces that are alive in the Nation. We do not want a violent plunge into communism, followed by a violent plunge into socialism or into fascism; that would be the end of our free, ancient constitution and we should come down to the level of those happy

(More)

countries where the ordinary people are simply the slaves of the Government and of the gang who are in the Government.

Please think this over very carefully. Consider it at your leisure because I am sure after many years of thought and experience that it may make a lot of difference to you and to your children.

I have only time to mention one other thing, but it is a big thing. Someone said to me the other day, "What does it matter to me and my mates, Mr. Churchill, whether we live in a great empire or a small country like Belgium? It may be different for the swell, but it is very much the same for the likes of us." That sounds all right but just look and see where we stand. There are forty-five million others in this crowded Island. On the whole, we are better off than any other similar community in the world. There are, therefore, about fifteen million souls who are here because we are the heart and center of a worldwide empire, because of our trade and connections throughout the globe, because of our long, gathered resources and ascendancy. If these are cut away from us, our population would be ground down not only in its standard of living but in its actual number towhat the soil of Britain would produce. It is all very well for Mr. Devalera to go back to the bogs of Ireland with his handful of people to a land full of food, but if we were to try to live by ourselves alone, there would be the most frightful crash and obliteration of life that has ever darkened human records. We should share the fate, on a far larger scale and in a much worse degree, of the city of Vienna which a few years ago was the capital of Central Europe and is now only a grizzly skeleton.

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We should be like those whales which sometimes swim into our Scottish Harbor; when the tides go out and it leaves them stranded, the little urchin boys go and cut their names on their bellies. Now that you have this immense population here, maintained at this level of economic society, it is too late to go back to primitive conditions, too late to hanker after little England. We must be strong, we must be successful, a scientific, commercial empire or we shall starve. There is no halfway house for Britain between greatness and ruin. That is why I feel so anxious and so angry when I hear all these highbrow sentimentalists and feeble-minded talkers in their airy philosophical detachment about letting our Empire go or throwing away the Colonies, losing touch with Canada, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa - these young nations who stretch out their hands to us across the ocean. Little do these clever chatterboxes know, little do they dream of the miseries to which they would condemn the faithful, patriotic wage-earners of Britain. All this talk about our beating down the inheritance by which we live and to which we render faithful service into some vague International mixture, some sludgey amalgam, all these crazy appeals to disarm ourselves utterly amid an ambitious world, all these suicidal urges to cast away what our Nation has kept by virtue, all these shameful and blatant declarations that we are unwilling to defend our rights and possessions and that it is wrong even to think of doing so, all these lead only to the starvation and misery of

(More)

the working classes, and to the end of that splendor of Britain which has in every generation been ready to die. Moreover, let me say there is no reason to suppose that the task is beyond our strength. Other nations,much weaker nations than ours, are not cowed by the difficulties of the time. They do not bow down before the terrors of the modern world and run off to hide in some hole. On the contrary, as Mr. Wells has told you, and here I agree with him, they are animated everywhere by the strongest spirit of nationalism. Everywhere we see them asserting their will to live and their right to rule. When from the relaxing hand of Britain, the reins of Empire fall, others will advance to assume our neglected duties to exploit our discarded treasures and to fill our place in the world. It will not be to any benevolent Utopia that your inheritance will pass but only to a rival nationalism who once they know you are weaker and solitary, will brush you from their path without even a word of apology or thanks.

The interest of the British Empire and of our Island is peace. We seek no territory, we desire no one's misfortune, we have no revenge for anyone, no old scores to repay. Our foreign policy should keep us free from war but we must pick on, once again, a strong, resolute community able to protect ourselves and guard our rights not only by moral but if need be, by physical force. We must shape our institutions so as to

preserve the state from unconsidered lapses. We must make sure that our Island civilization and the wage standards of our people are not beaten down by outside pressure and that the policy we have so long observed does not perish through foreign violence or our own decay.

(The End)

Dear Mr Churchill

For the first time in history, the American correspondents from world fronts are going to have a club house in New York - a five story building where we can foregather and have as guests our ~~friends~~ fellow correspondents from all countries.

I am Chairman of the vital fund raising committee. And we are doing well. But general and building costs are high.

We have had an offer from a potential subscriber for a substantial sum (over his normal contribution) provided you would contribute one of your pictures to the good cause.

Is it too much to ask you to asmfly

1) Wish us well?

2) Contribute one of your paintings toward our building fund?

One or both would be appreciated.

Very truly yours

Levy Isaac D.

ISAAC D. LEVY
123 SOUTH BROAD STREET
PHILADELPHIA 9, PA.

August 5, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter from Mrs. Churchill. Leland Hayward and Henry Jaffe will be very interested to know we are traveling along.

Cordially,

IDL/hr

Copy sent to Mr. Lowy 8/15

GRAND HOTEL "CAREZZA AL LAGO"
PROV. BOLZANO - DOLOMITI
18 HOLES GOLF LINKS
1600 M

2 August, 1949.

Dear Mr. Murrao

Winston was much interested by your proposals. He is however of an opinion that he should not take any part in sponsoring a film about himself, and upon reflection I do agree with him.

We are both grateful to you for the trouble you have taken in thinking out and suggesting such a generous contract.

Yours very sincerely
Clementine S. Churchill

Copy sent to J. D. Levy 8/3/49

WESTERN 1617. 3637

28, HYDE PARK GATE,
LONDON, S.W. 7.

20th July, 1949.

My dear Mr. Murrow,

Thank you so much for your letter and for your memorandum. I am taking them away with me to Italy next Monday and will show them to Winston then. He has to make two very important public speeches before we go, so I feel I cannot get his undivided attention until they are over.

I wonder when you and Janet are coming to England. I shall be away until about August 25th, when I will be coming back to England as my daughter, Mary, is expecting a baby then. Please do let me know when you are coming.

Yours very sincerely,

Clementine S. Churchill

Please give Janet & Casey my love.

Clark, R. T.

March 20, 1959

R T Clark
The Glasgow Herald
56 Fleet Street
London E.C 4, England

HOPE YOU CAN LUNCH WITH ME SATURDAY, MARCH 28 AT THE CONNAUGHT STOP

WILL CALL YOU BEST REGARDS

Ed Murrow

514-70 News

Clark, R. T.

RT Clark

May 29, 1951

Dear Skipper:

I have I know been a miserable correspondent, but you would forgive me if you knew the weight of the schedule I have been carrying. It involves five 15-minute programs a week, including hard news and a so-called analysis, and then a full hour review of the week's news on Friday nights from 9 to 10.

The whole MacArthur incident has been quite fantastic. I thought that in '40 and '41 when I was a "warmonger" from London I had received some vicious and abusive mail, but I have never seen anything like the last month. All reason seems to have disappeared and listeners regard one either as a genius or a traitor. As of right now the climate seems to be cooling down a bit, both Marshall and Bradley have been excellent witnesses and when the whole thing is over we shall find ourselves exactly where we were.

I have shipped off to you a few books including Bradley's; the publication date of his over here, incidentally, is June 18. For my own part, I regard it as the best Command book to come out of the last war.

I had hoped to be seeing you at the end of this week but have just come from a session with the doctors who tell me that I cannot fly for atleast several weeks. I seem to have had a severe head cold and infection and they are afraid that it will cause damage to the ears if I fly now so the trip to Yugoslavia by way of London has been postponed. I'm afraid I'll not be seeing you before some time in July or August.

Casey is flourishing, and he and Janet will be moving to the country in the course of the next couple of weeks. I am hoping to get two months off the air this summer, probably July and August, and sometime during that period I shall without doubt be in London.

I would suggest to you that one of the real reasons for the MacArthur hysteria hasn't anything to do with MacArthur's reputation or proposals. It was rather an outburst of public resentment that had been building up for a long time; it is a reflection of a sense of frustration as a result of finding ourselves in a position where we can find no solution that is either easy or quick; it is a reflection of the irritation at small petty thieves in and around the administration, and, probably above everything else, it is a reflection of the fact that there are only two men in this country who can now communicate with the people effectively. One is Eisenhower and the other is MacArthur. Acheson cannot avoid letting his intellect show, Truman can't read, and George Marshall delivers his utterances in a dull monotone.

I remember several occasions during the war when we used to say that the time would come when we would look back on those times and refer to them as the "good old days". In that prophesy, at least, we were correct.

I shall continue to send you books from time to time and if there are any special volumns that you would like, please command me. I send you my best salute and all the affection of which I am capable.

Like always,

Mr. R.T. Clark
31 Buckland Crescent
London, N.W. 3, England

1/3 air mail stationery

My dear Ed.,

In this dreary world the mere rumour that you may be coming here does one's heart good and if it turned out to be true would even make it happy. I hope the rumour is true.

I am so sorry that I have been so long in writing you though I am sure you are so busy that you haven't missed it. I wrote to Janet explaining why I have been so long so I needn't repeat the sad story except to say that we shall be "a new furnished flat on April 1 for six months as Jo is still not fit to undertake a genuine "flitting" and the establishment of our own furniture in an unfurnished one. In any case it gives us a breathing space for, if there are so signs of imminent war by September, I don't think we shall have it this year

None the less I am pretty sure we shall have alarms and excursions and we have never been less able to face them. I have every sympathy with Attlee and don't doubt that he sincrely believes that it is better to go on than let Churchill in and also that, if he holds on for the full term, things "are bound to get better" That is dubious but it is quite clear that if he went to the country now he would be beaten by about 60 Now that he has decided there is no relief for us unless more Labour boys fall sick than do Tories or the Government loses six byelections at a run The Tories might well think in terms of bumping off six Labour boys with a majority last time of under 1000!!

But it means a situation of perfect unreality and with the pressure of rearmament and the failure of nationalised enterprises to pay their way there is a slow anger invading people. They are slowly realising that when the Transport Corporation is £23,000,000 in the red and the Festival looks like loosing more than it took to build, it is their money that is being wasted and not mysterious government funds. This is all to the good It was high time that the ordinary citizen realised that cheap food is paid for by high taxation which he pays and that prices are rising because of mis-expenditure. The economists tell him nothing but he looks at his own budget and dining table and realises that the "bad old days" are a myth. He will realise it more when the budget comes for, whatever burdens may be put on the middle class and whatever reliefs are put on the worker, the former won't be enough and the latter will come out of him by indirect taxation. I don't say the ordinary man is a trained economist ; I only say he is beginning to wake up to the facts of life.

Normally that would mean an upheaval But he has nothing more to expect from the Tories and he is on the whole apathetic If the Tories win the next election the cause will not be a turnover of votes so much as Labour abstentionism. Because of their narrow majority the government fears to tackle anything since firm handling would mean a split. For the split not yet having appeared they have more to thank Tory tactics than anything the Government have done themselves. In fact we are just in a position when democracy is held to have failed and it is a measure both of apathy and of commonsense that the extreme parties have completely failed to profit from it.

It is because of this apathy that we have not yet had the witch hunts you have had. I had a letter from the Univ. of California from my adopted nephew in agony over the oath administered to teachers there. He refused to sign the university oath but did sign the State one and feels very guilty yet does not see how he could refuse the latter. I see from the N.Y. Times that you have had similar experiences in C.B.S. I never can see the point of such oaths ; no "crypto" would have any hesitation in signing and the only people likely to refuse are precisely the people they ought to cherish. But there is no limit to man's follies. It must be becoming very trying for you and I do sympathise with you but "time and the hour" you know.....

I am very sorry indeed that Herbert took the F.O. I thought he would have had more sense for in our time there is no case of a Foreign secretary becoming P.M. and I thought it was just one of those cases when his Cockney bravado wins over Scots caution I am told though that he did hesitate and only took it on Attlee's and Bevin's pressure He may tell you more himself for I gather he wants to go to the U.S. soon. I don't think he will be a success. For one thing he is out to make "a bid for peace" and that may lead him into queer paths. For another he isn't temperamentally suited to this sort of argument and he knows practically nothing of the background and the facts. How hazy we are on the "facts" here a casual perusal of the NEW STATESMAN will tell you

Also he dare not go against the Labour Left which is reviving the old nonsense of a "third force" and "restraint of the U.S." and believing, in some cases sincerely, that on the one hand armaments provoke an opponent and on the other deter him and refuse to admit that when you arm it is not a desire for peace that counts but appreciation by the other side that you are determined to fight. There is so far no will behind the armament programme because neither side dare put it there and it is in that light that you must view our whole rearmament programme. Don't mistake me If there is aggression that touches it this country will fight just as it always has. But so far it doesn't believe in the probability of such aggression and sees no vital national reason for rearmament or rather is so occupied in making ends meet that it has no time to look for one.

That was why I wanted Patrick Gordon Walker at the F.O. He is young enough to endure a reverse and Herbert isn't. And he is the only Cabinet minister who understands the historic process and is courageous enough to follow its guidance. He stood well up to Malan and got public tribute for doing so but it isn't generally known that he is the only minister who isn't taken in by that warped Harrovian Nehru and who would take a strong line in Asia. I have to depend for nearly all my information now on Foreign affairs from the N.Y. Times - my gratitide to your Govt. for giving me a free copy of the international edition is profound for I couldn't do my work without it. So far I see little sign that opinion understands what is happening and that Russia is out to organise Asia She may destroy herself in the process in so far as she is still European but we are back at the old conflict. Asia never since the beginning has known anything but the corruption of tyrannous rule and is uncomfortable under anything else though she likes exchanging one tyrant for another. But to hope

democratic rule now is hopeless. Money poured in will either stick to sweaty fingers or be used against us andthere is no method of intensifying food production or industrialisation that will solve the problem of an increase in population now that science and sympathy has renoved the natural checks on it. Asia must increasingly starve unless her population is reduced ; but war would cure it as it has so often done in the past. There is a thought for you that if we leave Asia severely alone without a scrap of help corruption tyranny and Russia would solve the problem. The misery would be very great but not greater than what the present development will bring

I suppose we shall appease in Korea and the Russians will try something else somewhere else. My only hope is that we shall not be allowed to appease

I mustn't run on any more. Tell me if there is anything I can do for you especially something that doesn't earn a fee although I was most grateful for the cheque for a very miscellaneous collection of facts on the Stone They know now who did it but not where it is and are hesitating to prosecute ; in these dull days there is too much sneaking admiration for any one who looks like Robin Hood

Jules is better but is rather low for the sort of job he wants seems to elude him. Michael is in television news and is a new man. I rarely see anyone else. Add this to your collection of announcers' bloomers On the Stone the news typed "taken from Scone by Edward Ist" and Lionel Marson dear fellow read it as "Edward ist (pronounced as is German ich bin, du bist, er ist)

All the best to you Drop me even a card to say you are O.K. Hearing from Hallam St. isn't enough Better still come soon ; I8m longing for a long talk and we can sit in the dignity of the Reform Club and have it ; the alcoholic resources are excellent there.

God bless you and remember what I often told you and which I have so constantly to tell myself - "a stoot hert to a stye brae"

As always

R.T.

P.S If you have 'em handy ~~to obtain~~ I'd be most grateful for Mark Clark's reminiscences & Bradley's when they come out. I'll settle up when you come for I can make money out of both Ulsters!!

Mr. R. T. Clark
31 Buckland Crescent
London, N.W. 3, England

Clark, R. T.

MAY 25, 1950

MR. R. T. CLARK
31, BUCKLAND ~~CRESCENT~~
LONDON, N. W. 3
ENGLAND

WILL BE IN LONDON ON FRIDAY JUNE SECOND RETURNING FROM BERLIN AND WILL TELEPHONE YOU ON ARRIVAL. REGARDS.

ED MURROW

31, Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W. 3.
Primrose 7458.

My dear Ed., I muddled the articles so you will not receive two under separate cover but three; the Boer War one is thrown in for good measure.

Also a little par I wrote about Harold. The news was a good shock tho', the last time I saw him I thought he looked terribly ill. He just worked himself to death & the election pulling off a American trip to do so. It is a good loss not as a person than as a political scientist. I can think of so many who could have more easily spared even if I feel the best work was behind him & that caught as I was in the politics he could not have gone back to the life the best writing needs. It disturbs me and I my contemporaries as ever my -this slaughter junior. Harold was five years younger than me.

No news naturally except that as another M.P (age 4 J.!!) has died the Govt's overall majority is down to 3.

I'm now trying 8 pad at Stk. The Atlantic military boys have done besides being optimistic to pessimism.

All the best to Janet, Cassy & you

As ever

H.J.

Kindest of Men

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By the death of Professor Harold Laski the Labour movement has been deprived not so much of its greatest as of its only first-rate political theorist. The word "movement" is used advisedly, for the Party hierarchy often resented Laski as much as the rank and file admired him, and it is the "movement" that will feel his loss most. Economists it has by the dozen but it has never been so rich in political scientists. Laski was an accomplished scholar, with a prodigious output, yet his influence was far more personal than academic. Much learning had neither crippled his imagination nor tamed his

LETTERS TO

emotions, and it was when the former was in full course and the latter frankly unleashed that he was most impressive. Formally he was a Marxist and made at least one historic attempt to show that the present Labour Party were the true heirs of Marxism; actually he derived much more from the English Radicals, some of whom were more intemperate than Marx or Stalin, and from the age-long tradition of oppression under which the race to which he was proud to belong had suffered. If his humanism was at times dubious, he was the most human of political theorists. That quality made him the keeper of the Party's conscience, a role which was usually of greater discomfort to the Party than to himself; it made him enemies but it won him friends, and it is they who will mourn him most deeply. They will be remembering one who, in an age when kindness is reckoned as a lesser virtue, was the kindest of men.

FRENCH SECURITY AND WESTERN UNION

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Danger of Dilemma over Germany

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT : LONDON, Sunday.

That the Presidential visit has been a great popular affirmation of the Anglo-French alliance is admitted by everyone, even by those who exaggerate the Londoner's passion for an "occasion," irrespective of what the occasion is.

M. Auriol's reception can be explained only by the instinctive reaction of the popular mind to the necessity of the close union between Britain and France as both look out on a very uncertain future; there is nothing else to supply the kernel of a league of the European democracies in defence of their own independence. How far that instinctive feeling is translated into political action is another matter.

Urgency of Need

Towards action an immense amount of work—and not all of it paper work—has already been done, and many obstacles cleared away. But its results are not very visible and "progress" is greeted with obvious scepticism by the many forces whose interest it is that the effort at unity should fail. Nor are all the people clear on how drastic is the need for unity, and without clarity on that point there is little hope that the sacrifices which are necessary will be made. It is through failure to recognise this urgency that independence of policy carried to the extent of independence of reality can be as dangerous as failure to rearm, and can of itself make rearmament fruitless.

The Atlantic democracies cannot go on pursuing dependent and independent policies at the same time. They cannot create organs of unity and maintain policies of disunity if they want to survive the clash that is coming.

The clash need not be war. The Atlantic nations can pursue their independence until they create a state of things in which they will not be able to resist and will fall singly into enemy hands by one of the dozen means other than war. Russia herself does not want war for the simple reason that she does not believe she will need to wage aggressive war to obtain her ends. Either the hostile democracies will commit political suicide or they will be driven to make aggressive war in which, for the simple reason that such a war could have no popular basis, they would be defeated.

Mr Molotov's electoral speech is eloquent of Russian hopes. Peace to him consists in the alliance between Russia and like-minded nations, the alliance of Russia and the new China being cited as an example—that is, in a state of things in which the nations individually are brought into the Russian orbit by the approved methods.

Not Deceived

Moscow is not to be deceived by an appearance of unity. Only the real thing will bring matters for her to the test of yielding or fighting. Russia believes that there can never be the reality of unity, but at the same time there lurks the fear of what may really be behind appearance. The London celebrations have been called a manifestation of imperialism, and there is an uneasy sense that the popular demonstrations so easy to decry may reflect a political something which, though imperfect, has begun to put on solidity.

Even more than ourselves, Moscow would like to know the full purport of Mr Bevin's talks with M. Robert Schuman. Probably we should both be disappointed if we knew for, on the whole, they must have been largely procedural. They were, in fact, an exchange of views on problems connected with the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, the Atlantic Defence Ministers' meeting at The Hague, and the meeting of the Atlantic Council, all of which are to be held within the next four weeks, and at some time, either between the two last meetings or immediately upon the last one, there will be a formal meeting of the U.S., French, and British Foreign Ministers.

It is the Ministers' meeting that is the important one, for on it depends the success or failure of all the others. The pity is that it comes so late. It was therefore useful that Mr Bevin and M. Schuman at least should know each other's minds on the subjects to be under discussion.

The South-East Asian question is largely solving itself. Mr Nehru, gauging India's internal weakness more shrewdly than do some of his friends here, has declined to join in a "Pacific Pact" to which he knows India has no contribution to make.

France will no doubt continue to support her new "dominions," but there must come a time when she will be faced with the position that it is France in Europe that counts, and adjust her policies accordingly.

For her Annam may be a prestige matter, though after the collapse of 1940 it is difficult to see what prestige remains to be salved. Germany is a very different matter. Here it is not prestige but survival that has been at stake and may well be at stake again. What progress was made, less towards reconciling French and British policy than to obtaining a policy, is not known.

Past and Present

France is torn between tradition and appreciation of the present. Her tradition encourages her to seek a weak, divided Germany; the present situation makes a weak Germany a menace no less great than a strong one ever was. Russia has proclaimed her end, a united Germany in alliance with the Soviet Union; the only answer is a united Germany within Western Union.

A defeated nation, as Stresemann saw, becomes inevitably an object of policy. He himself at a dangerous period invented the "as if" policy—that Germany must negotiate "as if" she were a great Power, and would become one again if the bluff succeeded, as indeed she did. The Bonn Government naturally are working on similar lines, but they do not possess the resources on which Stresemann could rely.

France is too much inclined to take bluff at its face value and neglect the reality that Germany at the moment, still possessed of a powerful potential, is a desirable possession to the enemy, and that what is necessary is the stiffening of the German morale to resist Communist pressure without giving any German Government the chance to use strengthening morale against the West.

German Policy

Before Germany recovers her strength, a political position must be created which prevents her playing her old "East or West" policy. In the divided world, it would be dangerous, perhaps fatal, to let her recover strength except after genuine integration with the West. Both Mr Bevin and M. Schuman see that and, if Mr Bevin had any reproach to make about the Saar agreement, it was that they might impede that integration.

How far a formula was found which can be submitted as an Anglo-French one at the coming meeting in Strasbourg is not known, but it is very certain that one must be found. This country admits the superior interests of French security, but it cannot but emphasise once again the terms on which alone security can now be obtained, and they resolve themselves into the very simple question:—Will the strength of Germany be the bulwark of French security on the Rhine or will it be the spearhead of the Eurasian invasion?

Germany herself still hesitates to give an answer. It is for the West to supply her with the materials for the right reply, and the supreme material is evidence that the West is itself truly integrated.

How far Mr Bevin and M. Schuman succeeded in agreeing on a method of implementing the original Strasbourg intentions depends on how far they have agreed on the sacrifice of independence their countries must make. The tragedy is that we do not know if either has made up his mind about the extent of the sacrifice needed or on the necessity of pushing it through the mass of conflicting opinion and prejudices.

The test of any policy now is the degree to which it makes Western Union effective. To how much of British policy, foreign and domestic, has that test been applied?

EUROPE MUST PUT "TEETH" IN PACT

Danger of Squabble Between Britain and France

20-3.

"TEMPTATION" TO RUSSIANS

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT : LONDON, Sunday.

The international position is gradually crystallising into something like intelligibility—with more logic on the other side of the Iron Curtain than on this—and the debate on defence in the House of Commons is clear proof that the real nature of the cold war is now realised and also that Russia has the initiative if the cold war becomes a shooting war.

This is the situation that will confront the representatives of Western Union and Atlantic defence at their forthcoming meetings and there is no excuse now for not fairly facing it.

We must not only confess to, but take steps to meet, a situation in which Russia is in a greater state of readiness than are the Western Powers. For immediate action she has already deployed forces greater than anything corresponding to the forces which we have ready to use.

That is not to say that immediate action is contemplated. A good deal has been written lately of the existence of two parties in the Kremlin—a war party and a peace party. The distinction is quite meaningless. There is no difference in the Politburo except one of tactics.

The "old gang," matured in civil strife and not ignorant of the fact that it was thanks to an alliance that Russia was saved from Hitler, prefer the Stalin method of letting the enemy beat himself and taking in peace advantage of whatever mistakes are made: have not the Western Powers lost most of Asia without a Russian life being lost?

Ready to Strike

The younger men, proud of the war victory and minimising the advantages of alliance, would prefer a more active policy and the balance of opinion is visible in the fact that Russia is ready to strike but has not done so.

There is at the moment no reason to believe that the balance has been upset in favour of a forward policy, but it is evident that preparations have been made should it be deemed advisable to change policy.

That is to say, Russia will make no obviously "aggressive" move, but she will stand ready to take advantage of any weakness that may appear in the defensive apparatus of the West.

The cynic may say that in that apparatus there is nothing but weakness and that no more propitious moment could be found than now when the West has not only no striking force but no defence force capable of resisting a blitzkrieg.

Russia Would Lose

This may be true, but it is also still true that a blitzkrieg, however successful, does not necessarily win a war, and that, as in Hitler's case, the resources of the West are such and are so distributed that a blitzkrieg could not render them useless. There would be a long war, and whoever won it is certain that Russia would lose.

Much more significant is the fact that Russia has deployed her available strength in such a way that she can act—or react—anywhere. Nothing comparable has been done nor can b edone in peacetime by the West. Nothing that is likely to be realisable in the near future can be done to prevent any occurrence like the overrunning of Poland in 1939, an occurrence in which, if we are allowed the privilege, we shall for the most part be spectators

Problem for Ministers

The point that the Defence Ministers, and still more the Foreign Ministers, have to decide is at what point "somewhere" shall be substituted for "anywhere." It cannot be a defensive point like the Maginot Line. It must be a point at which we can not only defend that "somewhere" but come out of it to take the offensive in our turn.

Politically and strategically we have to apply the old principle of concentration of all forces on the decisive field. This is such a truism that it seems unnecessary to refer to it. Unfortunately, history shows that it is still being neglected.

Instead of waging the cold war with a plan, we have hitherto merely reacted to Russian provocation. On the broadest lines we defend now Europe, now Asia, now both at once, with what we have available, which must always be inferior to what the Russians have available.

Defenceof S.E. Asia

That is in part due to the geography of the Atlantic alliance which, if in its narrow form is concerned solely with the defence of Atlantic Europe, has to cast its eyes constnatly to the Pacific, where the U.S. has a West Coast and an outpost line and Britain and France have "dominions."

The defence of South-East Asia may be viewed as the defence of the approaches to inner lines of defence. That defence cannot be military except in the completely impossible circumstances of Europe's being in all senses safe from attack.

It remains then to be seen if it can be condu[illegible] otherwise. Mr P. C. Spender, of [illegible]ralia, says it can be, France says it ought to be, and Mr Dean Acheson and [illegible]st Bevin bless the former and [illegible] console the other against the [illegible] being wrong.

[illegible] advocated is to hurl in [illegible] and economic help. The reason [illegible] that South-East Asia is inhabited [illegible] majority of people who are underfed. [illegible]illised and downtrodden, and that this mass is a breeding-ground of Communism. Raise the standard of living and you rout Communism automatically.

Dubious Argument

The argument is more than dubious. It is not until Jeshurun waxes fat that he kicks, and it is not proved by history that poverty-ridden masses are capable of political action.

All the countries of South-East Asia are rich enough to supply the modest needs of the mass of the population which suffers not so much from maldistribution of natural resources as from corrupt and contemptible government which has never been so uncorrupt as to tackle the burden of debt.

To provide economic aid without control from outside would be merely adding to the corruption by supplying corrupt governments with resources which they refuse to find for themselves. Government is an art that takes long to learn—we have been at it for a thousand years and, according to informed critics, have been less successful than we might have hoped to be.

Impossible Task

The countries we are asked to help have have been at it only for decades, some only for a few years. They will not let the West supply government and as a result anything material the West does supply stands the best of chances of being wasted.

The supply is not altruistic but selfish. it is part of Western defence, not a new departure for Asia. If that is so the West, with ever increasing demands on its resources nearer home, is faced with an impossible task.

If it is to put the West in a state of defence that is real, it must draw in its horns financially somewhere. The amount to be distributed is limited. Its distribution must, therefore, be governed by the principle, first things first, and the first thing is Europe.

It is one of the extraordinary things of the time that a Europe, from whose capitals the dangers are distant only a matter of very few hundreds of miles, should now be squabbling as are France and Britain about their share of its defence expenses while their Governments cheerfully consider the expenditure of millions on far away places which can be defended only in Europe.

Source of Exhaustion

In a Global war the importance of Asia is that it is an continent in which a world Power can extend iteslf dangerously as Japan did. With victory in Europe there was nothing for the then Asiatic conqueror but surrender or suicide. There comes a point—in war, of course—at which conquest in Asia becomes a source not of strength but exhauston.

The point is reached more quickly if actually the decisive action is being fought in Europe. The truth is that if Europe holds, Asia can be recovered; if Europe fails to hold, Asia and everything else is lost.

We are always asked to take a global view and so we should. But taking a global view does not mean that we take the view that every point in the globe is of equal value. In the quarrel between continental and peripheral strength every stage so far has been decided in favour of the peripheral power.

To the Atlantic alliance, which has either to go on perfecting itself or collapse, Western Europe is peripheral. It is no longer continental as it used to be. That is what global war means. It is of no help to the Defence Ministers if, when they meet to discuss European defence, they are left in doubt on the sertngth on which they can reckon in men, guns, and money and are not assured that there will not be diversions.

Practical Aim

That assurance must come from the politicians, who must make up their minds what is the practical aim of their policy. We have it defined as the creation of a dyke against Communism. If that is so, it becomes a question whether it is better to have a sound dyke at one point, with the hope of gradual extension, or everywhere a makeshift thing permeable anywhere.

Until that is settled it is idle to ask the Defence Ministers to prepare adequate defences in Europe, and it makes the present squabble between France and Britain not only dangerous but silly, for they quarrel now over an expenditure whose extent nobody has fixed, because nobody has any idea of limiting our commitments but is content to let the Russians enlarge them at will.

There are other causes for Atlantic disunion than the inability of the politicians to make up their minds, but it is the most potent cause of het disunity since, without priorities being definitely settled, each nation can insist on its own peculiar priority of the moment, whether that priority is external or internal.

They have not much time for making up their minds for their present uncertainty and the consequent failure to have given the Atlantic Pact adequate teeth, are increasing temptations to the forward school in Moscow.

If the present indefensibility of Europe continues the temptation might prove too great for Mr Stalin himself.

NEED FOR UNITY IN THE WEST

Strasbourg Meeting Under Shadow of Aggression

COST OF DEFENDING LIBERTY

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT : SUNDAY NIGHT.

It is now learned that Mr Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, will not be coming to Europe until May. The controversy, therefore, whether he should come before or after the many diplomatic meetings of the coming weeks is now settled. He will come at the end of them, or as nearly the end as makes no matter.

There are some observers who would have preferred him to come earlier and confront some of the meetings at any rate with reproaches for the slowness with which "integration" is being pursued. Others feel that it was right to give Europe a sort of last chance and present him—and so the United States—with some real accomplishment. Both views are arguable, but argument is now superfluous. It remains to be seen how Europe will react to a challenge.

The United States is no better served by her agents than is Britain or France, but what they serve up in the way of information gets much more publicity. The result is that a combination of officialdom and the ordinary channels of publicity have made the average American who is interested in politics much more aware of the truths of the situation than his European counterpart.

If it is true that, being far away from the battlefield, he is more easily scared, it is also true that he has grasped the essentials more quickly. This has nothing to do with the Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, who themselves are something that can be described as un-American, nor with the fact that the possession and use of the atomic bomb creates what is known as a guilt complex which in the Americans' actual inexperience of bombing creates a fear complex rather akin to what this country experienced in 1938, a complex which was largely confined to the "intellectual" and easy-circumstanced classes.

Less Frankness

But even if some of the results have been unpleasant—so distinguished a scientist as Dr Bush felt compelled to write a book to seek to dissipate some of the results of fear—the fact remains that the classes which in the main create opinion as a force are more publicly aware of the dangers in Russian war preparations than are people here.

There has been much less frankness here. It is not that the similar classes here are any less aware of the dangers, but there is a reluctance to publicise them. The reluctance is partly due to electoral consideration. No democratic party feel that "guns or butter" is a good slogan, and it is worth noting that with the exception of Mr Churchill's departure from the official brief there was a tacit agreement not to discuss the foreign situation as an electoral issue. So far as the recent election campaign was concerned, it would never have been suspected that any one was aware that London is within 400 miles flying distance of fully-equipped Russian air bases.

Equally, there is among these classes a considerable element who, for reasons of their own, do not wish the "Russian menace" to be discussed for the very simple reason that either as "fellow travellers" or as men interested more in other things they intend to ignore it. Thus, although Ministers are well aware of the position they do not propose to take a public and united attitude upon it. By concealing any need for urgency in organising Europe for defence, they have created an impression that there exists no such need and that many of the present difficulties in getting that organisation can be left to time quietly to remove.

No doubt time would remove them if the passage of time meant a gradual revelation of the seriousness of the position and if we are allowed time. The trouble is that time may not be given us for the revelation of the need to produce action in time, perhaps not even enough to allow agreement between the Western European States to be reached by a slow evolutionary process. There is no public pressure on the Government here because the public are not informed. The Government will not act until there is pressure, and so the vicious circle is maintained.

First Line

In the minds of American statesmen who, after all, are very rightly looking to the safety of their own country, Europe is the U.S.A.'s first line of defence. If Europe goes, then the barbarian is at the American gates.

To enable Europe to fulfil that role—it should be said at once that there was no intention of letting her do so without physical U.S. help, Americans as well as Europeans would battle on that line—the U.S. sought two methods (1) to put Europe economically on her feet again, for a bankrupt nation cannot fight a war; and (2) to rearm her. To achieve both there must be a Europe transcending the individual States. There could be no neutrals and no hangers-back. With traitors there could be other and sharper dealings.

There exists a network of treaties and a Western European organisation, but there is still no Europe, and inside that organisation there is a conflict of policies and a refusal to end "isolations" as if there were no danger at all and the question were purely technical. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the urge to European unity is not primarily a natural one in a comprehended evolution, but a deliberately constructed one anticipatory of any such evolution because there is no other way of salvation given the present distribution of world strength.

Britain has not yet made up her mind to submit decisions on policy to an overruling authority. Nor does she see any necessity, for, as it has been cynically put, "there would appear to be no reason for haste since war will automatically create that authority." In other words, we can neglect taking measures in peacetime which we shall be unable to avoid in war. If war comes we shall have these measures. If war does not come there is no overriding need for them.

Missing Example

There is no reason indeed to single out Britain in particular. The failure of all other Western countries to do better is patent. But historically we like to think that we save Europe by our example and in this crisis example has not been forthcoming, largely because we do not place things in the proper order of precedence.

National defence takes precedence always, and that precedence is always admitted when the need for defence is made plain to the people, and even to the least imaginative of Ministers the continued existence of the welfare State as a State is an essential condition to the spreading of welfare. Defence in its working out may be a military, though it can never be wholly a military, task. Its basis is a political decision. Strategics alwaye wait on politics as is fitting, but economics do not wait on politics, which is not fitting, and in the theory that a trade or a financial policy can be conducted independently of a defence policy lies much of the trouble in Western Europe.

The decision to create political unity in whatever form may be decided is completely ineffective unless the whole of the policy is conducted within the framework of that decision, and the fundamental fault of the Western European organisation is that it is designed so as to allow national policy freedom in far too many spheres. If the consultative Assembly represent Europe, the Ministerial Committee, the powerful body, represent only Governments, and not just Governments but even the independence of Government Departments.

It is of little use Continental politicians complaining of British "isolation." The simple fact that there is an English Channel emphasises by a geographical fact geographical isolation, but where political "isolation" is concerned no Western nation is much less guilty.

Vague Proposals

When the Ministerial Committee meet this week in Strasbourg they will have before them various proposals for ending "isolation" and particularly British "isolation." There will be proposals for strengthening the Assembly and for the transformation of the Council from being a gathering of over-busy Foreign Ministers to becoming a gathering of special Ministers who will in fact in their respective Cabinets be Ministers for Europe.

The scope of these proposals remains vague and there is at least a suspicion that the emphasis on Britain implies a desire to make Britain, because of her geographical isolation, the corpus vile for experiments to end isolation. But no experiment and no reform will avail anything until the Ministerial Committee can bring to bear a genuine pressure on the domestic politics of each country.

How that is to be done without an abnegation which is essentially foreign to the politician's make-up has not yet been determined, nor is it likely to be determined this week. But the need for such a development could be made public with reference to the situation that actually confronts the West. It is at the moment militarily indefensible against a sudden aggression skilfully planned. It is nearly as indefensible politically because there is no unity in appreciation of the danger.

It is not defeatism to say that the first task of the Strasbourg meeting is less to get unity and end "isolation" than publicly to proclaim and prove the need for getting the one and ending the other. What is being debated in Strasbourg is not an academic constitutional question in a peaceful world, but a life-and-death matter under the direct shadow of aggression in one form or another.

What the Ministry are asked to show is that the democratic process can be swift and decisive. It is good to talk of liberties and the need to defend them. It is also good to realise that liberties need to be pooled and even to be curtailed if liberty is to be defended. And it is the liberty of the West not the liberties of Government Departments that is at stake.

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By Our Military Correspondent

NATAL CAMPAIGN ENDS VICTORIOUSLY WITH RELIEF OF LADYSMITH

WHILE the British troops were celebrating the avenging of Majuba by being kind to their Boer prisoners and clearing up the debris of battle around Paardeberg, news arrived of the relief of Ladysmith. Almost at the same time the news of Cronje's surrender reached Buller's troops as they were preparing to enter the little town on which the eyes of the Empire had been fixed for 118 weary days.

The Empire duly and rightly beflagged itself. Critics on the Continent, if no less voluble, became less dangerous; there were wearier days to come, but the world in general, and the British Army in particular, felt that a turning point had been reached.

The story of the relief comes almost as an anti-climax to the desperate days of Colenso and Spion Kop. There was heavy fighting, indeed, but it lacked incident.

True, there was the adventure into the Boer lines after dark of a company of the Cameronians, and the desperate attempts to get the survivors away. Likewise the unsupported and suicidal charge of the Irish Brigade into a circle of Boer fire in a gallant effort to storm Tugela Hill, which still bears, one hopes, the proud name of Inniskilling Hill.

But it was hard, dogged pedestrian work and the last great battle cost us only some 500 casualties. Between them Roberts and Buller broke the Boer morale rather than that Buller defeated the Natal Army.

Enigmatic Buller

From one point of view the interest is psychological rather than military, and centres on the enigmatic personality of Redvers Buller, who, from his physique and record, seemed the last man of whom psychological study appeared profitable.

When he drew back from Spion Kop, without ever having put the matter genuinely to the test, no one knew what was in his mind. He blamed the unfortunate Warren, who indeed had not justified his command, but after all he was Buller's subordinate, and merely to condemn him as an insubordinate and unskilful tactician did not alter the fact that it was Buller, not he, who was in command.

On February 25 Buller told Roberts that he would "have one more try," but feared the result and actually asked Roberts for orders. Roberts told him to postpone any operation he had in mind unless he was "fairly confident of success," but White, when told of his fears, urged that the try be made; Ladysmith could hold out for six more weeks.

Actually his mind was made up, but what he had decided is still not clear. He had proved to himself that the relief by an attack on the Boer centre was impossible, and next that an attack by the extreme left was equally impossible. He now proposed to prove the same of an attack on the right of the new Boer position, east of Colenso, and, having done that, he sought to show that an attack on the extreme right was just as impossible. He found, however, that it was not only possible, but easy. Even then he found it hard to believe in success.

Boer Leaders Relax

East of Colenso the Boer right was marked by the flat hill of Vaal Krantz, on which gunfire could be brought to bear from south of the river. Buller had therefore a superb opportunity, for after the fiasco of Spion Kop, which the Boers mistook for a decisive defeat, Boer discipline relaxed, and the three leaders, including Louis Botha, went off on sick or holiday leave.

The force available to defend Vaal Krantz was only some 800 men, later raised to some 1200, but Buller did not move until February 5, and by that time the Boer command had wakened up to the fact that the attack was to be renewed and where it would be renewed. By the time Buller was ready to move off 4000 riflemen were waiting for him.

When he did move, it was with painful slowness and in full view of enemy observers. He had the river bridged by 6 a.m., but did not let the attack begin until 2 p.m. When they did move, the troops moved fast and Vaal Kranz was in our hands by 4.30. It was impossible to stay there, but Buller made no move. Instead, on March 6, he telegraphed

Roberts again that he had "pierced the enemy lines" and could go on, but that it would cost anything up to 3000 casualties to clear the flanks and let the advance continue. Should he risk it?

Roberts, who might well have been indignant at this constant attempt to saddle him with responsibility in a theatre from which he was far distant and about which he was ignorant, replied promptly that he must risk it. "Tell the troops," said the commander-in-chief as a tactful way of telling their commander, "that the honour of the Empire is in their hands."

On the 7th Buller was still undecided, while all around Vaal Krantz the Boers were being reinforced. In the afternoon he called a council of war, the last resort of generals who want to do nothing. They agreed to a withdrawal, and that night the British were all back on the south bank.

Damning Verdict

So ended what had been a promising beginning, but turned out to be, in the words of the war's historian, "one of the feeblest performances in the history of the war." Considering the variety of feeble performances this is as damning a verdict as could be given.

Once again Buller addressed himself to Roberts for orders, actually blaming his ill success on the fact that the troops he had expected had been assigned to Roberts's army for the great flank march. Roberts did not argue, but simply told him to stay on the defensive and hope for relief through a success in the far West. When Roberts said, "push on," Buller invariably threw in his hand; when Roberts said, "stay where you are," Buller felt bound to attack. Roberts cannot, therefore, have been surprised to heard that Buller was going to try again.

This time he was going to turn the Boer right, but first had to clear the enemy from the hills on that flank, south of the Tugela. Operations started on the 14th after a painful move eastwards. He left the conduct of operations to Lyttelton and the 4th Division, who proceeded in fine style to clear the South bank; Cingolo, Hlangwane, Monte Cristo, one after another were taken and only Buller's orders, "No pursuit," allowed the enemy to retreat leisurely across the river.

No one suspected that a series of well-planned operations crowned with success against Boer riflemen had begun the demoralisation that was to overtake them. They had to be rallied by Jobert in person and by a fiery Calvinistic tirade which ended thus:—"The Lord will strengthen his people in their faith; though they have no earthly rock behind which to take cover, they shall win in the open plain"; it was faith rather than cover which was failing.

Buller's Reckless Advance

On the 21st the advance across the river began—in the wrong place. Repeating all his old errors, Buller proceeded to direct troops into an open plain on the North bank, dominated everywhere except in rear by garrisoned heights In the historian's words he was "shoving troops into an amphitheatre where they were shot at from all the seats." For two days the hopeless battle went on.

Kopjes were taken only to be found untenable, so that the troops began to lose heart as each advance was followed by withdrawal, especially at the admission of defeat when Buller, on the 25th, asked for an armistice to get back the wounded; at one point there was one of those strange panics that even the best disciplined troops exhibit.

Had they but known it, their ordeal was at an end. For once Buller used his artillery to effect, and the constant strain of battle under heavy shell fire began to tell. Buller was persuaded finally of the folly of the actual line of advance, and changed it just as the Boers, badly shaken, had decided he was defeated. He brought more guns to bear, shifted the line of attack a little to the east, where, in driving the Boers from their lines, cover would be given at least in part, and renewed the attack.

Left to subordinates it was properly organised, and when it once got going the Boers lost heart. Against the gunfire they had no adequate reply and the British Army no longer offered themselves as a sitting target.

The burghers had had enough and now, despite all the entreaties their leaders could devise, they were "going home." They had heard that Cronje was cut off and no longer able to offer fight, and, although there was no chance of the manœuvre of Paardeberg being repeated in Natal, they proceeded by ones and twos and then in crowds to decamp. By the 27th they had gone from Buller's front and at the cost of 500 casualties the road to Ladysmith was opened.

Ladysmith Relieved

The troops, engaged at last in intelligible operations that were pursued with energy and a definite aim, had recovered their spirits, and the last fights were easy victories. On the 27th, finding nothing in front of him, Dundonald, with the cavalry on the right, rode unmolested into Ladysmith, to be greeted by soldier and civilian alike as the symbol less of liberation than of victory.

The rot set in even among the besiegers of Ladysmith. They left their lines and saw no safety save in taking up a defensive position in the Biggarsberg, well away from Ladysmith, and sending some of their commandos to stave off the British advance to Bloemfontein. The news of Cronje's surrender completed a debacle that had already started.

Much could have been done to harry the retreat and the indomitable White sent out a lean-half-fed column to do so, but, true to himself, Buller's first command to him was an order of recall. He was fulfilling his mission to relieve Ladysmith; the higher mission to turn retreat into rout was forgotten. On March 1 he joined White in Ladysmith, and thereafter, instead of thinking how to exploit his victory, he busied himself solely with the formal entry into the town—which he made on March 3.

He had done what he set out to do, although no one has ever accomplished a military task with such neglect of all the teachings of war. But he had done it, and the country and Empire were duly grateful. Even the troops whose loyalty had been sorely shaken recognised victory when they saw it, and ascribed it with no justice at all to their leader.

The Natal campaign from the day on which Penn Symons flung himself at Talana Hill was a long series of blunders and weaknesses, but despite these victory was won in the end, and the world saw it as such. As February faded into March, Buller, White, and Roberts were the Empire's heroes. Criticism and appraisement were only to come later.

uckland Crescent, N.W. 3 March 24

4/3 Material not yet received

My dear Ed.,

Under separate cover I'm sending you my stuff for the 13th and the 20th which a variety of reasons have delayed but I'm trying to arrange having you sent from Glasgow the Mondays papers by air Dealing with merely a City office sometimes copies are delayed or they get the wrong edition. In the paper of the 13th I left in the Boer War article ; it is strange to think how I fought those battles at Wycombe school fifty years ago."

There is very little news here. The Govt. has settled down survived its first victories and I see no reason why Attlee need accept defeat until he wants. The instructions have gone out to be ready in October and I rather fancy that will be the date unless the balloon goes up. So far as can be seen at the moment there will be little difference in the figures I should say that Labour would regain more seats than they would loose new ones but that means nothing.

The nuisance is that we are now discussing everything but what matters the defence situation. I hope that the U.S. representatives will talk straight when they start here on April 1. We have in the West an imposing lot of committees and nothing else ; it is eloquent of the situation that we are now trying to get some agreement and co-operation before the Atlantic Committee meets. Actually I question if the West could put into the field thirty divisions all told or do that within a month. There is still no decision on strategy except that the "West" (undefined) has got to be defended. Now no one says and there is no Maginot line anywhere even to sit behind There are two plans - one to wait till the Russians get to the Rhine and do a Rommel on them ; the other is to break them up before they get to the Rhine Both have their points but they need troops and the troops aren't there What I think is needed is for the joint chiefs of staff to appoint a commander and a Cossac to decide on the correct strategy, defence or attack and let the plans be worked out. One thing I'm sure of - if the Russians get to Paris there won't be another Normandy for a very long time I still think that the Russians may have a go if they once think defence is being taken in earnest, possibly either by attacking Tito or staging a "revolution" in Italy There is a feel of something pending in the air that is too reminiscent of 1938-9

Otherwise nix. No scandals so far and no revelations May have more for you next week. Meantime our joint love to the three of you. In haste

As always

EA

Clark, R. T.

31 Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W. 3

Jan. 2,1950

My dear Ed.,

This is as much to Janet as to you for it is a thank you first for two resplendent bottles of whisky so resplendent that it will be a serious trial to cease from gazing at them and to open them, and for a very lovely parcel. Have you ever had to take cocoa for breakfast ? If you haven't you have no idea what it means to have a reserve of tea and when the complement of real cane sugar is added it is as near the conception of Paradise as stricken Europe can imagine! Our most grateful thanks to you both. Yesterday was New Year's day ; may 1950 bring all three of you much happiness and all that you wish for yourselves - well perhaps not all that Casey could wish but as much of that as is good for him.

The celebrations were, to judge from the noise that persisted up to a late hour, were as enthusiastic as ever but I can't think that except for the paid optimists of the Labour Party any one looks forward to the new year with much cheer. There are more clouds than ever on the horizon.

This for you particularly I think the date of the election is fixed now - third week in February But it isn't absolutely certain and I don't know when the decision will be announced. It must come in the next fourteen days if it is to be as early as that. But there is still a body of opinion in the Labour party that wants it late rather then early. Electorally they think the weather has its effects the forecasts for February aren't good while in June good weather could be expected and a big Labour poll. Also there is the budget to think of and opinions there aren't unanimous. But by and large I think February will carry the day, though I am willing to admit I could be quite mistaken.

otherwise there is little doing. We await Colombo and wonder if before it meets the U.S. will have taken a decision. I am presuming there is more in the advocacy of the defence of Formosa than just only election tactics. Actually there is a lot to be said for it for if a "resistance" can be maintained the U.S. could veto any change in the Chinese delgation to the U.N. I hear Nehru made a great impression in Washington ; for the sake of the reputation of the State department I hope not. Politically he is a crook and I wouldn't trust him an inch not even to take adequate measures for his own survival which is always dountful and the folly of his Pakistan policy is flagrant. What is the use of stopping the Russians on the Mekong if you let them through the Khyber ? Well/well! There it is and I almost believe there is likely to be employment for a military corr. yet.

Enough just now. If I hear anything definite before it is public on dates I'll get a wire to you.

Meantime ever so many thanks to you both for your kindness from us two and the best of wishes to the three of you for 1950

Looking forward so much to seeing you

As ever R.T. Clark

R. T. Clark

31, Buckland Crescent,
London N.W. 3.
Primrose 7458.

Dec. 18,1949

My dear Ed.,

Somewhere on the high seas there is a tiny book on its way to you as an Xmas remembrance I hope it may amuse you and Janet in an odd moment ; it may also recall the author to you in blitz nights at the Dorchester but don't let that interfere with your reading of it

I have been most remiss in writing to you although I think I did get one short letter away to you but times have been sticky one way or another. I had about a fortnight of flu not due to malnutrition but from having to hang about in the wet looking for a taxi to take my middle cat back from the vet ; he had a poisoned ear so was really in worse case than me. Then Jo went down with something pretty similar but it hit her tummy and still troubles her, but I shan't weary you with relations of woe for actually there isn't really much woe. Things all happened at once and took too long to evaporate.

I am adding a short note on the situation as I see it here Whether or not it will edify you is dubious but it is sent with that object.

Of personal news there is very little I think I told you J.C.S. Macgregor had died ; otherwise theface of the B.B.C. sppears little changed. I see Michael occasionally and we never fail to mention you and say how slack we are in writing. I had lunch with the two Arthur Mann's of Mutual and the Yorkshire Post respectively to discuss the Press Commission's report. Although it was favourable I don't think Fleet Street realises the depth of the dislike of the Morrisons and the Bevans for it and how many people in its own ranks would conspire to do it down. If the press doesn't set up a committee to deal with complaints and recommend action in the case of bad lapses the Government will set up one for them and then the fat will be in the fire.

I work enough to keep the income tax collector away from the door It is always a difficulty to decide whether to do more and pay more income tax or try and do on what I do do. The Glasgow Herald keeps me in day-to-day funds and gives me sufficient to do to give me the impression that I am still working. But there isn't much hope I fear of getting down to anything solid For one thing this flat isn't such as to contain my books so that is a handicap but I am giving it another six months until I see how certain things develop

Otherwise things go on as usual. I am now an insured person get a pension if I live to be sixty nine and have no other keans of livelihood ; it will just suffice to get me an ounce of tobacco a week while in the workhouse so I shan't do too badly.

31, Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W. 3.
Primrose 7458.

I have been twice at Mallam street of late but missed Howard both times Once he was in Yugoslavia and the next time I don't know where I was most interested to meet your lad Zwimmer (??) who gave me direct news of you and your work and besides being nice seemed really intelligent. You seem to havetaken on a real bit of work which is making its mark and must do good in the long run. I hear of it sometimes from my friend Katherine Ostrander in San Diego ; your talks always seem much discussed. I was even appealed to to say whether you were right in some bit of prophecy and I duly said you were ; chalk that up on the credit side.

I am sending this to Madison Square because there seems some doubt at No. 49 whether you are still in your New York house or whether you have entirely given that up and are travelling into town daily You will I am sure be better in the country but travelling has its disadvantages ; of course your trains run to time, or I am told they do, and go smoothly enough to let a traveller write. Do they ? Ours do not. I hope Janet likes the country and is well and cheery Casey must be a big boy these days, even beginning to think in terms of school. Keep him a way from all psychiatrists, psychotherapists, psychologists, faith healers and obsequious physicians When I was a kid if we fell and cut our little knees we used to rub the cut with a dirty penny to make it septic and have the distinction of a badly swollen knee Now they bandage a scratch and stick all sorts of needles in one. I don't belive that the modern child to judge from a nearby specimen will have any proper blood left - onehalf will be vitamins and proteins and the other half vaccines. Tell me when Casey gets a taste for books and I will see he gets the proper stuff

Excuse all this but it is the festive season - God help it. The very best to you and Janet and Casey and auf wiedersehen I am thrilled at the chance of seeing you at the election ; it makes that consultation of the popular will almost worthwhile On the date see the enclosed.

Ever yours
R.

PS. I did say I wanted something. Our main difficulty here is that we can't get American books and American publishers even the government ones won't send review copies. If you have any influence on Government, do you think you could persuade them to send me copies of official diplomatic and military publications. I enclose a little anippet about an official history, No one here has even seen a volume and I could very easily review it and give it some publicity. Besides I'd like that history for my own purposes. But don't make any trouble about it. I will discuss this question when I see you.

NOTES ON THE SITUATION.

Home

There will be nothing of interest here until the election. The date is not announced and I doubt if it is fixed. There are some indications and I think that the possible dates are either last days of February to first days of March or early in June. The debate on which was in full swing at least in the middle of last week. There are two factors One the jubilee of the Labour party is in February and is being made an occasion ; it would fit in with pre-election propaganda and it would be well to take advantage of the party enthusiasm which it is hoped will be whipped up. The bother is the Budget Cripps and Morrison don't want another budget which would, if it came before the election, be an electoral votecatching one To really catch votes would mean a definite tax relief and if that were given, there would need to be a supplementary budget in autumn to put all the taxes on again. Economies in the matter of state expenditure aren't considered either feasible or likely to win votes. On the other hand Bevin who is by far the strongest influence on Attlee and who is facing another cave conducted by Dick Crossman, Ian Mikardo and their associates wants the late date first because it will embrass Cripps with whom he is at odds - you would notice that he kept Cripps out of the Commonwealth conference on Jan 9 and that Treasury officials are going subservient to him - and second, because he wants to attend all the Colombo conference and have a pleasant passage home by sea which takes time ; he is forbidden to go by air. A March date would suit him, but he would prefer June. The betting is fairly even - 3 to 1 for March ; 5 to 1 for June. I have not made up my mind but I think it is fifty fifty especially as there is a strong feeling that the government should have its full term Some of the boys are not coming back and they want to hold on to their salaries as long as possible

The offical Labour estimate of the result is a net majority of 80 - I should say 100 - if they go before Feb. ends ; if they wait until June anything may happen to upset calculations At the moment the biggest asset is the Tory party which is not united has no policy and no leader except Churchill and he is a foreign political crisis man The country neither knows them nor trusts them ; the middle class which could be decisive is hesitant, divided and scared while the crisis has not yet really touched the workers. The comparison with old days however you make it has ceased to count. The new voter remembers little before 1939 and stories of what things used to cost leaves him cold as he can afford the new prices. If there is a financial crisis and the worker is hit badly it is the Communists not the Tories who will reap the benefit.

Don't pay too much attention to the unofficial strikes It is true that the inspiration is Communist but they could not succeed were it not for the curious dichotomy of the working man who in an industrail dispute will go to any extreme and vote Tory at an election. The real cause of the disputes is that the machinery under nationalisation is slower more impersonal and very remote. Where an employer could deal with a disupute immediately whether he settled it or not the mere process of beginning to deal takes too long now and those who deal are unknown officials of whom there is considerable jealousy. I heard a lot at this last power station strike of the difference between Citrine of the T.U.C. and Lord Citrine of the Electricity Authority,

and that as much as anything is the cause of the troubles It is a cause that the nationalisers did not foresee, and now don't know how to deal with.

There is much grumbling at high prices, lack of goods and restriction but they vary so much that united action isn't very possible ; until something hits us all simultaneously, as it might if there was a quarrel with the U.S. Labour is sitting still pretty It is impossible to tell how the Liberals will do. They have an obvious chance in the existing dissatisfaction but they have no leaders and no policy. If either a Liberal or a Tory could come out with ten points to ease every one's burdens and show how it could be done on a relatively short term scale he would sweep the country But such panaceas are not to be found.

Foreign

There is no other issue really except relations with the U.S. and I don't think Ernie is helping them. He thinks with his belly and his vanity is appalling He thinks that the Americnas don't treat him with proper deference and he is sore. The publication of differences on the terms on which military aid is given was typical There was no need for it and it only confuses. On the general situation Ernie is now completely disillusioned ; he doesn't belive any more in a deal with Russia and so has set his own left against him which still drivels about a meeting between Stalin Truman and Attlee to settle everything round the fire Nor has the Dalton wing to which we have to add Bevan who is now gunning for Ernie's succession with surprising success given up the idea of opposing a Socialist Europe to capitalist America and Communist Russia although it is now clear that only here and in Norway is there even the similtude of a Socialist government I think you will find that freedom from America will be an election slogan. They won't know what it means but it will be associated with shortage of petrol and dear tobacco and the fact that the U.S. will absorb less and less of our exports

There is no real unease about the military programme because the there is a firm conviction that Russia will not make the first move towards war. It is not seen that at the moment Russia much more than the U.S. is draining us dry by forcing Europe to spend on armaments which will not give her security as the Russians arm parallelly and can with ease cause us to disperse what strength we have. I think they will sit tight in Europe knowing that the Continent dare not move troops while three fully equipped Russian armies are on its frontier, and be active in Asia hoping to attract there the military strength of Britain and the U.S. In a long war I think the west would win but the first six months would be disasters compared to which Dunkirk was a fleabite.

There is a frantic disclaimer everywhere of intent to rearm Germany but the position is perfectly plain. We shall have to defend Western Germany if there is trouble e.g. a Communist coup ; the only question is which side will have the German divisions on their side. If we don't the Russians will and nothing the politicians say will alter that. The only matter is how can Germany be safely armed

That was a question Johnson didn't answer here. He made a big

impression on pressmen here including me.

I think the trouble will come in China where the Government is all for recognition of the Reds without making recognition conditional I foresee a worsening of the situation in IndoChina, Malaya and Burma and perhaps India It is worth noting that Nehru has gone all Imperialist despite his republicanism and at Colombo Ernie is going to be faced with a united front of the Commonwealth - except perhaps Malan - to exploit the Empire and beat the dollar that way. It could be done but not by this government and that is one of the factors in an election that cannot yet be estimated

At the moment we have no foreign policy ; we have merely a collection of grievances. We can neither stand alone nor honestly unite and the relations between the Treasury and the Foreign Office, between the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office, between the Social Services and the Fighting Services poison everything. The press never refers to the big issues ; it concentrates on silly trifles and personalities and so the real issues never get discussed. We all live in a fool's paradise too proud to admit dependency, too foolish to extract profit from dependency, and optimistic in the worst sense of believing that whatever is going to happen is not going to happen to us ; the pessimists are those who have to live with the optimists. If we had just one statesman for one year but we haven't.

Clark, R.T.

June 24, 1949

Dear R. T.:

I have just sent you a cable telling you that I had to scrub the plans for the album. I have become involved with too many things over here and the doctors have descended upon me with a diktat that I must take some time off this summer.

I realize that you have done some work on the project and insist that you let me compensate you for it.

I want also to return to something that I have written about before, namely; your visit to this country. Why don't you come for the U.N.Assembly in the Autumn. I will send you a ticket; you will live with us and will have no need for dollars. This is a wholly serious proposition and both Janet and I are most anxious that you should accept. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

As ever yours,

Mr. R. T. Clark
31 Buckland Crescent
London, N. W. 3
England

JUNE 22, 1949

R.T.CLARK
31 BUCKLAND CRESCENT
LONDON, N.W.3
ENGLAND

DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BUT MUST ABANDON PLANS FOR MAKING ALBUM

THIS SUMMER WRITING REGARDS

ED MURROW

BUSINESS

31, Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W.3.
Primrose 7458.

Easter Day

My dear Ed.,

Easter holidays have upset things and I only got this r written today I have just got your welcome letter of the 11th and I'll tell you what I have done. I have heard the album a first time and got an idea of the thing I am going to hear it again this week early. It is an excellent bit of work, though I thought the quality of some records poorer than we could do here, and the arrangement and annotations are excellent.

I have had long interviews with J.B. and Bryan George and will get all the help we need. But there are a few things I think you should know ; you probably know them already but as I got them at first hand I'll risk repetition.

1. There are two rivals in the field. H.M.V. are doing something similar with Snagge as commentator. Victor of U.S. are also doing one with Bob Trout as commentator. The latter is not coming over and is leaving selection etc to George. J.B. tells me the wires are humming between H.M.V. and Victor and it is uncertain whether there will be two, or just one with different commentators, for the national sales market. I shall try and find out the sort of selecting that is being done. I think we could avoid doubling except perhaps on one or two obvious items but the position may make you have second thoughts. Also you may be able to find out more at your end than I can here. Let me know.

2. The B.B.C records amount to about 30,000 and there is as yet no catalogue. I think I could reduce that number right away to some thousand and would aim to have the rest available when you come, with suggestions as to use. Very many can be discarded right away. There is one point you could settle at once. At what point do you want to take up the tale ? If it goes back too far the resultant effect will be to make it look like snippets. I wonder what you would think of beginning with a very brief sentence or two and plunging right into Chamberlain's announcement of war. The rest follows almost automatically - the fall of France, blood and tears, battle of Britain, the Middle East, U.S. in. Africa, Italy, air attacks on Germany, D. day Paris liberated, Arnhem, the Rhine crossing

3. At the B.B.C. they have made a rule that any such work done involving any member of the recording dept. must be done after office hours as over time and must be paid for by the user. I shall see what this will amount to, ask George to mention remuneration amounts and let you know.

As to anything for me wait till we see what actually I do do ; we can settle that when you come.

I think the album could be made a fine thing and I also think it would sell but probably more in the Dominions and the U.S. than here For one reason there is a curious absence of gramophones ; quite casually I asked some dozen of friends and colleagues ; neither they nor I now possess a gramophone!

I was much interested in your enclosure. This question of secrecy is one that democratic government has got to face or rather government has got to face now that there is no longer a governing class which can keep a secret or fail to keep it But I don't think that the Senator is on a good wicket. It is quite possible to make defence plans on the assumption that we shall need X number of anything whether it is rifles shells or bombs In war we never have enough on the most generous estimates cf. the striking failure of Germany France and Britain to estimate shell consumption in a modern war which led to a compulsory stalemate in the late summer of 1914 Actually the numbers of bombs or of anything else never affect the numbers of forces ; any forces can always fire all that is available and ask for more. Even if every Russian city is bombed and that isn't possible there would still be the Russian army and air force, and ~~the effect on~~ morale and the will to fight under atom bombardment is not likely to be affected any more than it was for long under ordinary bombs There is some interetsing stuff in Gisevius' book on that showing that bombardment increased solidairty with an unpopular regime and morale was affected only when the field armies got beaten

Here there is next to no news. We have all hailed the loss of Eire and Attlee's message signed by H.M. was about as tactless and silly as even that little englander (Clem not H.M.) has done yet I shall send you an article I wrote for today's HERALD as a prelim. to the conference opening on Thursday which is the beginning of the funeral proper of the British Empire. The questioner to Dulles was right - which takes precedence the safety of Western civilisation or the freedom of colonial peoples (allowing for a lot of variation in the meaning of "freedom")? My view would be the first but it isn't shared by the Government I think that Clem honestly believes in the wickedness of coercing any one except the British taxpayer and would be quite glad to see the Empire a loose amalgam to be called by any name one likes nor would be sorry to see it an assemblage of independent states for which we here would have no responsibility. But he is up against the problem of subject races and difference of civilisations which would, if the present evolution is continued, end the whole business as Smuts sees. Bevin on the other hand would I think like the Commonwealth reduced to an alliance of peoples of British blood all independent for only in that way could he abandon Empire preferences and enter a United States of Europe. And of course no one sees yet how to feed the Commonwealth much less the world. Having countered nature's remedies of floods, famine and pestilence we are now condemned to reduce population by atrocious war or see artificially induced starvation.

31, Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W. 3.
Primrose 7458.

The municipal elections were significant but not too much so. Partly local issues decide and rancour and isappointment are given rein in a contest which doesn't much matter as would not be given in a general election. The Budget had little to do with the results which had begun to be unfavourable to the Labour boys before Cripps divulged anything. But one thing I do think made a great difference and that was the shock administered by the reduction in the meat ration. We don't eat meat at home at all and even we were affected by the news that each ordinary citizen was down to 8d worth per week. The moral effect of the butcher's notice "Possessors of one book only are asked to apply for the meat ration fortnightly as the amount allotted weekly is too small to make distribution possible" was catastrophic in effect.

Beyond that nix. The troubles are just beginning ; mercifully Russia has as many troubles as we have.

I am very much distressed to hear that you are in the doctor's charge You have I suppose been overdoing it as usual. But I do hope that it is only over work and nothing else. If you get away for two months to this country couldn't you contrive to make the first three weeks a real rest. Why not take a banana boat from San Fransisco and laze from there to here via Panama I belive it takes just over three weeks and it would be a rest. Take nothing with you except gibbon and relax. I shall hope to have news soon that overwork is all it is and that a way has been found to make you work less or to get a rest.

Our best love to Casey, Janet and yourself and auf wiedersehen
Yours (though the length of this might belie the words) in haste

R.T.

31 Buckland Crescent
NW 3

My dear Ed, To-day (20th Apr.) I posted you a copy of the Herald & took the address (your home one) from my address book & have a terrible feeling that that was not the address to which I sent the 2½ page letter on the 17th. Lindsay tells me you've been changing houses & are on the point of so doing. So

(A) I may have sent it to the new address which I got off a letter

OR

(B) I may have sent it to some one else's address in N.Y.C. – I seem to have Miss Campbell's an adopted niece of mine or a journalistic friend now seem to resemble the one I used

OR

(C) I may have made no mistake at all

The point is – did you get the letter of 2½ pages & if NOT would you let me know. I'll repeat it once.

In the meantime I am
apologetically
Yours
F.T.

The letter was to tell you I wrote to your album & the state of things at Thos and as regards records etc

31 Buckland Crescent
Swiss Cottage
London N.W. 3 March 31.

My dear Ed.,

I had hardly written you when I got a letter from George Barnes much delayed by having gone to Folkestone saying that he had the records. I went up to No.49 and asked them if they were writing or cabling you to let you know that they had arrived and this merely confirms that fact. I gather from George that J.B. Clark will be charge of all arrangements so I am going to contact him and hear the records before anything else Then that will give me an idea of what you want from this side. Then I'll draw up a rough outline and after you have approved will proceed to go through the hundreds of records here and make some sort of selcetion and have it ready for you when you come.

From what George writes I am given the impression that a major eye is directed towards sales in the U.S. Is that right ? If it is then I take it that "doubles" with your first series are not wanted unless they are by nature unavoidable. It will take sometime to hear the records J.B. has amassed over the years so you have plenty of time to let me have - when you have an off mom any ideas you may have that I can't be expected to glean merely from hearing your records. After I have heard them and had a talk with J.B. I 'll write again.

No news since I wrote . Can't you restrain the over entusiastic ?! If one of those tomatoes had hit Ernie we would now have been at war with Israel and all the United Nationsif necessary If you hear anything on the military side of the Pact do tell me. The view here and I think - only think mind you-that it comes from an American strategist is that 20 divisions fully trained and equipped will be able to hold the Russians on the Rhine until American troops - or atom bombs arrive I wonder what Comrades Vassilevski and Sokolovski think of that when they have sixty divisions almost ready for a converging advance. Their appointment is the most sinister thing so far, I don't say that it is a war appointment and nothing else but it does mean that the Russian war machine will be efficient for the vital first phase There won't be any phony war this time unless of course it suits Moscow to give the fifth columns a long chance I think that if it comes to war the Russians will do a blitz in the west but they might take all Asia first and who is to stop them? Nehru? Israel ? or the only divisions we have in the West ? A nice situation. The one hope is that the new team in the Russian war office wont be able to overcome the native inefficiency and that the machine won't be able to be driven hard or at least any harder than it was in 1944 when it broke down at least three times.

we've about 9 now all Bonnets & Berets

Well well ; we shall see. All our love to the three of you

Thine RT

31, Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W.3.
Primrose 7458.

March 28,1949

My dear Ed.,

This is indeed good news that you are to be over here next (i.e. in the Scottish sense this) summer as ever was and I am mighty glad I'm in London again so that there will be no chance of missing you. I didn't answer at once first because I wanted to wait for the records second because I hoped to have news good or bad according to taste about the B.B.C. business In neither case has there been anything to report so I write.

I expect the records are held up in the customs things take ages to get done in the managerial version of the servile state and it is no use writing to ask. One must just wait I have now waited seventeen months for an innocuous book through a bookseller who has a licence. All he has had is the invice from the Amrican pubishers ; all I have had is information to that effect. The old days had their drawbacks but managerially they were efficient. There are some nice remarks on the new economics in that connection in Moritz Bonn's reminiscences I saw him the other day ; he is getting old and has the curious aspect of a rabbinical fawn.

I'd love to do the editing or rather help you with it for I should expect to be fully instructed. I shall be interested to hear of the B.B.C. reactions. Lindsay I haven't seen but I hope to do so shortly. We've been busy with one thing or another and although I waste a lot of time as usual I have got more to do than I thought I would

There's no news really .. Lady Milner I am told is better but she had to go to hospital so it seems to have a bit more serious than was at first thought. I am gradually lessening my work for Lady Rhondda partly because there is less military staff to do and partly because she is relying more and more on outsiders who are uncertain and expensive and so desires to economise. I don't mind for I have got enough for my needs and now have a day extra to do things in. Every one else seems to be well ; at least there are no reports to the contrary.

I suppose you will attend the Atlantic Pact. It may have its defects but it has this merit that the democracies will have to fight if they are attacked. In that respect it is an advance on Munich ; otherwise there is a dreadful similarity to 1938. I don't think the Russians will press things the way Hitler did ; they haven't the compulsion under which he laboured. They are more likely to retard our preparations by a spot of appeasement of their own coupled no doubt with alarums and excusrions. I wonder really if all our governments

realise what they are in for. Certainly the peoples don't or you wouldn't have the Harold Wilsons of this country ; the pro-Indonesians in Australia (coupled with extreme "white Australianism") and those in your country who still disbelieve in colonial powers. We are now going to reap the reward of Attlees's Indian policy by upsetting the Commonwealth constitutionally and taking on the defence of an indefensible India. Either we should write off Asia all of us and leave it to be reorgainsed by Eurasia, or reconquer it. A Russian conquest of all Asia might well mean the break up of the Bolshevik empire. I get very tired of the controversies which the "fellow travellers" fan, and it is about time the members of an alliance (for if it isn't an alliance if it isn't "ganging up" as Mr Bevin says it isn't it hasn't any meaning) spending most of their time failing to agree with each other. -often on subjects which don't concern the complainer I had to listen to a a long account of French American and British differences over Germany a scandalous wate of time, when the only thing that is of any importance at all is on which side are the potential hundred German divisions going to be.

But of politics enough. When are we to expect you in this country It will be good to see you ; you are much missed.

Our united love to Janet, Casey and yourself Of Casey it was delightful to hear Of course he is more intelligent than most adults ; children and cats always are. It is the supreme task of parenthood to keep them intelligent and honest - possibly it is at bottom the same thing

Auf wiedersehen

P.S. 1 I agree with you about television in the abstract technical sense But is it absolutely certain that the new generations won't go to news reels etc for news? I rather fear - the Daily Mirror's circulation (incientally the sending ofits editor to prison for the worst contem t of court case in my experience has been the best thing that has happened to Fleet Street for years) is now 4½ million!!

P.S. 2 Please my best wishes to Larry, Charles and Dick Hottelet.

E.

The enclosed review in case it will interest you for a moment. "Harvest" was an inexcusable piece of thoughtlessness

JUNE 3, 1949

R.T.CLARK
31 BUCKLAND CRESCENT
LONDON, N.W.3, ENGLAND

NOW THAT YOU HAVE REACHED AN AGE OF MATURITY AND EXPRESSION
I SEND YOU MY BEST SALUTE IN WHICH ALL OF THE SLAVES WHO LABORED
WITH US IN B & JOIN ME.

ED MURROW

PERSONAL

Clark, R.T.

August 5, 1948

My dear R.T.: Clark

Yours of July 25th reached me on the West Coast where I was spending a few days visiting my parents. I don't know that there is anything I can say about the political scene over here that is not already apparent to you. Certainly you can expect the stagnation of such statesmanship as we possess to continue until after the election. The conventions were rather disgusting spectacles--both parties having had candidates imposed upon them that they really didn't want.

The current spy scare will get worse, more confusing and less important. We are, as you know, an intemperate people.

I was deeply distressed to hear of Geoffrey Pike's suicide, but it was pleasant to learn Jules is quite recovered.

I would like to raise with you again the possibility of your spending a few weeks in this country. Wouldn't "Time and Tide" and the "Glasgow Herald" be interested in some election dope? I could easily provide the dollars necessary for your maintenance while here in addition to bed and breakfast in a reasonably comfortable house. You would be surprised--and I hope pleased, at the number of the old CBS London gang who would be much pleasured to see you over here, and I think you might find the story of more than just passing interest. What about it?

Both Janet and Casey flourish. Casey now lives in a world that is peopled almost exclusively by monkeys, lions and fire engines. He has not yet learned to take his half pint of mild and bitters, but I have hope.

As ever yours,

July 25

My dear Ed.,

Once I saw that you weren't coming I delayed writing you partly because I thought you would be fully occupied with the conventions partly because there was little to say and partly because I had a fit of doing-nothing-ness due perhaps to depressing weather and to equally depressing situations in general. However the conventions are over ; the weather is hot sunny but with a sea breeze and if I go on doing nothing much longer I shall be in the poorhouse.

I am sending in another envelope a little essay on present discontents, also a begging request so I shan't touch work or politics in this. I'll just give you what news there is. So far as we are concerned there is none ; we go on living here ; I go on writing for "T. and T." and the "Glasgow Herald" and keep the income tax to a point where I can pay it I had to stretch a point and earn a little more since I'm now in the Health Service - God help it and us - which costs me 6s 2d per week and so far I can't see that I can possibly get a thing out of it until I am 69 ; if I die Jo gets £20 to bury but I don't really see how that profits me and to make it profitable for her I shall have to leave my body to the hospitals

The old news department is now gone for good and in its stead reigns a gigantic sausage machine which puts out in all languages except Latin fifty nine odd bulletins per twenty four hours. Haley got rid of Macgregor, -yan having left for the TIMES and the editor in chief is the New Zealander Tahu Hole who brings to the task knowledge experience and ambition but I doubt if he has the physical and mental reserves necessary to stand the strain. The net result is that all the old lot who could write for the wireless are now exceutives and the writing is lousy to a degree ; it reminds one much more of an Attlee broadcast than the old news. Michael who hasn't been well they have shelved to do Parliament which disappoints him but gives him a chance to get fit in a backwater. I see them all occasionally and we often talk of Janet and you They are all getting old look tired and seem to have lost interest Haley flourishes I hope only in the manner of the Psalmist's green bay tree.

You remember Geoffrey Pike ; he committed suicide three months ago ; couldn't stand up to the strain of peace and felt himself unequal to his tasks. Jules is quite recovered but hasn't taken a job yet till he is passed absolutely fit. I haven't looked in to Hallam St. lately but will do so almsot at once.

The rest being political you'll get that in the other letter. I was awfully pleased to get your letter ; there are many things I miss but none more than you Are you going to the U.N. in Paris ? even if it is a waste of time I hope you are for there might be a chance of seeing you. Please give our best love to Janet and my avuncular regards to Casey ; I hope he has not taken to snuff yet. And to you all that you wish for yourself

In some haste but as always

Yours

K.T.

And of course God bless.

Clark, R. T.

31, Buckland Crescent,
London, N.W. 3.
Primrose 7458.

July 18

My dear Ed.,

Please forgive me being so long in answering your urgent letter but I was trying to see if there was any way in which I could find a chance to go to the States And there just in's't I am tied here by the necessities of work. The stuff I have to do they want regularly and as I am not on any salary list but really a free lance I have got to go on supplying it. Maybe later on if things change I'll manage it but not this year. It was more than kind of Janet and you to offer me that generous hospitality and I only wish I could have accepted it. Especially so because it would have given me the chance to see you all again. I miss you a lot you know.

For the same reason I'm sorry you had to give up the project but I am much more grieved to hear the reason for it. I am glad there is nothing so wrong that rest won't cure it. It must be a pretty hectic life you have to lead and I do hope that you will be able to get a good holiday. And when you do, really rest body as well as mind Thousand mile motor trips and/or two rounds of golf a day aren't a rest. Go and lie on your back in hot sun where there is a breeze and let your mind go blank ; it needs a rest too And if you must read read the old stuff I've given you this advice FROM EXPERIENCE but you never take it. Never mind here it is all over again.

As to recompenses don't be silly. I did no more than rough out a sketch and check up some records and these can wait until you feel like having another shot at it. I think later on you could make a less comprehensive record but a better one by confining it to the great period roughly, their finest hour i,e. from Prague to the turn of the tide which really turned at Pearl Harbour. The entry into war of the U.S. would make a fine ending.

By mail there goes a long letter to you on politics and what not and therein I do ask you to do something for me. It will be explained there but recompense - no.

Things go all right. I have to work harder than I want with a paragraph everyday, an article every week and occasional articles in between and then people do send me things to review or report on. I get time to read in reason but no time to do anything permanent. Maybe I will one day but it won't matter if I don't. But I wish I didn't have to live in London. It is more tiring to take a bus home from Fleet Street than to take a train home to Folkestone.

Of news I have none. Lady Milner I haven't seen yet but I gather she is better though I think age is at last beginning totell. She has given up the National Review which Ned Grigg is now editing and not so well though possibly more profitably. I don't see much of the old lot except Michael who flourishes and desires his love to be sent you both. John Coatman retires this October and has got a job as research

fellow in St. Andrews on broadcasting of all things a post that pleases him immensely and causes raised eyebrows in B.H. Lindsay is on holiday and I haven't seen him for some time. I gather that his position under Haley's series of reorganisations isn't as comfortable as it was.

I went the other day to a diplomatic corps reception by the U.S. Press Office in London. It was strange not seeing any at all of the old faces that I use to see at your parties. Mallory Brown was the only American except Howard whom I knew; you remember once dumping him in my cubby hole. Knickerbocker is a loss though I never thought him a great journalist.

And at the end though it should have come first, thank you so much for remembering my sixtieth birthday. Looking back it seems a long time — after all I did see Queen Victoria - but looking forward to what must be a relatively restricted time it seems much longer - the next stage I mean. But your telegram at once touched me and pleased me and - do send you warmest thanks.

The serious stuff in the mailed letter. For the moment just our jo joint affection to the three of you and I shall still say with confidence Auf wiedersehen. That and please take care of yourself.

Yours ever

RT

Has Casey been to snuff yet!!!

Ans'd by Mr Monroe

R. T. Clark
31, Buckland
London, N.W.3

February 20

My dear Ed.,

I have given Janet all the personal news and so this is for your particular attention. I feel very guilty in having been so remiss in writing to you but now that we have so to say settled down I am hoping to do better. At least I am back in the old business and in touch once again. I didn't want to come back but Bill Robieson who edits my old paper the Glasgow Herald was so insistent that I take over the diplomatic correspondent's job properly that I couldn't resist So I'm back in London writing paragraphs every night and doing a couple of articles a week either diplomatic or military

The situation is very obscure. So far as conditions of living are concerned they have improved. That is to say that, rationing apart, there are more things in the shops particularly from the Continent mainly eatables and, though dear, provide welcome variety There are also more things because the flood of money has dried up. There is still no value in money but there is less of it partly because of the incidence of taxation for the new services e.g. I have in addition to income-tax to pay 6s 2d a week as a self-employed person. For that I don't get unemployment pay but I can draw sick pay ; Jo gets £20 with which to bury me and a widow's pension and if I live to be 69 I can draw a pension of 23s 6d a week. On the other hand there are no doctor's bills if I need a doctor and I can when needed get a new set of teeth or new spectacles all for nothing When the service started there was a rush such as they might have expected but didn't with the result that Nye was sixty millions under estimated. I can't but foresee new taxation this year to meet all the new demands.

The difficulty is that there has been no real let up from anxiety - anxiety as to the future both financial and political People are still very tired and there is the natural "I couldn't care less" attitude to most things and a good deal of scepticism at the propsect of our really winning through before a war throws everything back again. The war fear is very real but none talks about it. No one sees any reason why it should come ; everybody believes that it will come and no one is prepared to do very much about it. The Communist influence is now very marked and the government is doing very little to tackle it. The trade unions and government departments are well infiltrated and the result is strikes and spy troubles and a general troubling of the waters The working class as such is still sound but it combines the old suspicion of hard work for the bosses' profit with the Communist view that effort strengthens a reactionary government which sooner or later will welcome a diversionary war with Russia. There is a very distinct slacking as well as effort and it is hard to say which will win.

The government itself is still pretty firmly in the saddle. If the middle class is being slowly extinguished as we knew it, there is a new middle class arising of higher paid workers and on the whole the times are still not so hard as to prevent the great majority of people being better off in the sense of having more money. Also a generation is growing up which is ignorant of the past ; it doesn't remember when you got drunk for a penny and dead drunk for twopence or when Woodbines were one penny for five instead of being 1s 4d for ten It feels better off than in the war years and it naturally ascribes that to the government. I shall be very surprised if they lose more than 70 seats at next year's election They haven't lost a by-election yet though they could lose Hammersmith North this week and the hold they have on the majority isn't shaken. The Lynskey tribunal didn't shake them at all thanks to Attlee's promptness in having a tribunal and the disappearnce of Belcher who is much more a fool than a knave The general Labour view was that had it been a Tory government it would have been much worse.

I think Oct. is the earliest possible date.

The changes in the Cabinet will not be very great. I think Alexander must go. Attlee wants Mountbatten to become either Minister of Defence or Minister of Labour but I gather the services don't want him and the King slightly disapproves as M. is too near the Throne.

The other consideration is Ernie Bevin's health. He is not so much a sick man as a completely worn out man and he wants himself to go altogether, I gather, though he might take a lesser job. This is on medical recommendation. The favourite for the succession is Herbert but Herbert wants to go on being leader of the House and doesn't see anyone who could take over his election job. In eighteen months he might feel differently but I gather he is most reluctant to change at present. There is a suggestion that he might become P.M. and Attlee go to the Foreign Office but Clem is none too well and naturally doesn't want to step down. There is no chance of Bevin becoming P.M. On all hands I am assured that the Party would not like him as P.M. even if he were well ; they don't want a Trade unionist there.

The same objection is made to Jim Griffiths either for P.M. or for Foreign Secretary and there is a curious veering round to put Nye Bevin at the F.O. Although he excites Tory passions more than any one I am assured that there is no sterner hater of Communists than he and that in the Cabinet he is more often on the right than the left whatever he may be outside He wants a change too I am told What will happen I don't know It can't happen immediately. A real anti-Muscovite would be a gain at the F.O. Ernie is losing his grip. He is after all the most English foreign minister we have had since Cromwell He comes from the south which is the real England and straight from the land and he has all the prejudices of the south He hates Jews and intellectuals and still more hates those whom he has judged wrongly like the Zionists and the Bolsheviks. He is becoming most ungarded in speech and regards every one as out of step except himself His belief that he is being steadily stabbed in the back is almost pathological and isn't confined to members of his own part like the ineffable Crossman but extends to U.S. Senators and Secrtaries In fact his period of usefulness is ended

The difficulty is less at the F.O. than at the defence ministry. Alexander has quite failed in getting the services to work as one and the state of our defences isn't pleasant That is partly because Attlee the pacifist won't say why we must arm and partly because we have faced neither the social nor financial problems. We have not worked out either what we can spare from industry or made the conditions such as encourage recruiting ; indeed it is questionable even if conditions of service were improved as they ought to be we could get recruits to the regulars unless there is a real unemployment Full employment really is inconsistent with a standing army and navy unless there is a foolproof scheme of selective conscription. National service as we run it is virtually a failure, but the alternatives are not squarely faced

As to foreign affairs the less said the better. We simply have not got a policy and in the F.O. there are at least half a dozen mutually contradictory, while other departments run their own policies. I think it is true to say that, as compared with pre-1914, the F.O. is staffed with inferior though often abler men, ~~but~~; they see too much and nothing steadily and so they run policy in compartments. We recognise the Communist menace and seek to divert by appeasement not of the Kremlin but of national Communist parties. We refuse to supply Russia but we supply Poland with the wherewithal for mobilisation. We want to recognise the Communists in China, massacre the Communists in Malaya and try to compel the Dutch to let Communism have free reign in Indonesia. We don't face the fact that a totalitarian state being the most powerful state in the old world we must use a similar conception against it and that the test of all policy is does it make for victory in the coming war. I fear that lack of appreciation extends to the U.S. where historical sympathy with any colonial unrest is now not only out of date but dangerous. We cannot afford to let any part of the world slip and so we can't let colonial movements have their own way If the U.S.—Australian policy in Indonesia wins we shall have a state of things worse than in Burma and all the resources there will be denied to us. The nuisance is that we believe in our vocabulary and so are at a complete disadvatage vis a vis the Russians who don't one bit believe in theirs Indivividual freedom is one thing ; political freedom is another and I don't belive that political freedom ever ought to mean freedom to commit wither murder or suicide and that is about what our

definition of freedom amounts to just now.

The loss of prestige which we have suffered in the Middle East and in Asia is incalculable but when we can't deal even with the Irish what can one expect ? Costello gave us the opportunity. All we had to do was to say that if the Republic were proclaimed the Irish were aliens Instead of that we create a new category of "non-foreign aliens" with all the rights of British subjects and we are then astonished when within the Commonwealth there arises claims to similar privileges. It would have been possible to have said that the ideal of the white Commonwealth was union under the symbol of the Throne and that that was the test for the non-white dominions. India and the others would have been faced with a fact andwould have orientated themselves according to taste, but there would have been no anomalies. We consecrate the Irishman in his belief that he is an anomaly and a privileged one at that and then are surprised when the Indians want to be anomalous too. It is a queer reversal of fate In 1914 I was against Ulster now in 1949 I'm for it.

Otherwise I don't think there is much more to commeaton. I shall try to write regularly a nd on your part send me a card if there is an thing you want me to discuss or to find out for you. I won 20s on Truman at 20 to 1.!!

God bless you and auf wiedersehen.

Thine

P.S. 1. There is a Commission about to be appointed on the B.B.C. and there is just a slight chance I may be on it. If you have time will you give me your views on how television will affect the broadcasting of news?

2. Do you know P.H. Powell New York corr of the Star His brother Leslie who is press secretary of the Chamber of Shipping and of the General Council of British Shipping is paying him a visit in June. He has done some broadcasting and is a very competent person. It occurred to me you might care to see him and perhaps to use him. Let me know.

These are from
RT Clark, who
was senior editor
of Home news
BBC — and
with whom Ed
spent many hours
during the war —

Flat B
11 Earl's Avenue,
Folkestone,
KENT. Oct.9

My dear Ed.,

I delayed sending you any more notes until I got the new cabinet late last night. The impressions were gathered in town today I'm also adding some cuttings on the "Fascist peril" Sorenson is the conventional stuff. Rebecca's is the result of a prolonged investigation rather courageously carried out on the spot. I fancy they are syndicated stuff and so you may have already seen them but I send them in case. The letters to the editor are interesting ; they do represent a new form of anti-Jewism as a dircet result of Palestine That is one thing that should not be neglected ; the anti-Americans are using the American Zionists the Ben hecht crowd for anti-American propaganda among people who are non-political but who have sons etc in Palestine Luckily the time now is short but a good deal of damage has been done and as the new Comintern is going to make all the fifth columnists anti-American it is a pity that this handle should be given.

We have almost settled in now ; just a few oddments to get.

Did I tell you Ryan had gone to the "Times" , Macgregor is now O.C. all news which is to b consolidated in one service. Poor old Mac ; he was selected because "he was unlikely to object to anything that his bosses would decide" The B.B.C. news is virtually dead as we know it.

Jules is out of danger and is home but no visitors yet.
I've just got an invitation to meet you and Janet at a cocktail party so it does look as if you were coming come hell and high water. It'll be good to see you both again.

I'm still quite busy but I haven't had time yet to get anything worth while started. I've resisted any approaches from the B.B.C. because I'm beginning to develop new theories of "talks" The Third Programme ones are so bad that I'm sure the method of the outsider is wrong. Besides there are not enough outsiders to go round and it is rather pitiable to see people with a reputation in their own small circle throw it away on the air J.B. Priestley despite his faults is still our best broadcaster. I expect you are settled into your daily disquisition. I tried to get you one night but the omens were all unfavourable. However I saw you quoted in the Times ; there was a pleasant air of finality the way it was done.

All the best from us both to the three of you and auf wiedersehen

Thine in haste

RT

The crisis isn't any better and the changes in the government haven't brought any relief. Cripps's appointment is a sound one from the economic point of view but psychologically it isn't good for Cripps has no appeal and to many he appears un-English. He is too divorced from the ordinary run of people and shows no appreciation of individual needs or problems. The mere fact that he will be coldly scientific and again un-English, outweighs the fact that he won't do the silly class war act of the Isaacs, Tomlinsons and Shinwells.

The reconstruction was done in the usual halfhearted way we now associate with Clem. He has alienated people without quashing them. He refused to drop wither Shinwell or Nye and it was only after Horner had tried to dictate to him that Morrison persuaded him that he couldn't keep Shinwell in the cabinet without loss of dignity. So Nye is sore at not getting the Supply Ministry and Shinwell is out to make trouble at the War Office, sore at exclusion from the Cabinet Of the new people Hugh Gaitskell may do well at the Fuel Ministry but from the staffing point of view this is the worst ministry of the lot It was I think a tactical blunder not to appoint a good T.U. man here Already the miners are talking of the old school tie and Gaitskell is after all a second rate economist no more.

Alexander and Barnes both stay and every one is asking why if they do stay Greenwood had to be dropped ; after all Arthur is drinking no more, indeed probably less, than he has done for years. Strauss was Cripps's choice ; indeed into the economic posts Cripps has got his own people On the other hand the juniors are mainly Morrison men notably Patrick Gordon Walker who with Phil Baker as his chief will have the work to do at the Dominions Office though he won't get the limelight yet. Freeman, Callaghan and Younger are all good choices ; at least they get their chance. The mystery of course is the retention of old George Tomlinson at the Education Office. Isaacs was kept because he is a Bevin man.

On the succession question the changes throw no light. Ostensibly Bevin and Cripps are infront and Morrison a little in the background but only apparently He is not too well yet and can afford to wait. Cripps is the "unlucky" type and, if he fails to solve the crisis Morrison will be there to take advantage of the failure probably just at the time when the international situation allows solution. I do not regard Cripps as in the running for the succession and I think High is losing ground. But if you remember what happened when Bonar Law was the unexpected third, keep your eye on Chuter Ede It wouldn't surprise me if the choice fell on him.

On the whole the T.U. side has had the worst of it and the intellectuals the better But only the "loyal" intellectuals have profited. None of the "rebels" have been considered and they are out to make ~~tro~~ trouble.

That is where the new Cominform may play its part. Here it isn't regarded as a sign of strength but rather of weakness due to trouble in the Balkans which we now are told is soluble so far as Moscow is concerned only by bringing in the satellites to the Soviet Union as federated republics. This at least would be an essential preliminary. But here they regard it more as an attempt to mobilise France and Italy against the Marshall plan ; after all these are the only countries where the Communists - except Sweden perhaps - count as parties. The effort will be to split the Socialist parties and take over numbers of them As you know there are a lot of people here in

the Labour party in the House and elsewhere who ought to be in thet C.P. The manifesto of our C.P. cocealing its dismay at the fact that it wasn't considered important enough to be asked to join, simply goes baldheaded for division ; it sets its aim at helping the Left to get rid of the ministers who are "reactionary", and preventing Britain falling into American clutches, a cry that is echoed by Shinwell and might wake other echoes.

At the moment though we don't care. The one thing is if we increase goods for export can we sell them? When you remember that our car target is almost equal to the total world export of cars in 1939 you can see what chances we have of selling them. And no one has answered that problem yet. The trouble will come when we can't sell not when we can't or won't make.

There is nothing ahead except Dalton's anti-inflationary budget. and the T.U. claims for wages increases. Cripps says they cannot be met ; Shinwell and the Left say they can. I imagine there will a lot more hardship and cetainly trouble before Xmas.

On defence there is little new. We are getting out of Palestine and the Mediterranean i.e. if the Russians will give us time to get out The story is that Kenya is to be the big base and Africa the foundation of Western restoration a long term business and they haven't got started yet. The Imperial Conference coinciding with the wedding won't be as important as thought because one or two premiers are not coming. The is no Commonwealth scheme ; there is a scheme for dividing up defence into packets e.g. Australia to be totally responsible east of Singapore - a fatal scheme But Attlee is determined to save on the forces and he won't be easy to defeat in the present temper of the party It is entirely half hearted on the European federation ; it doesn't really belive in the U.N. ; it's frightened of having clear second place to the U.S. and it can't escape its powerful wing that is pro-Russian. So it will go on being "independent"!!

X

THE TIME

SEDITIOUS LIBEL CHARGE

Times 14 X

ALLEGED ANTI-JEWISH ARTICLE

James Caunt, proprietor, publisher, and editor of the *Morecambe and Heysham Visitor,* of Under Fell, Burton, near Carnforth, appeared before the Morecambe magistrates yesterday to answer a summons brought under the Law of Libel Amendment Act, 1888, charging him with having published a seditious libel arising out of an alleged anti-Jewish article which appeared in the newspaper on August 6.

Mr. A. Denis Gerrard, K.C., and Mr. Glynn Blackledge appeared for the prosecution, and Mr. G. O. Slade, K.C., with Mr. T. G. Roche for the defence.

Mr. Gerrard asked for the summons to be amended by the deletion of the words "contrary to section eight of the Law of Libel Amendment Act" and the substitution of "against the peace." It was stated later that the Bench agreed.

Counsel said that people were entitled within very wide limits indeed to say what they had to say or wished to say on controversial matters, but there came a point at which, in the interests of the preservation of the peace and in the interests of good government, the criminal law stepped in and said "this has gone beyond the bounds of legitimate controversy and threatens to interfere with the King's peace." In this case, the Crown submitted that the matter had gone to the limits which the criminal law prescribed for controversy.

STATE OF TENSION

Counsel continuing said that in this case an editor was writing for public consumption in times when tension existed, and when tension existed it was extremely dangerous to throw a little petrol on the fire. This article might have accomplished everything Mr. Caunt ought to have wished, having regard to his views, if it had stopped a little earlier. He had no need to suggest that violence was probably the only thing to bring "those people to a sense of their responsibility." Mr. Caunt had suggested the word "boycott," and a complete ostracizing of the Jewish community. Think of the tension that would be brought about by that. A boycott of that magnitude would cause great tension and sooner or later one side or the other would break down.

A copy of the editorial said to have been written by Mr. Caunt was then read by counsel. It said:—

> There is very little about which to rejoice greatly except the pleasant fact that only a handful of Jews bespoil the population of our borough. The foregoing sentence may be regarded as an outburst of anti-semitism. It is intended to be, and we make no apologies, neither do we shirk any responsibilities or repercussions.

It then referred to the shooting in Palestine of a 21-year-old youth from a neighbouring district, and complimented the *Daily Express* on publishing pictures of the bodies of two British sergeants hanging from eucalyptus trees. Protests from various sections of British Jewry were referred to as "blatant hypocrisy" and "face-saving propaganda."

EXTRACTS FROM ARTICLE

In the course of the reading of the article by counsel, the following passages also occurred:—

> It is not sufficient for British Jews who have been proved to be the worst black-market offenders to rush into print with howls of horror and sudden wreaths and cenotaphs.
>
> Instead they should disgorge their ill-gotten wealth in trying to dissuade their brothers in the United States from pouring out dollars to facilitate the entrance into Palestine of European Jewish scum, a proportion of whom will swell the ranks of the terrorist organization and thus carry on the murderous work which British Jewry professes to abhor. . . .
>
> There is a growing feeling that Britain is in the grip of the Jews. There are more Jewish M.P.s than at any time in its history, and for the purpose of emphasis we repeat that if any analysis could be made of the people convicted of black market offences the Jewish community in Britain would come out an easy first. . . .
>
> The Jews indeed are a plague on Britain, and unless they are put in their place by the will of the people then eventually they will do more harm to this fair isle than ten of the approaching economic crises. . . .
>
> If British Jewry is suffering to-day from the righteous wrath of British citizens, then they have only themselves to blame for their passive inactivity. Violence may be the only way to bring them to the sense of their responsibility to the country in which they live.

Mr. Slade, opening the case for the defence, said that it had been stated that a Judge in Chambers had to give permission for the prosecution to be brought. It must not be thought that because a judge had given permission for a prosecution "there must be something in it." If the magistrates took that view it would mean that something designed for the protection of an editor would be used as a weapon against him. The magistrates had to put themselves in the position of the jury at the trial, and if in their opinion, after hearing the evidence, they felt they would acquit Mr. Caunt they could dismiss the case and not allow the matter to proceed farther. The defence contended that it was fantastic to suggest that this was a seditious libel. They were fighting it tooth and nail and were standing for freedom of speech.

MR. CAUNT IN THE BOX

Mr. Caunt, giving evidence, said that he had been associated with the *Morecambe and Heysham Visitor* for 30 years and had been editor for the past nine. The paper was an independent weekly, with no political complexion, circulating in the borough of Morecambe, Lancaster, and surrounding districts, with a circulation of 17,800 pegged. It was founded in 1874. It was usual for the editorial leader to be headed "Mustard and Cress," but this was not the first time that the words "and Cress" had been omitted in the heading. During his connexion with the paper he had not published an alleged anti-Semitic article before the one on August 6.

Examined by Mr. Slade, the witness said that he visited the United States in 1946 and, travelling between New York and Hollywood, he saw anti-British propaganda in newspapers and on hoardings, published by Jews. When he read about the death of a Blackpool district youth in Palestine and saw the pictures of British sergeants hanging from eucalyptus trees, he decided to write the article. He honestly did not think that Jewish expressions of horror at the Palestine outrages were genuine. He never intended, however, to mean that the British Jews were conniving at murder in Palestine. He was definitely of the opinion that if an analysis was made of people convicted of black market offences the Jewish community in Britain would come out an easy first. In writing that unless the Jews were put in their place by the will of the people he meant by the usual democratic channels, like the ballot box. He did not mean to incite people to commit violence.

The witness continuing said that he had not intended "to throw a little petrol on the fire when tension existed" and was not advocating the use of violence, or inciting people to commit more violence. He had never intended to subvert the constitution of this country and to stir up strife between the communities.

Mr. Caunt agreed with counsel that what he was telling the magistrates was that, unless the Jewish people did something about the Palestinian problem, he must warn them that they might suffer from the violence of non-Jewish people.

The Bench found there was a case to answer and Mr. Caunt was accordingly committed for trial at the next Lancaster Assizes. He was granted bail in his own recognisance of £100.

Next R-'planes may fly at 1000 mph

BOMBED-SITE FRUIT MAKES THE JAM

From wild fruit gathered from London bombed sites, and from trees and bushes on Hampstead Heath, Mr. D. M. Landale, 47-year-old stoker, of Highgate-road, Kentish Town, has made 15 varieties of jam.

His products won a special prize at a local allotment show.

At his home dozens of pots of jam, which have cost him nothing but time and trouble in collecting the fruit and making the jam, are stored ready for use.

"There is good food going to waste on nearly every bombed site in London, if only one knows what to look for," said Mr. Landale.

"The trouble is that 90 per cent of Londoners go about with their eyes shut. Some of the most despised fruits and berries make the most delicious jams. I spend hours walking around likely spots in search of the fruit.

Horse mint

"One jam which anyone can make from materials which are easily obtainable is a mixture of hawthorn berries and elderberries.

"There is more of this wild fruit to be had than any other, but people just ignore it."

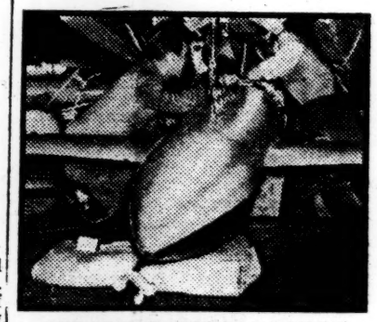
Other varieties on Mr. Landale's shelves include crab-apple, sloe, wild raspberry and strawberry, horse mint, and haw and elder jelly.

'LEGALISE US'

LISBON, Monday.—The Portuguese opposition organisation, "Movement of Democratic Unity," whose political activities are at present officially considered unlawful, have asked Marshal Antonio de Carmona, Portuguese President, for their legality to be recognised.—Reuter.

Post by Thursday

Thursday is the last day for posting parcels to reach the British Commonwealth Occupation Force and Hongkong in time for Christmas delivery.



STRAIGHT-WING ROCKET
Aimed to reach 900 m.p.h.

'Take trouble'

In preparing food

SYDNEY, Monday. — Two Adelaide doctors have agreed that insufficient attention to meals is one of the reasons why temporary complaints of the digestive system are the most prolific cause of lost time among Australian working people.

One specialist said the trouble probably arises partly in the cooking and partly in the speed of eating. People would not take enough trouble in preparing good food.

He said that functional troubles of the stomach were much more frequent during the last war than during the 1914-18 war.

Stress, strain, worry and uncertainty were producing what might be called "nervous indigestion," he said.—Reuter

A chair for Premier

RANGOON, Monday.—The Burma Government are sending teak wood to the British Government to make an armchair for the Prime Minister for his conference room in the rebuilt House of Commons.—Exchange.

Guarding against floods

An anti-flooding interceptor is to be installed at Kensington's Baby Clinic in Tavistock-road, at an estimated cost of £50, because the clinic's basement is liable to flooding after heavy rain.

PROBLEM No. 1 —HOW TO BEAT 'THE BARRIER'

Evening Standard Air Reporter

British aircraft scientists now studying the results of the launching last week of the first faster-than-sound rocket-airplane, are planning to reach 1000 mph in the next stage of their experiments.

Trials off the Cornish coast are to go on over a long period, and altogether 22 more tiny pilotless airplanes will be flown.

The next four are of the same type as that launched on Wednesday—with straight wings. These are aimed to reach 900 mph.

But the rest will have "futurist" wing designs. It is from these that 1000 mph is expected.

The problem of reaching this speed is not one of power but of aerodynamics, and that is what the "boffins" (Back-room experts) from the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough, Hants, who are carrying out the trials, are seeking to solve—how to design aircraft which will remain controllable as they crash through the "barrier" of the speed of sound.

Too dangerous

This knowledge is needed for designing the airliners of the future, and it is hoped that a lot will be gained from the minute-and-a half flights of the 900 and 1000 mph rocket-planes.

America is said to have exceeded 1000 mph with rocket models, and is now designing single-seater piloted aircraft for supersonic trials.

But we have abandoned as too dangerous any idea of breaking through the "shock-wave barrier" with pilots.

Game multiply in Germany

NEWSBRIEFS

Now to teach the parents

Having concentrated on the training and instruction of children during the summer, Beckenham, Kent, Road Safety Committee have decided to devote the winter months to making the parents road-safety conscious.

Plans for their adult campaign include: Competitions for "Safety First," cross-word puzzles and one-act plays, the playing of propaganda gramophone records at public meetings and messages in church magazines.

More than £100 was subscribed towards a "freedom of the road" fund at a meeting arranged by Norfolk Car Club to press for the restoration of the basic petrol ration.

£1550 repair job.—Because the pathway along Station-road, Norwich, is cracking and the river bank giving way, a defective quay heading is to be repaired at a cost of £1550.

3 years to wait

Subscribers on the Streatham telephone exchange have been told by the GPO that the earliest "target" date for conversion of their exchange from manual to automatic is 1950.

Losing money.—Colchester Corporation bus service to Lexden is losing £1000 a year. The route is to be revised.

Cracks have appeared in six council houses which are being built at Clacton, and have been attributed to the hot summer weather.

Three ATS platoons are to be formed in Suffolk. They will be attached to Territorial Army units at Ipswich and Stowmarket.

The new Mayor.—Councillor Eugene Murphy, aged 58, who has worked at Hays Wharf, Bermondsey, since he was 14, is to be next year's Mayor of Deptford, where he has lived all his life.

Lost £20,000.—Norwich Electricity Department lost £20,000 income through the electricity cuts in February and March.

HEADMASTERS 'ON APPRO'

Bishop protests

The Bishop of Barking has protested against Essex Primary Education Committee's approval, for a probationary period only, of appointments made by the managers to the headships of voluntary schools. No probation is stipulated in the case of county council schools.

Mr. E. C. Hardy, vice-chairman of the county education committee, defended the action of the Primary Committee when the Bishop's protest was discussed.

"Sometimes in the past people have been appointed more for their ability to play the organ than for their ability to teach children," he said.

"The committee must satisfy themselves that teaching by people appointed by the managers of voluntary schools is up to the required standard."

The chief education officer, Dr. B. E. Lawrence, said: "The committee have no right to refuse confirmation of an appointment by the managers providing the person concerned is properly qualified."

MAN—AGED 40,000

VERONA, Monday.—A fossilised skeleton of a man, estimated to be of the later Palæolithic Age (that is to say 40,000 or 45,000 years ago), has been found in a cave in the Grezzana zone near Verona.

The bones, which consist of the legs and pelvis, show the man to have been of medium height.—Reuter.

MYSTERY OF 55,000 'LOST' MEN

VIENNA, Monday.—Fifty-five thousand Austrian men who disappeared on the Eastern front during the war are still unaccounted for.

In the last days of the war German statistics of dead, wounded and missing were almost non-existent, and during the past two years the Russians have done little to help the Austrian Red Cross clear up this vast mystery.

There were no accurate lists of prisoners available, prisoners were for many months not allowed to communicate with their homes at all and later only by scanty field postcards as a rule. As a result many Austrian families still remain in complete ignorance of the fate of fathers, husbands, orothers or sons.

Now that Stalin has promised to return the 45,000 prisoners of war which the Russians declare to be all the Austrians left in Russia, it is hoped that more information will be available as to the fate of the 55,000 missing.

It is hoped, however, that a number of the missing will be traced and found still to be alive in the more distant Russian camps and that eventually they will be restored to their waiting families.—Reuter.

'Stop laughing'

It's a serious matter

SYDNEY, Monday.—"These men do not catch rats. Their job is to advise property owners on precautions to prevent the infiltration of rats," Alderman S. C. Molloy told Sydney City Council's Health Committee when urged that the name "rat-catchers" be changed.

"When they produce their authority cards, owners invariably laugh," he continued. "Rat catching is a serious business, and I think it would be more dignified and more in keeping with their duties if the rat-catchers were called 'complaint officers.'"

The committee decided to ask the city Health Officer for his views on the proposal.—Reuter.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN LONDON

First in a new series by

Rebecca West

Rebecca West is the most distinguished woman writer of our time. She has a unique reputation on both sides of the Atlantic.

Miss West has conducted an inquiry, on behalf of the Evening Standard, into the revival of Fascism and anti-Semitism in London.

She has been to the meetings in North and East London, sat in the police courts when cases arising out of the meetings have been heard, investigated the organisations behind the agitation.

Her careful and brilliant analysis is to be published exclusively in the Evening Standard in three sections, starting to-day. THE NEXT SECTION WILL APPEAR NEXT MONDAY.

1 *Not a riot but a racket*

THE riots which have been going on for some time past in East and North London, round about meetings held by Fascist organisations, are a racket.

They are not spontaneous. They are a mean, cruel, dirty racket, inflicting serious injuries directly on these London districts and indirectly on the whole of England, which certain persons have promoted to serve their own interests.

The pretext these persons have used is the determination of Sir Oswald Mosley to return to politics. That he really hopes to do so is hard to believe. It is, indeed, as if the proposition that Queen Anne is dead were disputed by Queen Anne herself. But he has gone into business as a publisher, and on his list are books, pamphlets, and a news-letter, written by himself in the character of a political leader.

It unfortunately happens that a number of men have gathered together to revive the title of an obscure pre-war organisation named the British League of Ex-Servicemen, and hold various meetings in various parts of London, at which they profess Fascist doctrines as professed by Sir Oswald before the war, sell these new writings of his, and frequently refer to him as "the greatest living Englishman."

These men fall into various categories. Some are men who lack neither intelligence nor education, who are blinded to fact by their admiration for the strong arm stuff of Fascism, and the black magic by which it gave power over the silly, simple people to the knowing little gang. Others are stupid men who are too stupid to recognise a fact if they fell over one.

The worst of these are the kind of stupid men who indicate with a nod and a wink that nobody can fool them, they are much too clever, with a cleverness which tells them that there were no hell camps at Belsen and Buchenwald, and that all the photographs and articles published concerning them were just propaganda invented by the newspapers. There is nothing to do with these people, who mean no harm but have a blind eye for the truth, except wait around with an undertaker. Only death cures such obstinacy.

Others again are not so much stupid people as simpletons: And perhaps it would be fairer to call them saints who have never found the right stuff to be saintly about, who have poured their faith into unworthy vessels. Those are the people who stood by Mosley even after 1937, when the whole world had made up its mind about him, his movement was splitting, and he had become not a menace but a music-hall joke.

ONLY one of all these speakers can make a respectable speech. I do not propose to advertise any of the participants in these disgusting proceedings, so I will only say that the British League can claim one speaker who has a lively mind and considerable command over the tricks of oratory. But even he is not very good, and all his colleagues are bores.

Some of them practise the first-line boredom of inaudibility. They cannot manage the microphone, and fill the surrounding streets with sounds as of a dairy farm just before milking. Others, too audible, are trite and verbose.

Their matter is monotonous. It must be necessarily more restricted than it was before 1939, when they could point to the triumphant achievements and humanitarian characters of Mussolini and Hitler. They now have to rely entirely on anti-Semitism and economic nationalism.

Contrary to popular belief, the Fascist speakers, with very few exceptions, devote far more time to their economic doctrine than to their anti-Jewish campaign. Their attacks on the Jews consist usually of vague references to "international finance," abstract malignity about Palestine, and disclosures of such weighty scandals as that Mr. Litvinoff was born a Finkelstein and Mr. Zinovieff an Apfelbaum.

At far greater length, and with equal passion, do they expatiate on a doctrine of preference within the British Commonwealth which is fundamentally, it must be admitted, not very different from that advocated for long by Lord Beaverbrook and recently by Mr. Bevin. But few would deny that, except on their off days, Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Bevin do it better.

These Fascist speakers are so extremely ignorant that they cannot be interesting. If you imagine a lecture on radar by somebody who knows nothing about it, but is determined to probe the matter very deeply, you will get the effect.

ON their own power these men could not hold an audience of more than three or four hundred. They could rope in a hundred or two passers-by who had nothing better to do at the moment; and they have about 200 supporters who turn up regularly at all their meetings, none of whom are persons possessed of any influence.

Poor old men, who have found it hard to earn a living all their lives, and find it a relief to be told that they failed not through any fault of their own but because of the wicked Jews. Fierce old ladies, who want somebody to lead them in an attack on the Kremlin. Dotty old ladies, who joined the League because of something a clairvoyant saw in a crystal. Disagreeable people of both sexes, a terrifying number of these: the customer who barks at all waitresses, the waitress who barks at all customers, meet there and side by side howl that Brittern should be for the British.

There are also a number of children, some as young as 13 or 14. These would be, were it not for the action of certain elements, all the audience the British League speakers could expect.

But the Fascist meetings are now attended by two and three thousand people. Indeed, at some of the disturbances that have centred round them, it has seemed to me that four or five thousand people have collected at the place of the meeting and in the surrounding streets. This happens because a number of people who are anti-Fascist go to these meetings to protest against what the Fascists say, and because a far greater number of people go to witness those protests, because they turn into entertaining fights.

NOW it is very natural that certain people should wish to protest against the Fascist speeches, and those are our Jewish fellow-citizens.

At any time it would be enraging to any Englishman of Jewish blood to find a horde of fanatics standing in the streets outside his home and bawling that he had no right to be in his own country, and that he was guilty of all sorts of crimes of which he was in fact innocent, or else he would be in gaol. Now when we know that such talk elsewhere engendered the massacre of innocent Jews, we cannot blame any Jew if he runs mad at the sound of it; and when we remember how many Jews died for England in the last war we must be brotherly with him and take his sorrows upon us.

But this is hardly relevant to the issue. For it is not the Jews who are joining with the Fascists to create disorder in North and East London. It is the Communists.

By a quite simple mechanism the Communists have heartlessly exploited the grievances of the Jews against the Fascists in order to create disorder under the Labour Government, to capture the Jewish vote in forthcoming Municipal and Parliamentary elections held in London, and to make general propaganda for their party.

Anybody who has had the time and the patience to make a series of visits during the last few weeks to the battlefields in Bethnal Green and Dalston must have recognised the tactics and strategy. At every Fascist meeting the crowd is packed with Communist interrupters, some Jewish, some not, who take up arranged positions so that when they can shout in chorus they achieve a massed effect, and are difficult to eject. They wear Communist badges and carry Communist literature, to make it quite plain what they are. Most of them are not resident in the districts where the meetings take place, and many come from well-to-do bourgeois homes.

They interrupt the Fascist speakers continuously, no matter what they are talking about, frequently by chanting the words, "Down with Fascism." Sometimes they rush the platform. Often they create such disorder that the police order the Fascists to close their meeting.

Few of us will shed real tears over this termination to their revels. But, unfortunately, it may be part of a humbugging programme which makes the gorge rise.

The Communists created such a disturbance at a Fascist meeting at one turning off Kingsland-road. The Fascists' angry supporters were then joined by a curious mob which attaches itself to them at such moments, though they never seem to listen to a speech. This consists of boys and girls between 16 and 20, adolescents who were children during the war and spent every night in the Underground, and now miss the excitement. These, singing and shouting about a Mosley whom none of them has ever seen, and occasionally letting off a firecracker, very naturally marched on a Communist meeting which was being held in another turning off Kingsland-road, under the false title of an "anti-Fascist" meeting, and tried to break it up.

The impression left on the simple population was expressed by a Jewish matron who had attended the Communist meeting because she lived in a street made miserable by Fascist oratory every Sunday evening. "What nice people the Communists are," she said. "When we were standing at that lovely meeting, and those horrible Fascist hooligans marched in, I just thought, Well, if one has to make a choice between Fascism and Communism I know which I would choose."

Everything I have said before is too weak, compared with what I saw yesterday. The feature of yesterday's meeting was that the demonstrators were not Jews but Communists. There were very few Jews present.

These riots have been coldly and deliberately manufactured: to persuade the electorate, quite falsely, that it is under a necessity to choose between Fascism and Communism.

My dear Ed.,

I have been long in writing you but wanted to give you a permanent address. I'm still without one but I think I will have one by Sept 29 when I will send you a postcard with it. We found the house too much for us and were luckily able to sell it taking our risks about getting another abode. For the last eight weeks we have been in furnished flats but I have now agreed to take with possession on the 29th a very nice unfurnished flat down at Folkestone with a small garden a hundred yards from the sea and with accomodation I think for my books. I haven't signed the lease yet so there are still possibiliites for slips between cup and lip but I hope there won't be. It's damned expensive but nice and easy to run.

AS far as I myself am concerned I have nothing to grumble at The wolf is being kept on the right side of the door quite successfully and I get more offers of work than I take. I find that the Glasgow Herald and Time and Tide between them provide a living and at no great effort leaving me time for reading and longer range writing. I'm toying with two book contracts at the moment but have not made up my mind. Also I've got an offer of part time work at the L.S.E. and there too I haven't made up my mind. Living at Folkestone will let me come up to town more easily and so oftener and as the Herald want me to be even more thoroughly their diplomatic correspondent than I am I may get them to pay half of a season ticket in which case travel becomes easy!

Of news I have little. I don't fail to go up to Columbia and see the boys. I haven't seen Howard for some time as he has been away but I like your Archie Jackson. The B.B.C. looks shabby and it's a saddening place. Every one looks so jaded and dispirited that I always feel indecently hale and hearty when I go in. Ryan has left - actually goes on Oct. 19 - to go to the Times and J.C.S. Macgregor succeeds. Ryan had no sooner handed in his resignation than he had a nervous breakdown. They are all ill with something. Poor old Michael had boils all over the body and Hollingworth is off with shingles. John Snagge had a month's sick leave and Lindsay alone of my old friends seems bearing up. Now that Ellen has gone, I hear little backstairs news but I think that when they have time the Cabinet will get rid of Hailey.

It's no news blinking the fact that all these illnesses and breakdowns are due less to working conditions than to lack of food. It gets steadily worse and I know now exactly what folks in prison say that they never are not hungry. I am in rude health and possibly the hungry feeling between meals is due to that as much as anything ~~el~~ else but under the easy conditions in which I live and with my temperament I have lost exactly twenty three pounds in twenty one months - to the horror of my tailor to whom I was finally driven last week. At my age you can well afford to lose that and possibly be the better of it but at Michael's age with all the work and worry he has you can't But out rulers who feed at the Grosvenor never think in these terms. What you are witnessing as you'll see when you come is the gradual extinction of the old middle-middle class Civilisation as we understand is doomed in Europe ; What follows may be better but it won't even begin to interest people like me. I sometimes look at

my books and reflect sadly that in thirty years some of them may interest collectors but for their subjects will interest no one. I think that ere I die if I have time I'll do a ceremonial holocaust, except of course for the Civil War books.!! Talking of which if you ever meet a Senator ask him if thee are still copies of the Offical Records for supply to senators - 115 vols ?!

I think the best news I have had for months was hearing that you had resigned your vice-presidency (Note: I carefully put in a hyphen) and are going back to broadcasting. I am sure you are right for yourself and I'm more than sure that you are right for your countrymen. I hope you are getting a bit of a rest first before you take over for from what Elmer Davis says (whom to my great pleasure I saw when he was here) it seems to be a colossal job to produce even with shadows in the background ~~WW~~ a news broadcast every night. No one can do it better at the microphone than you - I thought that once again when I heard you a Sunday or two ago ; it wasn't one of your best but it was streets ~~ah~~ ahead of what we are accustomed to even now that the standard has gone up a little. Now that I'm settled I will try to help all I can. I am adding to this a short note of what is felt here Tell me if it is the sort of thing that is any help and also don't fail to ask if there is anything I can find out for you. And the best news of all which I take on Columbia's authority is that you and Janet are coming over here in Novemebef. It will be so good to see you both again. Give me plenty of warning for I don't fancy at all you will have time to come here so that I want to be prepared to come up to London where I can see you.

No more just now, except to send our love to all of you. I hear Casey flourishes like the greenest of baytrees. You haven't let him broadcast again have you ?

God bless you both and auf wiedersehen.

Thine
RT.

Poor old Jules is in a very bad way. After being treated for duodenal for years they finally found it was stone. After two operations which were quite successful he got a germ and last week they gave up hope but on the Friday (the 5th) he rallied and though he is nothing like out of danger there is hope. I'm just waiting to hear from Mrs Menken and if it is favourable I'll send you a postcard and later on you could drop him a line ; it would help him.

P.S J. has pulled thro' the still week - not out of danger The address is
10 THURLOW ROAD, N.W 3.

NOTES

HOME. The Government has not yet lost hold of the electorate, that is to say, it has not yet created active hostility in those who voted for it in 1945 It has lost a large proportion of the floating vote and some of its own supporters have become apathetic but there is no wave against it. Analysis of the by-election figures show that with the present fall away they wouldn't lose more than ninety seats. At the same time the fall away has begun and if things go bad in the next months there might be a landslide away; it must be remembered though that here it takes about five years for disilusion to be translated at the polls. The danger point will come in three years time when people will vote not so much on the actual situation as on the accumulative effect of hardship etc. earlier.

The odds are against a general election. For tactical reasons Herbert was against it on the ground that the country would think the government felt it needed another mandate The party was against it on similar grounds, but the fact that the losers will lose now £1000 per annum makes the resolve to stay the course not heroism but economic planning.

The split in the party becomes wider and the "fellow travellers" are much too active. They fail to pull their weight because the Left of the Left is disunited even more on motive than on policy. For instance the Crossman group are for a small army but they have just come out with a demand that if the U.N. ask we stay on in Palestine, thereby crossing the policy of the Zilliacus group which is to come out unconditionally. The real backer of the rebel Left which is wider than just "fellow travellers" is Nye Bevin who has been running a throughly treacherous policy. Having completely failed to justify his cabinet ministership he fancies himself as a leader of the ultra-pure and eventually becoming Prime Minister With him are Strachey and Shinwell two other failures ; they have made an issue on the immediate nationalisation of steel which Morrison and Cripps are against. At one point Nye's resignation was in Clem's hands ; at another Attlee had himself decided to resign (he's not in good health but then none of the real men are) It was only when Nye realised that he would have no support from the big boys, how could he when Ernie in Herbert's temporary withdrawal intends to be the next premier, that he withdrew and Attlee sure of Bevin, Cripps, Dalton and Morrison agreed to stay on. But they are an unhappy and divided team and that is the worst thing that could happen for the country. Almost any policy will do now if it is carried out vigorously and ably.

I don't think the cabinet reconstruction will go far ; it will probably be a reshuffle. I am told Ernie intends to stay on at the F.O until the November meeting is over. He anticipates a failure and will then resign to become organiser of the return to propserity, a role for which the abler Cripps isn't suited to ; no one likes him The people who ought to be dropped are the three rebels, Bellenger and one or two others but I doubt if Clem who is very feeble - even Herbert admits that - ~~won't~~ dare risk it There is also a dearth of good men to promote i.e. loyal men. It is the disloyalty that has soured Clem who now would prefer to have the evil he knows in the cabinet than outside it. A drastic purge might bring on an election but I don't think so. Tactically they ought to go the country, but defeat being just possible they won't as Socialist patriots risk it.

There is no denying that their best asset at the moment is Tory ineptitude The Tories have no policy they can recommend and the country knows it and knows also that a big Tory victory would probably produce a general strike. We are moving steadily to totalitarianism justified by an assimilation of this crisis to a war crisis and so far the Government has got away with it But they will have to justify it by success and that is another thing. Just because success is problematical they will extend totalitarianism even to the extent of trying to postpone an election on the ground that a change of policy would be fatal to the country.

The worst symptom is the apathy plus law-breaking and the cynicism. That may break them. Also there is the growing suspicion that in home and foreign politics there is a "sinister force" The demands for army cuts even on the Left is suspected as a move to leave us defenceless The Communist infiltration is serious and going very far ; even the universities are getting alarmed

FOREIGN.

The Government's own policy is no trouble abroad so that we can concentrate at home and so it is as a whole willing to overlook the fact that the trouble is there At the moment they have no foreign policy except a negative one.

There is the difficulty of doing the necessary retrenchment and yet not letting us drop to a second class power. One section of the Labour party is quite clear that we should admit we are a third-class one which for some reason they say is the foundation of an "independent foreign policy" and naturally the fellow travellers agree. Their function at home is to disrupt the national effort and make it impossible for us to have an independent policy vis à vis Russia. When you hear attacks on the U.S. don't forget there is this at the back of many. At the back of the others is sheer bewilderment and annoyance because of the failure of all the shibboleths. The fact is that we are dependent on the U.S. in the meantime for we can neither reorganise the Empire nor Western Europe in time to solve the immediate crisis. The Bevin arrival at the old Imperialist position is not the old one ; it is fundamentally, though Ernie isn't conscious of it, the cry of totalitarianism for Lebensraum to be autarchic in, which is why the Tory don't enthuse. You could build a Commonwealth on free trade but today it is not possible not because of U.S. opposition as is so often said here but because of economic nationalism. Naturally the pro-Russian element loses no chance of blaming the U.S. for our plight and it has had some success but the success is superficial. If trouble starts there will be certainly be trouble here but there will only be one answer to a Russian offer.

Bevin is under no illusions about Russia ; he feels he has failed completely and he isn't any the better-tempered because of it. But he is desperately afraid the crisis comes too soon, which is why the Marshall policy gets a guarded reception here. Most people regard it as right but they don't see the end, and all the pundits have already announced that Russia is unconquerable. The result is that our hands, though not really tied, are as good as tied. We have no positive policy and that is covered up by assertions that we can't afford a foreign policy until the crisis is over here. The fact is that with our own crisis there is no enthusiasm for any foreign remedy and there is no real interest taken either in Empire Free Trade or Western European union The supposed opposition of the U.S. to the former and of

Russia to the latter creates hostility to both by a sort of reverse action Besides people here realise what their leaders don't tell them, that what we want is not production but buyers, and they don't see where they are to come from if the U.S. won't take them and the Dominions won't and the European countries can't For that situation there is no remedy in federations nor in Dominions which have a continued programme of industrialisation. What could do it is a vast subsidising of buying by the U.S. but naturally a U.S. subsidy, even if it was a gift, would insist on the custom going in the main to the U.S.

The fact is Europe is bust and there is no remedy until she admits she is bust and west of the Elbe we drop economic nationalism and form a unit and build a food economy inside it. But that is just a dream,

I don't think the trouble is really ~~imminent~~ imminent but if it came between U.S. and Russia the desire here for neutrality would be very great unless Russia attacked us ; a war in the Far East, the only place where Russia is vulnerable, would leave us cold.

The worst is the loss of faith No one really expects recovery and the government is no position to hold out a hope so concrete as to remove that impression.

DEFENCE

Serious cuts are coming and abandonment of world positions We are going back to 1930-34, The fight to save something will be more serious, Monty is said to have a scheme for modernising an army of 600,000 with the Territorials in second line, but that will take seven years during which we should be vulnerable. Both the Navy and the Air people are worried about giving up overseas bases which have to be defended as well as occupied. The Eastern Mediterranean is given up as a bad job ; we have India no longer which, as prophesied, is going to be a world liability ; and the lines of communication are now W. Africa, S. Africa E. Africa and nothing till you get to Singapore

ODDMENTS

The Fascist danger is negligible, The only danger is the Communist one and if it gets worse there might well be a Fascist reaction but it will be a Tory- Labour one, for Labour is now taking the place of the middle class. The next fight unless the Tories make a come-back is between a Centre ~~and~~ plus Left Centre and a Left which will grow redder and has leaders of ability once they decide that more and more Left ~~or~~ even to Leninism, is the profitable course The answer to that will be the Morrison-Bevin wing turning British again and to do that planning will have to go. The immediate danger, if we have a bad winter is a revolt of part of the planned ; it might have curious results.

I enclose a Dunkirk despatch as an example of excellent naval prose telling a good story in the old manner

16 Symphony Road —

U. of Chicago

September 30, 1958

Dear R.T.:

Your letter about Mr. Halcrow arrived in good time and I shall be very pleased to see him. I understand he will be coming in at the beginning of next week.

We are looking forward to receiving the long letter you promise with all your news and views.

As ever yours,

Mr. R.T. Clark
c/o The Glasgow Herald
56 Fleet Street
London E.C. 4.

COPY

c/o The Glasgow Herald
56 Fleet Street
London E.C. 4

September 25

My dear Ed,

I am in the middle of a long letter to Janet and you but I've got to interrupt it to fulfil a promise. Another colleague of mine is on a year's tour of the U.S. and I've given him a note to you - to be acted on only if you have the time and the inclination. I'm beginning to fear that he may have delivered the note before you get this!

His name is Morrison Halcrow and you'll find him a dour Scot without young Burnel's quick wit, but quite sound.

The letter to come contains my views of the situation (!) and what is happening to us. We've at last got a flat of our own and with a little luck should have it straight by Xmas. Things have been difficult of late professionally but all right domestically.

Our warm love to Janet, Casey and yourself

Yours as always

RT

P.S. Has Casey discovered the "Lays of Ancient Rome"? I discovered an educated and intelligent niece of mine who didn't know what or who "the ranks of Tuscany" were. Spare Casey that shame.

c/o The Glasgow Herald
56 Fleet Street
London, EC4.

Sept 25

My dear Sl, I am in the middle of a long letter to Janet & you let me off to interrupt it to fulfil a promise. Another colleague of mine is on a year's tour in the US & I've given him a note to you — to be asked in only if you have the time & the inclination. I'm beginning to fear that he may have delivered the note before you get this.

His name is Morrison HALCROW. You'll find him a dour Scot without any Burnsian Greek nor his gentle sound!

The letter to come contains my views of the situation (!) & what is happening to us. We've had a last fling & I'm glad of our own & with a little luck should have it straight by Xmas. Things have been difficult of late professionally but all right domestically.

Our warm love to Janet Casey × & yourself

In haste Yours as always

R.

× P.S. Has Casey discovered the "Lays of Ancient Rome"? I discovered an educated - intelligent niece of mine who didn't know what or who "the ranks of Mosany" were. Spare Casey the shame!

The Glasgow Herald

TELEPHONES:
CITY 5671 (7 LINES)

LONDON OFFICE:
56-57, FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

My dear Kay

You should already have heard about Morrison Helena who will convey this to you. You should by now have had a belated letter. Fix him up an interview with Sd whom I've so written.

As ever

P.S. A letter from you would be nice!

Clark, R.T

JUN 19 1962

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your letter of June 13 about RT Clark. I shall write him at once.

Hope to see you when you get back from your European junket.

As ever,

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. Robert Trout
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

ERM: db 6/16/62

I/S COPY
FILE: Directors - Personal 'T'

JUN 19 1962

Dear RT,

First of all, I am sorry my last trip to London was so hectic we had no opportunity to meet. It now appears I shall be back around the end of October, when I must perpetrate a speech in Albert Hall /God help the audience/.

I won't bore you with a resume of the life of a bureaucrat or the change from poacher to gamekeeper. We can talk about all that when next we meet.

A recent note from Bob Trout tells me that you are considering dispersing your library. And that reminds me of conversations we had in more heroic days about your Civil War collection. As I recall it, you made some casual reference about leaving it to me in your will. Since you are likely to outlive me, this doesn't seem to be a happy prospect, so that I write to say that if you are in fact thinking of disposing of your library I would like to acquire the Civil War portion of it, and would be happy to pay whatever evaluation you, or a book dealer of your choice, might place upon it. This is no sentimental gesture for I hope one day to have time to read, and I also have a son who fortunately has both the ability and the aptitude to read books.

Do let me hear from you at your earliest convenience because if the stock market continues to behave as it is, I might be obliged to withdraw the offer and return to North Carolina and haul cotton on what remains of the ancestoral acres.

As ever,

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

RT Clark, Esquire
39 Esmond Gardens
London, W 4

ERM:db 6/16/62

ROBERT TROUT
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

37 W. 54th St
N.Y. 19

June 13, 1962

Dear Ed,

The other day I received a letter from RT Clark about our customary annual meeting in London, which I expected this year would take place in July. However, he writes that, unfortunately, he may not be in London, as around that time he must go to Folkestone to dispose of five tons of books that he has in storage there.

As RT says that he doesn't know what you will say, for he promised to leave his Civil War books to you in his will, I am taking the liberty of writing to you about him and his situation. His letter was fairly gloomy. He is, he points out, getting no younger, work is harder to get and takes longer to do, the cost of living is rising, and so he is forced to sell all his books and try to find a cheaper place to live, in the country if he cannot find one in London.

Kit and I are caught up in the details of preparing to sail to Europe for three months so, instead of waiting until I have time to try to think this through, I am sending you this quick note before we leave.

Best, as ever,

Bob

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
United States Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

ADDRESS OF RT CLARK:
39 Esmond Gardens - London, W. 4
or:
c/o The Glasgow Herald - 56 Fleet St., London E. C. 4, England

Fleet St. Sunday night (Clark) No P. Earlier letter attached

My dear Ed.,

I meant to write rightaway to say how delightful it was not just to hear your voice but to hear it so vigorous and so untired I daresay you will assert that it was really very tired but honestly it was evidence that your holiday had done you good and I was delighted to hear that at last you did take a real holiday and actually fished It may be of course that in those parts fishing is as strenuous an exercise as on a Scottish burn but I prefer to think of you doing the English way sitting with your back against a tree not encouraging the fish but merely waiting for it Did you catch anything by the way ?

I guessed the identity of "the friend" quite wrongly I didn't know J.C. was in the U.S. and I had just taken leave of Elmer Davis a day or two ago and he said he would probably be in New Yprk so I concluded it was he looking in on you. I had an evening with him on his return from Scandinavia where he appeared to have done as much broadcasting and rather more work than he does in Washington ; that is the way you lads take holidays.

Well it has come, I gathered you knew of it as soon as we did — sooner if some folks are to be believed I hoped Herbert would be seeing you and tell you that the decision was taken to have it whenever it was clear that there wasn't to be "a great victory" for him and Gaitskell in the U.S. It took the party very much by surprise and it has temporarily at least torpedoed Aneurin who got his silly pamphlet out the day the decision was announced and put nearly all the T.U.C. leaders dead against him.

(2)

He is now appealing for unity on a progressive programme but I don't think he will press it Attlee however may force him to pronounce and nothing he can say can do him any good The little man is not unclever, you know. I think he will resign if he is beaten and go to the Lords ; he has just laid in five tons of coal in his country cottage !!

This time

I'm sorry for Herbert for if they could have brought something back from the U.S. he could have had hopes of winning and then he could have got rid of the F.O. I'll tell you more about that when I see you ; it isn't for a mailed letter. Now he will have to go on if they win

On the result-I think personally it is more open than it looks The betting is on a Tory majority of 30-40 on a minimum and there have been quite a number of bettors on 100. There are five weeks to go and anything may happen ere then ; one thing is certain if the Russians move the Tories are well in I'd give you two possibilities apart from the possibility of there being little change ; if the Labour boys win as a result of something happening they might have 20 majority but not more. One is that there will be a small turnover of the floating vote in which case 50 is as much as the Tories can hope for. But if the genuine discontent in the country takes the form of voting agin the government irrespective of party then there might well be a landslide. For instance every busman I've met says he is voting Tory and quite a number of the still houseless say the same. You remember in 1945 the vote was against the Tory majority in favour of a change ; the same sort of feeling might operate now.

At the moment the country is more anxious about the King than anything else now that the lawyers have decided that even a royal death would not

affect the elections The operation today was successful in the sense that the patient is still alive but I gather that the trouble is carcinoma of one lung and that is serious but not necessarily fatal He will be out of action for a good time at the best. The diagnosis is only one by knowledgeable people, but we know nothing official and there are equally knowledgeable people who declare that the condition is the result of T.B.

When are you coming ? If I might suggest come for a fortnight and really do the elections. They are decried as unimportant, but actually they are the most important for a long time for theywill affect the future not only of this country but of the whole international situation If the Labour boys come back the drift to state socialism will continue and it will be increasingly difficult to maintain the present relations either with the U.S. or the Continent If the Tories do we shall quickly face a situation in which orgainsed Labour will revolt It might do whoever was in for we face a very hard winter but the revolt against a Tory government which can't really make that situation better this winter will be political as well. Besides you ought to see the provinces where the result will be decided. London will swing right but there is no guarantee the country will. You ought to vist Birmingham Manchester (where Salford has always been a key constituency ; if the results begin with two Tory gains there it is a landslide) Newcastle Glasgow and you can broadcast from each If you do I'll come to Glasgow with you and we'll inflict ourselves on the editor of the Glasgow Herald. Seriously do try and take a fortnight It certainly isn't for your health for it will be hard work but I think it would genuinely repay you

Actually the election comes at an awkward time politically and domestically No one knows what precisely happens if the King should die but I gather that all that can happen is that the old Parliament would be recalled to be dissolved again by the new monarch. Even that is uncertain but the election will certainly be held. The only worry is whether between now and Oct.25 Stalin will perpetrate a "crisis" You remember it was Hitler s technique to have a crisis when the French hadn't a government and if was the British weekend ; the old gentleman who has studied Hitler more than we have might think it worth the risk. If it was a genuine crisis we might be in a very ticklish situation. I gather that here the confidence that "Russia will do nothing dirty" is firm.

There is no news for all the issues while as topical - inflation, high prices, the pressure of rearmament, shortages of materials - are in abeyance until after the 25th. God knows how any successful party will tackle them. The only thing is that with every one convinced this will be the worst winter it may not be actually so bad as was anticipated. Things are undoubtedly difficult but they affect different people in different ways and any remedy is going to hit some sections mighty hard It is that that makes the result doubtful.

Well that's the lot except to say how much I am looking forward to seeing you. Do we have the happiness of seeing Janet too ? I don't suppose you will bring Casey Please give our love to both of them and with all thebest to yourself

Yours

R T

You've already been so kind that I hesitate to bother you but if you have any of the undermentioned in your room I would be glad of a sight of them.

The Army of Israel by Moshe Pearlman Philosophical Lib. N.Y.

Soviet Source Material on USSR relations with E. Asia by Beloff and Mandel N.Y.

ordered 9/28/51

The Red Army Today by L.B. Ely Harrisburg ; Military Service Publishing Coy

Operational Code of the Politbureau by N. Leites McGraw Hill

I'm just finishing a book for Allen and Unwin on the "Pattern of Russian Imperialism" ; hence the interest in books on Russia You may have seen these ; if they are of no use, ignore them.

3-C-7

The Glasgow Herald
56 Fleet Street
London E.C. 4

26/8

My dear Ed.,

If you blame yourself for being a bad correspondent what must you think of me ? It is only now that I've got down to give you a letter as well as thanks for the noble parcel of books. If I had thought I was going to be held up so long in writing a real letter I'd have written a short one just to enquire after you and to thank you. I was most worried by a report from Denis Brogan which, allowing for ~~the~~ all the exaggerations with which Denis adorns the plainest of tales, did indicate that you had had a bad time with shingles. Then I heard from Hallam Street that you had "had" to go off on a brief holiday and as I know what your idea of a holiday is that didn't relieve my anxiety.

How are you really ? I regard your schedule with complete awe. How you hold up under it I don't know I hope that you have quite got over the shingles and that you are really able to tackle all you are doing but I wish you could take a real rest. I still hear rumours that you may be here at the beginning of the month but there is not the slightest confirmation in Hallam Street so I don't know whether to expect you or not. If you had come in the middle of this month you would have had to take things easy for every one was away but I greatly fear that they will all be back, except probably Winston, by the first week in September.

I've been more than ordinarily busy and life is made the more complicated as we still have been unable to get a flat that suits us and is at the same time economically possible. We are still in a furnished one which is expensive and difficult, for you can't get your things round you and work is thus made trebly difficult. I'm under contract to produce two books and never seem able to get down to them partly because there is so much else to do and partly because it is hard to work where we are.

This being the holiday season a certain amount of time has gone on visitors of one kind or another. Some old American friends have been over and some new ones and these visits I did enjoy, not least because I basked in reflected glory as an old friend of yours. They all seem to listen to you regularly and with complete acceptance. Judging from what one lot said you influence opinion in California which I gather is a Tory stronghold very considerably. More power to you!

This is a bad time for liberal doctrines which are being questioned very much as was Christianity in my young days In both cases the scientists contributed their quota and they do not help by ~~now~~ confessing that what they regarded almost as revealed truth is now all in the melting pot again with no one prepared to say what will at last come out. I saw totalitarianism which we then called Fascism among young scientists before 1939 ; now the opposite totalitarianism is gaining ground. It is a strange reversal to hear a scientist defending Dachau as a necessary safeguard to state progress!! The Bible says that you don't get grapes from thistles but thistles are productive compared to the political scientists, the logical postivists and the psychologists.

There is little to tell you that you won't know already. There

may be an election in the last week of October, at once the latest and earliest date likely to help the Government But I don't think there will be-unless i. there is a real split in the party and Nye daren't split it, or ii there is a succession of good happenings like peace in Korea, a settlement with Persia, the beginning of negotiations with Russia to which all the credulous cling and a fall in prices. It is the price issue that will do them down unless there is something to offset it in the sense that the Government can say that the international situation has been restored so well that prices will inevitably come down before the winter. As it is, any Government that goes to the country with nothing but "peace" for a policy and a programme of dearer and less food, more power cuts, less heating, no more houses and increased rents is bound to get beaten even if all this happens under its successor.

The vote will not be one for the Tories and against Labour No one expects more from the former than they have had from the latter and that very circumstance by contrariety makes a big anti-Government vote certain for the voters will vote for a change. The argument for an Oct. election is that the defeat in spring will be heavier for the international situation won't get better and that the inevitable winter hardship will be blamed on the Tories. The argument against is that it would be unwise to go out in case something happens that would have helped the government and now would establish the Tories. Nye's view has always been: Let the Tories take the burden of the next hard years and at the end they will be out for a generation - a dangerous and doubtful argument but typically Welsh

The decisive factor is I think Attlee. If his health fails again, he will probably resign and let the deluge come. If it doesn't I think he will remember his divine mission to keep the Tories out as long as possible. I think that, if well, he would feel it a cowardly dereliction of duty to go to the country except on the assurance that he would get back, and he would be prepared to risk permanent damage to the health of all the members by carrying on for the full term in the present circumstances rather than give the Tories a lease of power.

But there is a lot of "perhaps" about all that for actually none can say what will happen. I asked an old friend of mine in the Treasury who is one of those most responsible for making policy and he said quite quietly "There is no solution to the present difficulties ; we have just to count on their being resolved or shelved by something unexpected" That reminded me of Chicot the Jester in "The Fifty Five Guardsmen" "Chance ? Chance is God's reserves".

Actually this whole unbelieving world sits waiting for divine intervention; the reality of the situation but a reality of which the politicians can take no advantage.

What has impressed me most is the rapidity with which the ministers are ageing and the failure of health resulting in a failure of will. They are thin harrassed nervy and losing their grip. You can see it in Patrick Gordon Walker over Bechuanaland and Patrick is still a stronger character than most. You see it in Herbert, whose three big speeches two were frightful and who simply doesn't know where he is. He pronounced "Euphrates" in the House to rhyme with "plates" and when some people said "Oh Oh" lost his temper as if he were still in the lower fifth.

You saw Rainwell's exhibition in the U.S. a successor to a couple of worse ones here and Manny is still a shrewd little Jew. There is no policy and so alternate tears of disullusion and howls of rage. I hope when the howls become anti-American you don't take too much notice over there, but as your politicians seem to have just as gruelling a time their nerves are probably not much better.

There is no genuine anti-Americnism here except from the Communists and their followers and the odd grumble that always exists in families who get on better when their members are kept apart. It is very ~~annoying~~ annoying for every little incident gets prominence first by the attack on the U.S. and then by the necessity to defend the U.S. ; the case of the stopping of the boys going to Berlin was typical. Luckily the indignation that was worked up is dying down but a residue remains. I think you will find a certain anti-Americanism among your old government friends which is due less to the pressure which they do resent, than to the knowledge that if they had done their duty by their country the pressure would not have been applied because it could have been resisted. The government is now showing a mental dishonesty that, knowing the people, I would not have accepted as possible in 1945.

And so we struggle on with scare headlines and cartoons about the lion's tail being twisted even by Egyptians and Persians, while the vast bulk of the voters do not care tuppence since all their tuppences go to meet the increased cost of necessities. The situation is too ~~complicate~~ complicated to grasp and the only thing that is more unintelligible than the situation are the explanations of it by the experts and the intelligentsia.

But enough of this. We will talk it out if and when you come. Meantime let just affection be added to you to Janet and to Casey ; the latter two we do hope are well and happy.

Excuse the incoherence of this but I am trying to get it off before I go to a conference at which that slimy creature Krishna Menon will expla: explain why Nehru can't sign the Jap treaty.

God bless you and thanks again for the books I'll send you the Bradley review when it appears I met him here and he impressed even more than the book did. As history it won't stand in its entirety, but with your verdict as the best book from a combat post I entirely agree It is the only memoirs book that has reminded me steadily of the memoirs of the Civil War veterans

As ever

RT (Clark)

Darvall, Frank

September 1, 1960

Dear Frank:

I trust that the assignment in Cyprus is proving altogether agreeable. I shall likely be passing through there sometime during the course of the coming year and we must, by all means, arrange a rendezvous.

As I wrote you some time ago, I see no immediate prospect of undertaking the ventures you outlined but, who knows, perhaps in a few years from now, we may both have the energy and the opportunity to try something on our own.

So far as our elections are concerned, I have never had less difficulty with any personal or emotional involvement. At this point, I am inclined to agree with those who say neither man can win.

I am presently engaged in trying to make my own small contribution by trying to arrange a television debate between Adlai Stevenson and Tom Dewey. Both candidates will be packaged, processed, and polished by the Madison Avenue boys, and I have no doubt we shall get what we deserve.

As ever yours,

Mr. Frank Darvall
U. K. Mission to the
Republic of Cyprus
Tennyson Street
Nicosia, Cyprus

KRM:rg

U.K. Mission to the Republic of Cyprus,
Tennyson Street,
Nicosia, — NICOSIA
Cyprus,

23rd. August, 1960

Dear Ed,

I should have written before to say that, having accepted an invitation to return to the U.K. Government Service, I had had to drop all outside ventures, including those in TV, and would in any event therefore no longer be available for the sort of co-operation I raised in earlier letters.

I trust that you may, perhaps, care on your own, to pursue some of the ideas I raised.

I am pretty sure that there are big possibilities coming up, in the U.K. the Overseas Commonwealth and elsewhere, as the U.K. comes to license a second commercial TV service (and also commercial sound radio), as commercial sound radio and television services spread through what were until recently the colonial empires of England, France, Belgium etc., and as the rising standards of literacy and wealth in the Middle East, Africa and Asia make these markets of greater interest to those who advertise on radio or tv.

I would like to see someone with your combination of qualities playing a major role in all this, and as an entrepreneur and not just either a salaried Vice-President or contracted commentator. And I would particularly like to see a U.K., U.S., Overseas Commonwealth, consortium in some areas instead of just rivalries between C.B.S., N.B.C. etc. on your side, and Assoc. Re-Diffusion, A.T.V., Granada etc. in the U.K.

I believe that some of those with whom I was in touch, Christopher Chancellor of Odhams, Edward Lewis of Decca, Patrick Gibson of the Cowdray Trust, Lord Colyton, John Foster, Graham Spry etc. would welcome co-operation with you.

Also I am sure that your own newspaper column would go well.

And that you would find the Channel Islands, should you venture into international efforts, offering you valuble tax advantages.

But I fear I cannot myself, at least for some years, be involved in such matters.

I can imagine that you have had, and will be having, a most hectic time. I suppose it is a sign of age but I cannot feel that the choice between Richard Nixon and Jack Kennedy really offers theUSA (and the free world, whose leader, whether the rest of us like it or not, is whoever Americans may chose to be their President) the best available choice, or a choice equal to those of 1940 (Roosevelt & Willkie), 1944 (Roosevelt and Dewey), 1948 (Truman and Dewey), 1952 or 1956 (Eisenhower and Stevenson). As regards Jack Kennedy I cannot understand why, with two terms now a constitutional limit, anyone should seek the Presidency at an age which might make him an ex-President at 52 instead of using his forties to acquire additional experience for the greatest job on earth. But you will certainly have a lively campaign, and the rest of us will certainly experience a big change, whichever young candidate wins.

Cyprus is very peaceful. Very little interest really, locally, so far in the new Republic, the Greeks disappointed both that they have not got Enosis and that the Turks have gained such big advantages, and the Turks more excited really at their minority rights, and their Turkish garrison, than by Independence. So far many more Greek and Turkish, especially Turkish, flags on view than Cyprus ones.

The President, Abp. Makarios, is a fascinating figure, who will, I think, create quite a lot of interest if and when he plays a part at U.N., Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference (should Cyprus join the Commonwealth) etc.

I hope, perhaps we may see you and Janeth here sometime, when en route to or from the Middle or Far East or Africa (Nicosia is centrally placed in the air age). If you came in Feb or Mar. you could, any day, devote the morning to skiing and the afternoon to swimming, the mountains, 50miles away, having snow whilst the sea, 16 miles away, is already well over 60.

Best wishes to Janet and yourself,
Yours ever,

Dick Darvall DARVALL

Frank Darvall

August 9, 1960

Mr. Frank Darvall
The Travellers Club
Pall Mall
London S.W. 1

Dear Frank:

This is a belated answer to yours of June 22. The fact of the matter is that I have not been in my office since returning to this country in late April, having been travelling here, and to Berlin, and more recently to the two political conventions.

I have studied your stimulating and talented suggestions but, for the time being at least, there is no possibility of my undertaking this, the reason being that, for the coming year, I am committed to more production here at CBS than I can possibly supervise or control. The position a year from now may be different but, for the time being, I have no alternative but to concentrate on the tasks to which I am committed.

Please forgive the delay in answering, and convey our best to Dorothy.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Urgent

As from: The Travellers Club,
Pall Mall,
London, S.W.1.,
England.

22nd. June, 1960.

Dear Ed,

I attach 4 papers which will, I hope interest you.

The mimeographed one is a paper which I have been discussing confidentially recently with people here like Sir Christopher Chancellor (Chairman of Odhams Press Ltd., publishers of "The Daily Herald" etc.), Mr. E.R. Lewis (Chairman of Decca), Mr. A.P. Gibson (Managing Director, Westminster Press, and TV adviser to Lord Cowdray); Mr. William Aitken M.P. (General Manager, Express Features Service); Lord Hampden (Managing Director of Lazards); Mr. Edward Norman-Butler (London Chief General Manager of Martins Bank); John Foster Q.C. M.P. (a fommer Parl. Sec. to the Commonwealth Relations Office, who is, inter alia, a legal adviser to the Suez Finance Co. - succesors to the old Canal Co.), Graham Spry (Agent-General for Saskatchewan who has extensive radio and television experience and contacts in Canada). The 3 others are prepared especially for you, and have gone, and will go to noone else, although I have discussed with Leonard Miall, Jo. Harsch, Richard Goold Adams and William Clark the international television discussion programme idea, to link Washington, Paris and London (Leonard thinks BBC can only consider this when it has a 2nd. TV programme, the other 3 were more excited, and all said that it was the sort of programme they would love to take part in.)

Frankly I much hope that you willbbe prepared to buy these ideas from me, and also such services as I might render you personally, in these connections, or in any others in which you think, from time to time, I could serve you.

I do not have the capital to exploit such ideas adequately, and in any event your name would enable you to do so more effectively than I could. I could also do more acting for you, than acting for myself.

On the capital score I found, when making a good though unsuccessful run for the Channel Islands programme contract of the ITA, which we lost mainly, I think, because I could not swing enough cash at the right time, that good ideas, hard work, contacts in the right quarters etc. are not enough. One must have oneself, or be able to command at a moments notice, not just enough money for a given project to make it go, but reserve to mobilise at critical moments, in response the opposition moves etc.

Channel Islands Television Limited remains in being, perhaps to bid for a commercial sound radio contract if and when this medium can in the British Isles be used commercially, to bid for the second ITA contract in the CI if and when competitive ITV is authorised, or to seek contracts elsewhere (I was working with Roy Thomson of Scottish, David Wilson of Southern, Anthony Jelly of Tyne-Tees etc. lasy month on a Malta opportunity but in the end we decided not to bid.) Despite my wish to resign I have been asked by the Col to remain Chairman at least for the time being. But I shall, I think, now be much less than hitherto in the CI.

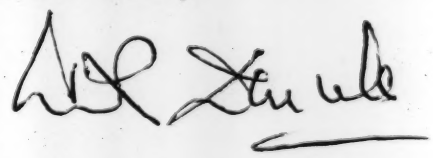
The failure of our bid, has, however, left me strapped financially. Hence my hope to sell these ideas to you, and also my services part-time, rather than try to exploit the ideas to my own financial benefit.

I attach on another sheet my financial suggestion.

Please let me have your re-actions urgently.

Best wishes to Janet and yourself, and hoping that you both and Casey are well,

Yours ever,



Strictly Confidential

Proposal

That a syndicate should now be formed to:-

1. Commission studies of the areas in which and terms on which worth while contracts in the fields of commercial television and/or sound radio are likely to become available during the next few years :-

   a) In the United Kingdom

   b) In the Overseas Commonwealth

   c) In other parts of the world where U.K. applicants might, if in association with local people of influence, have a fair chance of success.

2. Draw up a list of possibilities worth at the least even more detailed study.

3. As regards those contracts deemed to be:-

   (a) Very well worth securing

   b) Possibly attainable if sought in the right way,

   Prepare detailed plans of campaign.

4. Inspire in the chosen areas the formation of local syndicates (in which the main syndicate would have an important stake) or where this seems preferable seek to buy into good local syndicates already existing with a view to having, at the relevant times, a really good starter for each chosen contract.

5. At the appropriate time mobilise all available resources behind the syndicate's candidate for each chosen contract.

6. Insofar as this seems legitimate and advisable seek to influence the trend of opinion, official, legislative and other, in the hope that the terms on which contracts will be granted will be such as to fit the needs of the decade 1964-1974.

7. Explore the needs which would arise, assuming two competing commercial television networks in the U.K., perhaps a "Pay as you View" service in some areas, perhaps commercial sound radio, and a rapid multiplication of the number of commercial television services in the Overseas Commonwealth and elsewhere, for a more ample, and per television or radio set more cheap, and cheaper to handle, supply of programmes whether live (for populous areas, where the population is wealthy and reasonably well concentrated) or taped or filmed, (for the overseas market).

8. If this seemed to offer the possibilities of long term profit form companies to supply such needs, whether to the syndicate's own television or sound radio companies (if and when it secures contracts) or to others (even should the syndicate secure no worth while contract for itself).

NOTE:

To concentrate wholly on the pursuit of one contract is like buying one yearling, training and entering him for one race, and facing a dead loss should he not prove suited to that race even though he might have won other races. The prudent owner has a string of horses and whilst he may hope to win the Derby may still go down as successful if amongst a number of horses which have never won anything he has a few successful in races much less glamorous and profitable than the Derby.

Conditions in the decade 1964-1974 will be so different from those now obtaining that much advanced, detailed study is needed in order wisely to decide where, when and at what price to bid, and to be ready if successful to operate to maximum profit.

TELEVISION AND RADIO, 1960 to 1970.

1. Although no decisions have yet been reached in the United Kingdom (indeed the necessary Government Committee has not yet been appointed) it is already a safe assumption in view of the popularity of commercial television, the pressure of advertisers for a competitive medium of advertisements on television, and for some opportunity to advertise locally on sound radio in the U.K., and the regional and local interests able to bring pressure upon Ministers and M.P.s, that, when the B.B.C. Charter and I.T.A. Act come to be renewed, there will be another commercial TV network (also, probably, a second BBC TV service), provision for commercial sound broadcasting, and opportunity for "Pay as you view" TV. Those who make the first and best studies, assemble the best syndicates, and prepare the best bids, stand to make fortunes, less than those won by A.R.D., A.T.V., Granada and A.B.C. in round one of commercial TV in the U.K. but none the less well worth having.
2. France is almost certain, within the next few years, to fall in line with other countries and provide opportunity for commercial TV.
3. The number of TV contracts in the overseas countries, members of the Commonwealth, the French Community etc., or wholly distinct from London or Paris, will also multiply during the next decade, and also, in many cases, what are initially loss-making rather than profit-making contracts will, with the rise in African and Asian standards of living become profitable.
4. The older parts of the Commonwealth, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, may also provide further radio and/or television oppprtunities, as the possibility technically of additional services developes, and as population and wealth increase.
5. With many more sound radio and television programmes needed, and networking being so much cheaper than trying to orginate more than a small proportion of ones own programmes, and with technical developments certain to extend the ranges over which live international television hook-ups can be achieved, an immense growth in the international exchange of programmes also seems certain.
   With or without a radio or television contract those abbe, from an early stage, to supply new sound radio and/or televisin programme companies with useable material, cheaper or better than the existing semi-monopolies provide, may also make fortunes.
6. There is no reason why the existing majors in this business, N.B.C. and C.B.S. in U.S.A., A.RD and A.T.V. and Granada in the U.K., should continue to get most of the cream from this expanding supply. But they will do so if others do not prepare their plans quickly and well.
7. The ideal arrangement, having regard to the inter-dependence in so many fields, and notably of this one, of North America, the U.K. and mainland Europe, and the territories elsewhere with special historic, political, economic and/or cultural links with N.A., U.K or mainland Europe, would be syndicates with U.S., U.K., French and/or German, and overseas, elements, jointly pommissioning surveys and making plans, setting up local companies when opportunities arise to bid for worth while contracts, and when contracts are secured acting in unison in the matter of programmes worth jointly commissioning, and jointly selling. In each area local companies should be genuinely local, but all would gain by some networking etc. arrangements between them on an international scale.
8. A radio and television syndicate with bases in North America, the U.K. and France, and links with groups elsewhere, would be in an enormously strong position,

both to secure good contracts (through appropriate local companies) and to supply, or arrange for the exchange of, programmes on the widest international scale, with all the economies which should result therefrom.

9. Already some people, aware of the possibilities, are preparing to exploit them, but for the most part these are companies already in the business. Those not in, or in in capacities which do not allow them full scope to share in capital gains, who think that there is no need for hurry (because in the U.K. B.B.C. Charter lasts till 1962 and I.T.A. Act until 1964) may find they have made a mistake, and that when they do become active there is too much lee way to make up, others having entrenched themselves in the best fields earlier.

TELEVISION PROGRAMME FOR INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION.

1. Despite the clamant need, in the field of international affairs, for a better integrated western point of view, and policies, both as regards the internal development of the Free World and its relations with the Communist World, little is as yet being done to achieve integration in the field of press, radio or television, magazines, newspapers and radio and television companies, in U.S.A., Canada, the U.K., and mainland Europe, all operating on their own, buying one another's material but seldom if ever jointly planning and producing and using something which has from start to finish been neither American, British or European but the joint effort of all three.
2. If the companies will not seize this opportunity then individuals might do so. Leading commentators and/or columnists, North American, U.K. and European, might jointly prepare, produce and market genuinely international television programmes on tape or film.
3. The precise types of internationally planned, produced and marketed programmes, in the field of news and current events, which would sell best, be most practicable, and subject to these limitations be most worth while, would require working out in detail. A few leading figures in the field, like Ed Murrow in USA, Richard Goold Adams nor William Clark in the U.K., Raymond Aron in France, could, if they put their collective minds to it, soon evolve programmes adjusted to the possibilities and needs.
4. One possibility which they might care to explore (but there are many others) might be for a programme along the following lines:-
   a. Small, representative groups in Washington, Paris and London (and less frequently other capitals) including foreigners resident in these capitals as well as local people of importance, to meet together for a frank, full, quasi off-the-record discussion, over a leisurely meal and sometimes over a 24 hour period (modelling themselves, to some extent, on Prince Bernhard's Bilderberg series of Conferences). These sessions not to be taped or filmed, and to include more people than would appear on the actual programme.
   b. From those attending such discussions a panel, after the larger group has adjourned, to engage in a live discussion before the cameras (sometimes perhaps interviewing jointly a major international personality, other times an expert, other times exchanges news and views amongst themselves). In order to enable programmes to be sold in French-speaking and German-speaking as well as English-speaking countries, 3 panels to be constituted in each capital from each discussion group, one in each of the 3 languages.
   c. So soon as tapes or films are ready copies to be taken by participants in Washington, Paris and London to the other capitals.
   d. So soon as Washington, Paris and London each have copies of the tapes or film from the other capitals, (and also spokesmen for each of the 3 panels), each to make a composite programme, marrying and cutting the 3 tapes or films, and where useful interjecting live items from the participants present who have come hot foot from the 3 panels,
   e. Washington, Paris and London (whose programmes, although all based on the same raw material would not be identical, the editing process having produced different results in the 3 capitals, attuned to their respective viewers) then to use the resulting programmes themselves, and each to seek to market copies of its version in agreed other markets.
   f. Costs to be shared, and also profits from sale of copies to other markets.

INTER-CONTINENTAL COMMENTARY.

1. Whether or not continuing to remain under contract to a broadcasting company, and to give priority to personal appearances on the air, it would pay Edward R. Murrow to launch a newspaper column, capable of being marketed in a number of languages and countries. This would greatly extend his audience and influence, newspaper copy being more easily moved across oceans and linguistic barriers than radio or television programmes. It would also provide a continuing means of influence and source of income, much more independent of outside influences, than any radio or television programme can be, available should Edward R. Murrow ever wish to reduce or eliminate his radio and TV appearances, or transfer his efforts at any rate partially from the front of the cameras to the back (where, perhaps, there may be more opportunity long-term of capital gains).
2. Initially, perhaps, such a column might appear weekly, in the U.K., perhaps, in "The Sunday Times", "The Observer" or the new Sunday paper shortly to be launched, "The Sunday Telegraph"; and in equivalent newspapers in other countries.
3. It might strike a new note, and serve an especially useful purpose, if, whilst primarily E. Murrow's column, it took the form of an exchange of news and views between him and European, U.K., and other colleagues, Murrow appearing always, some of his colleagues in other continents to his frequently, some brought in for a particular occasion only.
4. Inter-continental telephone conversations prior to any of the participants writing their contributions for the "Inter-Continental Commentary", to make sure that each was dealing with the topics currently of interest to the others, and that there was some coherence to the contributions as a whole, would be important. So, of course, would be the overall editing done under Ed Murrow's supervision wherever he might be that particular week.

Edward R. Murrow agrees to buy, and Frank Darvall agrees to sell, for a payment of twelve thousand dollars ($12,000), payable in quarterly installments of three thousand dollars ($3,000) in July and October, 1960 and January and April, 1961, to Frank Darvall's account at Lloyds Bank, St. Helier, Jersey, Channel Islands,

1. The ideas contained in the enclosures to Frank Darvall's letter of 22nd. June, 1960 to Edward R. Murrow, any financial benefit which may result from following these ideas up to be thenceforward, as between Frank Darvall and Edward R. Murrow, exclusively for Edward R. Murrow.

2. Frank Darvall's services, if as and when requested by Edward R. Murrow, as a European consultant and/or representative for Edward R. Murrow, anytime that Mr. Murrow shall seek Mr. Darvall's advice and help, whether in connection with the matters raised in Mr. Darvall's letter of 22nd. June, 1960, and/or the enclosures thereto, or otherwise, anytime between receipt by Mr. Darvall of the first installment of the payment referred to in the opening paragraph above, and four calendar years thereafter.

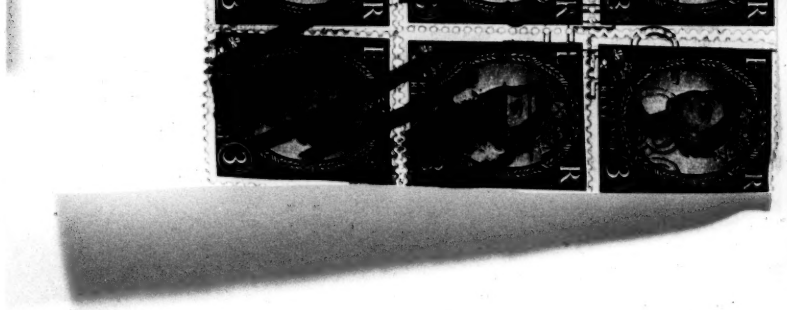
Should Edward R. Murrow find, at the end of these four calendar years, that none of the ideas in Frank Darvall's letter of 2nnd. June, 1960, and/or the enclosures thereto, have been followed up, to Edward R. Murrow's financial advantage to the extent of the sum paid in 1960-1961 by Mr. Murrow to Mr. Darvall, Mr. Murrow to be entitled to treat the payments as a loan rather than a purchase price, and to request Mr. Darvall to repay the difference between $12,000 and Mr. Murrow's actual financial return, 1960-1964, from the following up of the said ideas, and/or from any other advice and help Frank Darvall may have given to Edward R. Murrow between July, 1960 and July, 1964.

AIR MAIL

Strictly Private and Confidential.

Please forward if away.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Care of The Columbia Broadcasting System,
Madison Avenue,
New York City,
N.Y.,
USA.



ELMER DAVIS CORRESPONDENCE

and

SEE ELMER DAVIS FOUNDATION

Davis Elmer

E L M E R D A V I S
1661 CRESCENT PLACE
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

11 December 1956

Dear Ed:

I understand perfectly why you prefer not to sign the open letter to the President, and agree that there would be a certain redundancy in your subscribing to views which you have already expressed so often and so well and which, I trust, you will be in a position to express in the same way for a long time to come.

No "big angel" has descended, and while we are not without prospect of a visitation, any financial wing-fluttering you might feel inclined to do would certainly help to get the project air-borne.

As ever

Elmer

Davis, Elmer

December 7, 1956

Dear Elmer:

Sorry to have delayed in answering your letter of November 30th. I find little, if anything, in the proposed statement with which I disagree; and indeed have expressed many of the same facts on the air already.

Since I have, for the time being at least, adequate opportunity for expressing my views, I have felt it wise to follow the policy of not signing public statements of any kind, no matter how much I have agreed with them.

Despite this decision, which I am sure you will understand, if it comes to the question of an ad in the "Times" and a "big angel" cannot be found, it would pleasure me to flutter a small financial wing in the venture.

I send you my best salute, as always.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
c/o Mr. George Barnes
Suite 408
1145 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

rh

ELMER DAVIS

November 30, 1956

Dear Ed:

I am taking the liberty of inviting you to read the enclosed draft of what is intended to be an open letter to the President of the United States, setting forth the views of leaders in the world of arts and letters in favor of American support for a peace settlement in the Middle East by direct negotiation between the Arab States and Israel.

It seems to me that at this critical juncture in world affairs, the views of people like yourself, precisely because they have not often been given expression, could have an important effect on American policy.

This is particularly imperative at a moment when American policy is floundering and there is the greatest danger of new appeasements which, by delaying peace, will advance the Russian penetration of the Middle East.

I am enclosing a list of persons who, together with you, have been invited to sign this letter. I would be most grateful if I could have your immediate word authorizing us to include your name. The enclosed card is for your convenience.

When we have received enough signatures, we propose to send the letter to the President and subsequently to publicize it in the press and on the air; and even, possibly, to place it as an advertisement in The New York Times, if an angel can be found.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer Davis

Elmer Davis

P. S. My war-time associate, George Barnes, has volunteered his office and secretarial staff in connection with this project and I would be obliged if you would address your replies to me in his care -- Suite 408, 1145 19th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

INVITED TO SIGN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Marian Anderson
Maxwell Anderson
Herbert Asbury
Sholem Asch
Max Ascoli
W. H. Auden
Margaret Culkin Benning
Howard Barlow
Alan Barth
S. N. Behrman
Gertrude Berg
Milton Berle
Leonard Bernstein
Marshall A. Best
Donald C. Brace
Ray Bradbury
Dorothy Dunbar Bromley
Van Wyck Brooks
Pearl Buck
Cass Canfield
Truman Capote
Rachel Carson
Bruce Catton
Bennett Cerf
Marquis Childs
Henry Steele Commager
Arthur H. Compton
Marc Connelly
Katharine Cornell
Gardner Cowles
Cheryl Crawford
Hume Cronyn
Russel Crouse
Marcia Davenport
Mrs. Clarence Day
Babette Deutsch
Howard Dietz
Maurice Evans
William Faulkner
Edna Ferber
Betty Field
Thomas K. Finletter
Dorothy Canfield Fisher
Doris Fleeson
Raoul W. Fleischman

Lewis Gannett
Wolcott Gibbs
Leopold Godowsky, Jr.
Samuel Goldwyn
Dan Golenpaul
Benny Goodman
Martha Graham
Alicia Patterson Guggenheim
Harold Guinzburg
John Gunther
Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
Moss Hart
Jascha Heifetz
Ernest Hemingway
Josephine Herbst
John Hersey
Paul Hindemith
Laura Z. Hobson
Vladimir Horowitz
Palmer Hoyt
Fannie Hurst
Sam Jaffe
Howard Mumford Jones
MacKinlay Kantor
George S. Kaufman
Freda Kirchwey
Lincoln Kirstein
Paul Klemperer
Arthur Kober
Louis Kronenberger
Joseph Wood Krutch
Jay Lasser
Margaret Leech
Eva Le Gallienne
Frank Loesser
Archibald MacLeish
Guthrie McClintic
Tex McCrary
Carson McCullers
Groucho Marx
Margaret Mead
Yehudi Menuhin
Jo Mielziner
Nathan Milstein
Dimitri Mitropoulos

Edward R. Murrow
Robert Nathan
Allen Nevins
Arch Oboler
Clifford Odets
Gregory Peck
Katherine Anne Porter
Jose Quintero
Samson Raphaelson
Elmer Rice
Richard Rodgers
Eleanor Roosevelt
Billy Rose
Leo Rosten
Artur Rubinstein
Dore Schary
Harry Scherman
George Schreiber
Irene Selznick
Eric Sevareid
William L. Shirer
Max Shuster
Sigmund Spaeth
Bella Spewack
Sam Spewack
Edward J. Steichen
John Steinbeck
J. David Stern
Leopold Stokowski
Rex Stout
Nathan Strauss
Raymond Swing
Gerard Swope
Herbert B. Swope
Tiffany Thayer
James Thurber
Arturo Toscanini
Irita Van Doren
John Van Druten
Carl Van Vechten
Richard J. Walsh
William E. White
Thornton Wilder
Edmund Wilson
Herman Wouk

PROPOSED OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. President:

When are we going to face up to the central danger — Russia's presence in the Middle East -- with her arms, her technicians, her propagandists, her spies, her diplomats -- and her threats?

Abdul Gamal Nasser, Egypt's dictator, put Russia there. Not Israel, not Britain, not France. They only served to expose the dimensions of the Russian penetration. This expose has won for them the opprobrium of the U.N., the label of aggressor. For Nasser it has won the halo of purity and of martyrdom. We have helped to place it on his head.

Have we forgotten the record?

That Egypt, by its own proclamation to the Security Council, launched a war against the U.N. Partition Resolution authorizing the establishment of the State of Israel.

That for eight years Egypt has been warring against the Armistice Agreements. Indeed, Egypt told the Security Council through its Foreign Minister: "The Egyptian-Israel General Armistice Agreement will not be interpreted by us as terminating in any legal or technical sense the state of war between Egypt and Israel."

That for eight years Egypt and the Arab States have sought to avenge themselves for their defeat in the Palestine War. Vengeance sought not because Israel takes from any established Arab State one inch of territory. Vengeance sought out of vanity -- vanity stimulated by the appeasement policy of the West which hoped for alliances, military and political, which have never been established, while the price of the courtship grew with each year.

That since 1951, Egypt has been in defiance of the Security Council Resolution ordering it to end its ban on Israel shipping through the Suez Canal.

That it has consistently sought, in concert with other Arab States, to bring about the economic strangulation of Israel through boycott.

That without cessation Israel has been exposed to remorseless attacks on its frontiers and to the unending terror of the sudden swoop of the marauder and the murderer.

That only a few months ago, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Jordan and Saudi Arabia solemnized military pacts, the avowed purpose of which was joint action for the destruction of Israel.

Yet never has Egypt been labeled "aggressor," still less called to account. Not even when Egypt seized the Suez Canal Company in defiance of international treaty, thereby imperiling the lifeline of Britain and France and countless other nations, large and small, made dependent upon the dictator's whim for the freedom of this short route to Europe, Africa and Asia.

That record is important in order to assess the present danger and our future course.

* * *

Shall we now reward the dictator who sold out the hopes of the improverished Egyptian masses to the Russians in return for arms? Shall we further entrench in power the man who preaches violent revolt across the African Continent? Shall we support the trouble-maker who calls us imperialists; incites the Moslem world against the Christian faith; sends agents, arms, and funds throughout Africa and the Middle East to consolidate his dream of empire and push out every vestige of Western influence?

Have we forgotten so soon the record of Nasser's deceit and betrayal of the West?

His violation of the assurances given in return for U.S. help in persuading the British to evacuate their Suez base.

His sabotage through his puppet, Syria, of the U.S. plan for development of the Jordan Valley for the benefit of Jordan, Syria and Israel, even while pretending to support it.

His rejection of U.S. arms, as "imperialism."

His acceptance of Russian arms, technicians, military advisors, thus inviting Communist subversion of the region.

His demolition charge against the Baghdad Alliance created by the West to insulate the Middle East against the Soviets.

His contravention of treaty obligations, when he seized the Suez Canal, inviting ultimate Soviet control of this vital waterway.

His conspiracy against France in North Africa, against Britain in Jordan, against the Western interest in every Arab state.

His violent denunciation of the U.S. and the West over the same state-controlled radio that heaps praise on the Soviet Union.

* * *

To strergthen Nasser is to strengthen the man who has made Egypt the beachhead for the Russians. Let those who doubt explain away the massive arms cached in the Sinai desert and captured by the Israelis.

* * *

Nor are we blameless for the present crisis.

Nasser's ambitions produced his arms deal with the Russians, making way for the fulfillment of the 200-year-old Kremlin dream of a foothold in the Middle East. That Egypt and Nasser both could be so greatly daring is a result of eight years without peace and with expanding appeasement by the United States of Egypt and the other Arab states, in the vain hope of winning military alliances.

Russia's emergence as the accepted friend of the Arabs derives from its adoption of our own formula of trying to win friends through arms. It is we who conceived our security in terms of arms to Arab governments, military alliances and bases. In the process, we gave little consideration to the needs of 40 million people on whose poverty and nationalism Russia built with speed and inventiveness. How ineffectual that policy was is best proved by the speed with which the Russians bypassed the Baghdad Pact, intended to serve as a barrier against her.

Simultaneously we denied Israel arms, refused her a mutual security pact, left her surrounded by enemies to defend herself.

This isolation has been compounded by the United Nations. Since 1952, it has taken no initiative to bring about a settlement of Palestine problems.

Indeed, the U.S. and the U.N., both, in deference to the Arab States, refused to press for peace.

* * *

For years we have been blackmailed into refusing to press for peace, lest we offend the Arab States. Now we are being blackmailed by the threat of Russian "volunteers."

Russia has developed into a fine art subversion by "volunteers." It will not give advance notice to the world of their despatch. Indeed, we have no way of knowing that they are not already in Egypt and Syria -- whatever their immediate guise.

The answer to the present crisis is not new appeasement.

Has constant appeasement won us the regard and friendship of the Arab world? Has it brought us nearer to peace and stability in the Middle East? Has it kept the Comm nists away from the crossroads of the world? Clearly, it has done nothing except to demonstrate its futility.

* * *

The answer is peace in the Middle East; and internationally guaranteed freedom of passage through the Suez Canal. Peace by negotiation between the Arab States and Israel. Not an imposed peace!

By putting our weight behind direct peace negotiations, we deny the Russians their excuse for exercising their role as the would-be protectors of the Arab world through "volunteers."

Direct peace negotiations offer the hope of just settlements, satisfactory to both sides, settlements which could be permanent. An imposed settlement does not. And because it does not, it fails to provide the stability indispensable to the region's development and indispensable to denying to the Russians the fallow ground for their expansion.

* * *

Nor is a return to the status quo ante the answer.

To insist on this is as dangerous as it is impossible. For it no longer exists. The status quo ante is not an armistice line. It was a system of checks and balances which assumed an arms balance controlled by the West, and that the Arab States, if not pro-Western, were at least neutral. That is no longer true.

The fact is that Nasser, despite his proclamation of independence, is a creature of the Soviet Union, to whom he has mortgaged the economy of Egypt with his arms deals. Today he is guided in every move by Soviet advisors.

The fact is that Syria is openly in the Soviet orbit, bound to Moscow by bonds which have made that country a new base for Russian military concentration in the Middle East.

The fact is that a pro-Egyptian, and this means a pro-Russian government, holds the reins of power in Jordan.

The fact is that anti-British and anti-Western influences threaten the government of Iraq, despite its awareness of the Russian menace.

The fact is that Christian Lebanon is in danger of being swamped by the pro-Egyptian, pro-Russian influences in its own country.

The fact is that Saudi Arabia, despite its hatred of Communism, is a source of funds for Nasser and is infiltrated by Egyptians.

The fact is that all the Arab countries continue to demand Israel's obliteration.

And if we now further appease the Egyptian dictator who has defied the West, contravened the U.N. Charter and the rule of law, we are only inviting other countries in the Middle East to adopt a similar policy on the score that it pays off.

Insistence on the status quo ante means strengthening Nasserism, strengthening Soviet penetration, and inviting new disaster.

* * *

The temptation is large for the U.S. to go it alone and to "save" what remains of our influence in the Middle East by new appeasement -- at further sacrifice of Israel.

This is a perilous concept. The U.S. will not find a vacuum in the Middle East. It will find the Russians there -- moved to greater daring by the split in the Grand Alliance. The contest will be open and naked. Nor will we win that battle if the new policy is to be the old policy of more appeasement of Arab governments.

For we are dealing here with many factors, the most important of which is Arab nationalism. Today it is in a frenetic stage, used by its own politicians to promote their own ambitions and as a lightning rod to deflect the anger of the masses against their poverty. In their turn, the Russians play on these ambitions to undermine and to replace the West.

But at the root of nationalism is poverty and ignorance and the new-found knowledge of a better lot in the Twentieth Century world.

In its fundamental sense the competition is for the allegiance of the peoples of the Middle East, who back the Russians because they have been won by slogans, the promise of meeting vital human necessities.

This is a challenge which the greatest democracy on earth can meet -- if it puts its mind and heart and resources into the job. The improvement and the welfare of the impoverished masses -- fast, generously and effectively -- is entirely within our realm.

But this can only be done in the context of stability. Stability means first of all peace -- peace worked out by the parties themselves, brought together by the United Nations; not imposed by forces foreign to the region and its problems.

* * *

Is such a thing possible in the present state of affairs?

We think it is -- if the United States, both in and out of the United Nations, will put its full weight behind it.

Not once in eight years have the parties met to iron out the issues face to face. The time has come to let them know that the world will no longer temporize with intransigeance.

If the United Nations will act to this end with the same determination and vigor as it has acted on the cease-fire and other matters in the present crisis, direct negotiations can result.

It is a matter of record that Israel wants peace, seeks peace. It is equally a matter of record that the Arabs resist it. But the same U.N. Charter that has been used to flog Israel in recent weeks can also be used to compel the Arabs to negotiate peace. Nothing less than that will produce results.

The United States now has an opportunity to make a positive move in the United Nations for a definitive settlement of the Arab-Israel question through direct negotiations by the parties.

It can state openly and forcefully that:

1. Israel is here to stay;

2. That it is prepared to guarantee borders finally agreed upon between the parties;

3. That it believes the Middle East is essentially a single region, and that its component nations are therefore interdependent;

4. That it is prepared, in the context of real peace, to help finance large-scale regional development under the auspices of the United Nations.

Such a concept of regional development must be based, not on rich plums fabricated to appease dictators, but upon the use of regional resources in the most effective way for the mutual benefit of all the peoples of the area.

It is hard to see how the power blocs or the Russians can resist a call for direct peace negotiations if the U.S. has the courage and determination to make one. And if resist they do, then it is up to the United States to exercise the full weight of its power to bring it about nonetheless.

* * *

What will the Arabs do? Might such a move not cost us the Arab world? How much of the Arab world is with us now?

We have been the victims of self-delusion that the real danger is that the Arab States will close off our access to the enormous oil reserves of the Middle East and deny us the right of passage through Suez.

The Egyptians themselves have now blockaded the Canal and it will be months before salvage is completed. The Iraqi petroleum lines in Syria have been breached. As a result, Europe faces an oil shortage. But with time and cooperation, the large reserves of United States,

Venezuelan and Canadian oil, the development of synthetic oil can serve the fuel needs of Europe. Large tankers and new pipelines can with time effectively insulate the world against a future blockade of the Suez Canal. In short, the Western world can improvise emergency solutions and produce permanent ones without Suez or Middle East oil.

Not so the oil-rich lands of the Middle East. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq depend almost entirely on oil income from European markets for their national budgets. For them there is no replacement for the European markets. The Russians have no need of their oil. Russian interest is only in denying it to the West.

Peace is a lifeline for the governments of the oil countries. It means money, power and the ability to develop their countries. One billion dollars a year and more is what they stand to lose.

* * *

If now, having at such bitter cost to our Allies established that we are not a colonial power, we produce a policy of the quid pro quo, we have a chance of restoring the balance.

But to restore the balance we need peace between the Arab States and Israel; and a re-forming of the alliances between the United States and its allies. If Britain and France are ruined and Israel smothered, the United States stands alone. Is that what we want? That is what Russia wants. Shall we give her that victory?

* * *

Finally, Mr. President, Middle Eastern peace would stall the Russian offensive in the region more effectively than any other thing. It would remove the lever of anti-Israel hostility with which the Soviet Union has pried its way into Egypt and the rest of the Arab world; remove the incentive to sell freedom for Russian arms; and divert the energies of the region from destructive purposes to the ends of economic development and social progress. In that direction lies the real deterrent to the Communists.

# # #

Davis, Elmer

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

1 January 1954

Dear Ed--

Your generous words are greatly appreciated, but let's see if I deserve them. I have been away for two months and a half, and a great deal of rust can accumulate in that time.

As always,

E. D.

Davis, Elmer

DECEMBER 31, 1953

ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE NW
WASHINGTON DC

HEARD WHILE I WAS IN KOREA THAT YOU ARE COMING BACK ON THE AIR. TWAS BESTEST CHRISTMAS PRESENT YET. MUCH POWER TO YOU AND THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE NEW YEARS.

ED MURROW

1-43-7

Davis, Elmer

December 27, 1951

Dear Elmer:

This is literally the first opportunity to say my thanks for your generous and gracious comment concerning "See It Now". I have taken the liberty of showing your communication to my colleagues and they join with me in expressing thanks for your encouragement.

I am sorry to have missed your call and shall hold you to that drink when you are in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
American Broadcasting System
1661 Crescent Place, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

(14)

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

20 November 1951

Dear Ed--

Sunday was a milestone in history--the first time I ever voluntarily turned on a television program. It was an admirable show; though I imagine you are going to have to scrabble around pretty hard to find material to keep it up to that level.

Afterward I phoned to see if you could come around to the Algonquin and have a drink, but they told me that with great presence of mind you had already left the studio. However, I trust the drink may be had some day, either here or there.

As always,

E.D.

Dear Elmer:

Davis, Elmer

July 11, 1951

Dear Elmer:

It is the 4th of July. I am sitting in our log house on Quaker Hill. Governor Dewey is off equipping himself to be Secretary of State under Eisenhower. Casey has exhausted his supply of fireworks without suffering serious damager, and I am sitting here wondering whether or not there is the slightest chance of persuading you and Bliss to spend a few days with us sometime in the course of the summer. I shall probably be here during all of July and will then go traveling somewhere, perhaps to Yugoslavia during the month of August. If you could make it I would be glad to pick you up in New York, it is only about a two hour drive up here.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
American Broadcasting Co.
1661 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

8 June 1951

Dear Edwd.--

All your observations last night about the Voice of America, and the desirability of separating it from the State Department, are valid enough; and they were clearly in our minds in 1945 when we made the contrary recommendation, which the President followed. They were all outweighed however by a single consideration--that an independent agency, in peace time, would never survive its first encounter with John Taber and the other axe men on the Appropriations Committee. And indeed in 1947 General Marshall had to make four personal trips to the Hill to persuade them to let it continue, even in skeleton form.

Since then of course it has had legislative authorization, and in a time of shooting a few more people are probably persuaded of its utility. But the Appropriations Committee knocked out 90% of what they asked for new construction, and is likely to make a very heavy slash in operating expenses. Standing by itself, I doubt if it could survive this summer.

As always,

E.D.

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

17 February 1951

Dear Ed--

Sorry that I offered you a useless contribution last night. I had been under the impression that the entire section on the Voice of America was to be devoted to comments; and knowing from experience, past and present, that nineteen out of twenty of such comments would be hostile or at least critical, I thought I would give you the twentieth. The demonstration of how it actually works was of course much more effective.

By the way, the most effective discussion of this matter has come, somewhat to my surprise, from Eddie Bernays--not only in this morning's Tribune but for some time previously.

As always,

E.D.

Davis, Elmer

NOVEMBER 16, 1950

ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC

HASTEN TO SEND OUR CONDOLENCES ON THE GENERAL'S PASSING STOP WE HAVE BOTH KNOWN MANY GENERALS WHO COULD NOT MATCH HIS COURAGE OR COURTESY

JANET AND ED MURROW

PERSONAL

Davis, Elmer

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

Hold for Return

9 July 1950

Dear Ed--

Be it far from me to question your judgment; but it would seem to me that this Korean business, so long as it stays in Korea, is not worth the attention of a reporter responsible for all the world's news; who might as well stay at home and find out about Korea from Homer Bigart. If on the other hand it gets out of Korea, the place where you can get more news than anywhere else is Washington.

Of course, you may feel a compulsion to get shot at again, though I should think you have had your quota of that. But if if this becomes general you might possibly enjoy that privilege even here, in view of the at least theoretical capabilities of the Russian air force.

As always,

E.D.

Davis, Elmer

July 6, 1950

Dear Elmer:

Thanks for the kind words. I am told that high octane gas with a dash of soda makes a better drink than soup similarly treated.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
American Broadcasting Company
1661 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

3 July 1950

Dear Ed--

Though no contemner of the effete nations of the Old World, I am still chauvinistic enough to be glad that you are now a purely American and no longer a Franco-American reporter.

As always,

E.D.

Davis, Elmer.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

July 9, 1947

Dear Elmer:

After having another look at the testimony in connection with S.1333, it seems to me that the record indicates clearly that neither Bill Henry nor Frank Stanton were advocating legislation along the lines of CBS news policy. They are both opposing such action. These seem to me the revelant quotes:

(Henry)

"To sum up: This is an important problem, but NOT a new problem. The radio networks, the individual stations and the individual broadcasters have long recognized it, both as a responsibility and as an opportunity, and have sought to meet it. I believe that their voluntary solution, currently applied almost universally, is about as good a solution as can be reached."

(Stanton)

"Section 18 of S.1333 regarding identification of news source is another example of the impracticability of laying down specific operating rules in a statute. While responsible broadcasters will agree with the purpose of this section, we believe that the purpose is best accomplished by voluntary adherence to a high professional standard in the field of news and news analysis just as in the newspaper field."

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
American Broadcasting Company
1661 Crescent Place, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

E. R. M.
F. 1155

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. F. 553C

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Halpern

Station

July 8, 1947

Thanks for sending me a copy of Elmer Davis' letter to you regarding Bill Henry's testimony on the White Bill. I am at a loss to understand how Mr. Davis concluded from Henry's testimony that he was recommending legislation based on the CBS news policy or anybody else's, for that matter.

After offering a statement on behalf of the Radio Correspondents Association which Mr. Davis correctly interpreted as opposing legislation on news source identification, etc., proposed in the White Bill, Bill Henry submitted an additional statement on behalf of Bill Henry. He did not presume to speak on behalf of CBS at all.

In any event, far from advocating legislation along the lines of CBS news policy, Henry said:

> "To sum up: This is an important problem, but NOT a new problem. The radio networks, the individual stations and the individual broadcasters have long recognized it, both as a responsibility and as an opportunity, and have sought to meet it. <u>I believe that their voluntary solution, currently applied almost universally, is about as good a solution as can be reached."</u> (Underlines supplied)

Henry goes on to state that the judgment of news and news analysis and commentary properly belongs with the listener, in whom he places much confidence.

If CBS' position with respect to Section 18 of the White Bill pertaining to news source identification is still unclear, I quote you from Frank Stanton's statement:

> "Section 18 of S. 1333 regarding identification of news source is another example of the impracticability of laying down specific operating rules in a statute. While responsible broadcasters will agree with the purpose of this section, we believe that the purpose is best accomplished by voluntary adherence to a high professional standard in the field of news and news analysis just as in the newspaper field."

Nate

Davis, Elmer.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

July 7, 1947

Dear Elmer:

You have me something at a disadvantage since I haven't yet had a chance to read the full transcript of testimony on the White-Wolverton bill. I certainly agree with you that there is a recognizable and important difference between a statement of company policy and the advocacy that that policy shall be embedded in a statute.

I am under the impression that our management had no intention of advocating language or legislation in this area. If there should be a misunderstanding on the part of Senator White or the clerk of the committee, I am sure we will want to outstraighten it.

When come you again to this city of steam, scurry and scamper? I can now report, on the basis of limited research, that both the bourbon and the temperature at the Century are conducive to good conversation.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
American Broadcasting Company
1661 Crescent Place, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

E. R. M.
F. 1155

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

29 June 1947

Dear Ed--

I presume you have seen the very penetrating critique of the White-Wolverton bill which Bill Henry offered the other day to the Senate Commerce Committee, on behalf both of the Radio Correspondents' Association and of the news analysts and/or commentators. I presume also that his offering for the record of CBS's famous statement of policy of August 1939 was by instruction. And I presume further that you are familiar with Senator White's statement on the introduction of the bill, which in its explanation of Section 18 says that "one of the largest radio networks has undertaken to follow this policy and is worthy of commendation for it."

Senator White assured a delegation which called on him that he had no pride of authorship in Section 18--as indeed he should not have, since it was of course Burt Wheeler's work. And he invited us to submit any suggestions we might have for better language to accomplish the same purpose. Bill Henry, on behalf of the Radio Correspondents' Association, submitted a statement which boiled down to saying that Section 18 simply won't do, and cannot be satisfactorily amended. But on behalf of CBS he submitted a statement which Senator White (or the clerk of the committee, as the case may be) appears to regard as identical in

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

substance with Section 18. And since Senator White--who, as you doubtless know, is an excellent person--appears to want to meet the needs of the trade in so far as his judgment of the public interest will permit, it seems to me far from impossible that we shall eventually see the substance of the CBS policy statement written into the bill.

I need not remind you of the circumstances in which that statement was drawn up. In view of the hysterical fear of "propaganda" which prevailed in August 1939 it was sound network policy, as of that time. It would be unseemly for an employee of a competing organization to offer any opinion as to how far CBS news analysts live up to it at present. But I venture to recall your attention to the fact that when I worked there that policy, in its strict and literal interpretation, was violated several times a day--not least by one Edward R. Murrow. As it would have to be violated, until International Business Machines manufactures a mechanical news commentator (I mean analyst, of course) of guaranteed objectivity. Persons so diverse as Bill Henry and Fulton Lewis have pointed out to the Senate committee that the mere selection of news implies editorial judgment.

I don't think that policy statement did any harm to CBS--though it might have, if any attempt had been made to enforce it in literal stringency. But if it should be embedded in the statutes of the United States it could do a lot of harm--especi-

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
ELMER DAVIS
1661 CRESCENT PLACE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D.C.

ally if the FCC's administration of the act were watched over, as under the Legislative Reorganization Act it must be, by Congressional committees some of whose members would certainly dislike what some of us say on the air.

This is not a communication from an employee of the American Broadcasting Company to an executive of another network; but merely some observations offered to a man who used to be in the radio news business himself from one who is still in it and would like to stay in it--because it offers more fun, as well as more money, than the transmission or interpretation of news by the more obsolescent methods of communication. It would be improper for me to suggest to you any action program, even if I had one. I haven't; but I can only trust that CBS's pride of authorship in a document which made sense, in the circumstances and at the time in which it was written, will not encourage the Senate to go ahead in a course which might eventually reduce CBS, as well as all other networks, pretty much to reciting the headlines offered by one or another of the wire services.

As always,

E.D.

Davis, Elmer.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

April 22, 1947

Personal

Dear Elmer:

Thanks for the note about the Century Admission Committee. Maybe as a result of the last few weeks the members will conclude that I am a crypto-fascist and should not be given admission.

Sorry we didn't get together when I was in Washington last week, but we'll hope for better luck the next time.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmer Davis
1661 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

dm

E. R. M.
F. 1135

American Broadcasting Company, Inc.
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · CIRCLE 7-5700
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

1661 Crescent Place, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.
April 11, 1947

Dear Ed:

I am advised that you have vaulted the hurdle of the Century Admissions Committee and presumably will be duly elected onthe first of May. This is a few days too late to enable you to get into the centennial celebration--something which a few weeks ago I should have regarded as a calamity but since it now looks as if it would be pretty much of a clambake and mob scene I am not sure that you are missing much.

As always,

E. D.

ELMER DAVIS

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Albus-5011

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

February 20, 1959

Dear Ed:

I read of your revised schedule for next year. I hope it opens up new and interesting prospects for you. I know it will be a great relief to get off the treadmill.

I hope you can spend at least some of your time in Asia, the Middle East and Africa. There are great and moving stories yet to be told.

Good luck and best wishes.

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

March 23, 1959

Dear Bill:

Belated thanks for your gracious note. I do intend to spend some time in Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and will be seeking your counsel before I depart. Why don't you let Dave Lawrence pinch-hit for you on the course and come with me.

As ever yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

kt

Douglas,

December 3, 1958

Dear Bill:

I am utterly without judgment of any kind. The schedule that I am trying to carry ties me to New York and Washington and there is no chance of my joining you on the trip to Ripley, Tennessee. But I do have an alternate suggestion. If you can get free for a weekend any time in January, do come up to our little shooting preserve in Dutchess County, only about seventy-five miles north of New York, and I can promise you plenty of duck, pheasant and quail. The shooting is artificial, but we have about nine hundred acres and the birds fly.

I am wondering if you have had a chance to see our new effort called SMALL WORLD on Sunday afternoons at 6 p.m. I have designs upon you for that one - maybe to talk with someone in Iran and in London about common points of law. What think you?

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D.E.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

November 26, 1958

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

I am sorry we missed out on the fishing trip last July.

A friend of mine from Ripley, Tennessee, has written me, and wants you and me to come down to do some duck shooting next month.

We would fly to Memphis. Ripley is about 80 miles from there and he would meet us at Memphis in his car. He has a comfortable house which more or less floats on logs and which is reached by boat. He has a fine cook, comfortable quarters, etc. From there we go out in small motorboats to the blinds. The big flight should be on before Christmas.

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Douglas Wm. O.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

July 5, 1956.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Justice Douglas is already in the Northwest. I am forwarding your letter of June 29th to him there. He will be disappointed that you cannot join the party going to James Bay in September.

Sincerely yours,

Edith Allen

Edith Allen,
Secretary.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Douglas, Wm.

June 29, 1956

Dear Bill:

I am not the churlish and ungrateful bastard you must think. The fact is I have been trying to whipsaw my schedule in such a way as to accept your most attractive invitation. I am sorry to say it just can't be done. I have no choice but to go back on both radio and television by mid-September and that means that I am tied here. I am truly sorry.

There is a bare chance that I may sneak three or four days of steelhead fishing on the Rogue immediately after the Republican Convention. Any chance of you joining me?

The only interesting project I have afoot is the possibility of going to Belgrade the first week in September to do a long television interview with Tito.

As ever yours,

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D.C.

rh

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

June 5, 1956.

Dear Ed:

A friend of mine in Louisville, Kentucky, Stuart MacLean, has a place up in Canada on James Bay. You will find it at the tip of Hudson Bay. This is a private place and, I understand, a sumptuous one.

You can leave Toronto by train at 6:30 p.m. and arrive at Porquis, Ontario, the following day. Stuart MacLean's plane can meet us and fly us over to James Bay; and then when we finish, fly us back to Porquis where there is an outgoing train to Toronto at 7:15 p.m.

It is a famous spot for geese. I have to be in Washington, D. C. September 29th as the Court convenes October 1st. I have been thinking of spending the 25th, 26th and 27th at James Bay with Stuart MacLean and one or two other friends. Stuart and I would like very much to have you come along. Do you think you could work it in? Maybe after two conventions you will feel like shooting a whole flock of geese.

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting ~~System~~,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Douglas, Wm O.

7

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

February 2, 1955

Dear Ed:

I'm delighted you are seeing Nehru. Start off with two questions -

(1) Is Red China on an expansionist move?

(2) Are the overseas Chinese in Asia (12-1/2 million) advance agents for the Red Chinese Communists?

I talked with him about these two matters last July for two hours; and he was most eloquent.

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Douglas, William

January 31, 1955

Dear Bill:

I wish I had some helpful suggestions on the Himalayan film, but right now I haven't.

Confidentially, I am going to London on the weekend. Nehru has agreed to sit down for a couple of hours in front of cameras to answer questions. If you think of any questions that might start him talking, perhaps you would be good enough to jot them down.

As ever yours,

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

rh

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

January 26, 1955.

Dear Ed:

I guess you and I are predestined to have fun together but to make no money together.

I've at long last made all the rounds and there is no market for the Himalayan film. The Persian film which you thought you might use on See It Now is also apparently dead.

Travel Enterprises Inc. in which you have some stock is not bankrupt. But it has spent nearly $5,000 and has little cash left.

My tax lawyers say the best thing to do is to liquidate Travel Enterprises Inc. this year and take the losses.

As to the films, my advisers say there is only one real alternative and that is to put them all together with a 1-1/2 hour reel and take them around personally and give lectures. I can give a half dozen a year, perhaps.

So that is the present program. I'll see you before long, I hope, and talk with you about it. You will have advice and suggestions that I am sure will be most helpful.

Yours faithfully,

W O Douglas

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Douglas, Wm. O.

January 11, 1955

Dear Bill:

Very many thanks for your gift of smoked salmon. It was certainly delicious and greatly enjoyed at my house.

This brings you my warm regards and very best wishes for 1955.

Sincerely,

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

fc

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

with all good wishes
for the Holiday season

Wm O Douglas

Douglas, Wm. O.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

File

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

December 31, 1953.

Dear Ed:

The record I Believe arrived. It is a choice selection you have there. I thank you kindly for sending it to me at Christmas time.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Douglas, Justice

October 13, 1952

Dear Bill:

We are returning the tape and have had two recordings made, one for you and one for Templer, on 78's. I assume you will want to send the one on to Templer, so I've had both copies sent to you. I shall hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Mr. Justice Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C.

dm

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

October 7, 1952.

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for your letter of September 24th, telling me you used Templer's talk, recorded on my machine. I'm glad you found it useful. I have passed the stipend on to him because I did it purely as a public service.

Would you in due course return the tape to me? And would it be possible to get a record made either of the program on which you used the speech or of the speech itself -- so that I can send it to Templer?

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

September 24, 1952

Dear Mrs. Allen:

This is merely a note in Mr. Murrow's absence from town to acknowledge receipt of the ten shares of Travel Enterprises stock.

Mr. Murrow is most grateful to you for sending them on and asked me to tell you that he was of course in no way inconvenienced by the delay.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mrs. Edith Allen
Chambers of Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

September 19, 1952.

To Mr. Sumner 9/22

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Attached

Enclosed are the ten (10) shares of stock in Travel Enterprises, which Justice Douglas wrote you about in the early summer. I have delayed sending them until now, first, because you were traveling about the country, and second because I have been away. I hope you have not been inconvenienced.

Yours very truly,

Edith Allen

Edith Allen,
Secretary.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

enc

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

June 11, 1952.

Dear Ed:

I am transferring to Travel Enterprises, Inc., all the movie film which I took on my trek from Manali to Leh, together with all of the minitape recordings which I made on the same trek. I am transferring that property to the corporation in exchange for 100 additional shares of stock. Ten (10) of those shares go to you. They will arrive in your office after I have departed for the West. Thus I am writing you at the present time about them. With them come my affectionate regards and gratitude for being able to share an adventure with you.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Non-Staff
File

September 24, 1952

Dear Bill:

We used the Templar recording on Monday, the eighth. The quality and the content were both excellent. You are a real genius with the Mini-tape.

The tape is being held here awaiting your instructions.

We have a set fee for such operations, which in this case, is only a token. At any rate, it is enclosed. I hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

$100

Mr. Justice Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 23, D.C.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Kuala Lumpur
Malaya
aug 14, 1957

Dear Ed

I've finished a long tour of the bandit country with Templer. At the end I got him to make a tape-rec'd talk for the USA, thinking you would use it on your radio program. I would use it later in a new movie. Here it is. I hope you can use all of it. If you can't use it, can you

get it another CBS ? Or
a whole of a great
statement & one that
America should
hear directly from
him. His trips &
doing a great ~~[illegible]~~
most difficult circum-
stances. This peninsula
is probably the key to
Southeast Asia. Would
you cable Douglas when you
know the program this will
be on?

Answer

Bill

9/10/5~

Dear Ed —

I hoped you received the tape I sent containing Langlois speech which I put on my tape recorder in Kuala Lumpur. I also hope you can use it. When you do would you cable the American Consul at Singapore the date of the broadcast. Everyone here in Southeast Asia is greatly interested in Langlois & the tough problem he has.

If you cannot use the recording, could you put it in some competent radio hands. I am very anxious — as a pure public service — to get his message across. The situation is much more desperate than American readers as ever imagined.

Route of the Stratocruisers

Wm O'Dwyer

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

May 24, 1952

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Justice Douglas asked that I send you the enclosed pages which show the length of the various scenes in the movie to which the script must be fit. The Justice will be working on the script and will be in touch with you in the next few days.

Yours very truly,

Edith Allen

Edith Allen,
Secretary.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Air Mail

REEL I

		Minutes	Seconds
1.	Railroad station		10-2/3
2.	Sword dance	1	35
3.	Mt. range		8
	Different characters sitting around also) Bird on Rocks. This scene precedes) mt. climbing.)		27-1/2
4.	Mt. climbers with packs on their backs		46-1/2
4A.	Mt. Range and still climbing by natives with packs		22
5.	Waterfalls (Bridal Veil)		13
6.	Mt. range		39-1/2
7.	Pack resting alongside of mt.) Also some natives sitting on ground)		14
8.	Girls with circle on noses	1	
9.	Building of bridge	1	7
10.	Pack crossing river		39
11.	Two men sawing box		7
12.	Native women doing some farming also cattle of women		30
13.	Children and dog		16
14.	Field with tomb		6
15.	Women carrying twigs on pack. Also yaks		21
16.	Pack coming through narrow lane		15
17.	Long shot. Pack in the distance		12
18.	Trial with judge sitting at table) questioning different people)		56
19.	Men singing after trial scene		19

REEL II

		Minutes	Seconds
1.	Sheep scene		29
2.	Camp scene - with equipment laid on ground		6-1/2
3.	Mt. range		7
4.	Camp scene		7
5.	Pack coming towards camera then moving up to snow mountain. Horses have a hard time getting up mountain		42
6.	Mt. range		29
7.	Pack coming through aside from snow mountain and going away from camera		19
8.	Mountain range long shot and pack coming towards camera. Then pack climbing steep mountain		29
9.	Side of mt. range		9
10.	Pack resting on top of mt. Man shoeing horse		12
11.	Mountain range		12
12.	Men sitting down eating also sleeping bag on ground		38
13.	Mountain range		9
14.	Natives cooking in the open Women with funny headdress - walking around Woman sitting at fire smoking. Rocky Mt. scene with colored bird		49-1/2
15.	Mountain range		8
16.	Pack resting		14
17.	Yaks. Natives tying them at the horns also Justice Douglas - also native - Long shot of yaks in the distance	1	14
18.	Long shot Rocky country side. Horses. Stone fence around house - also monument and shepherd and sheep (just a few sheep walking through. Three monuments and native women walking - also - Long shot of house with stone wall around it. Close-up of monument. Justice Douglas riding a yak with native leading yak	1	16

REEL II (Cont'd)

		Minutes	Seconds
19.	Justice Douglas - giving candy to kids		8
20.	Women doing their laundry		20
21.	Women spinning cotton by hand. Judge Douglas holding baby		24

REEL III

1.	Women and men singing with drums and flute player sitting on ground. The leader carrying something that looks like a towel	2	10
2.	Mountain range with farm effect below		8-1/2
3.	Long shot women with goats. Also close-up of same. Also three women natives and one woman with sling shot swinging		44
4.	Mountain range		9
5.	Long shot - pack traveling narrow trail along side mountain		12
6.	Mountain range with lake alongside. Then roofs of small buildings and unpacking pack. Man puts kettle on stick. Putting camera case on horse. Justice Douglas wiping his forehead alongside of horse. Closeup of native man. Justice Douglas riding away from camera, waving goodbye	1	36
7.	Little village - ~~with rapid lake~~ - natives up on roof of house - with horses - also pack resting - native women weaving cotton - closeup small child - Pan down to their feet	1	13
8.	mountain range		12
9.	Monument close-up then to long shot showing two (2) monuments		14
10.	Red lama talking to people		22
11.	Yellow lama talking to people		35

REEL III (Cont'd)

		Minutes	Seconds
12.	Priest boy and man sitting on ground talking. This is before Justice Douglas scene giving microphone to priest		22
13.	Close-up Judge Douglas - microphone - priest and boy		14
14.	Blowing big horns - and preparation for the dances. Priest and prince (boy) coming down stairs of temple - sitting prince down and priest puts on his large hat. Men blowing on flutes		49
15.	First dances with masks - orchestra playing and prince watching		50
16.	Second set of dancers coming down stair and dance - also colored dancer	1	12
17.	Third set of dancers with false cow head masks		42

REEL IV

1.	Justice Douglas and women singers - holding microphone - this is after the big mask dance. I presume this is ridiculing the lamas		50
2.	Men sitting on ground and praying		21
3.	Lake scene with mountain background. Natives with camels lying down		38
4.	Bridge scene. Natives sitting on fence and Justice Douglas rides in on horse - takes off hat and wipes his head - both scene native walking with camel		34
5.	Pack resting		44
6.	Man on horseback -- looks like a border patrol. Also stones with carvings on them		20
7.	Cut of monument -- also pack riding away from camera		30

REEL IV (Cont'd)

		Minutes	Seconds
8.	Man with six wives or the other way) around in front of their shack -) also chopping log and carrying it)		32
9.	Leh		57
10.	Street scene		59
11.	Stores closed		21
12.	Family at side of tree		29
13.	King and Judge Douglas		14
14.	Market place closed shop		52
15.	Caravan with loaded cotton		57
16.	Air field		50
17.	Sign China		4

To be lengthened 40 - 12 seconds

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Seward

from: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

May 15, 1952

This represents 10 shares in a company formed by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Clark Clifford and Saul Haas. I am not a director of the company. These shares were given me in consideration for certain efforts in connection with the preparing of the film that Justice Douglas shot in Iran and in the Himilayas.

mas

Stock certificates enclosed.

1137

Douglas, Wm O.

May 15, 1952

Dear Bill:

As I told you on the phone, I shall treasure the letter even more than the stock certificate. To be associated with you in any venture of any kind makes me feel somehow a better man. I am hopeful that we shall find an opportunity to use the Iranian piece before the program goes off the air July 1, but if we don't, we can then discuss what should be done about it.

As ever yours,

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

mas

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

(24)

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

May 5, 1952.

Dear Ed:

I enclose herewith ten (10) shares of stock in Travel Enterprises, Inc.

I am making this transfer to you not merely in consideration of love and affection but in partial compensation for your great help and advice in creating a movie on Persia and in helping me start the larger and more ambitious Himalayan movie venture.

I hope these shares will over the years bring profit to you.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

enc

5/4/52

Douglas Himalayan Tapes to:

Mr. Ilya Lopert
Lopert Films, Inc.
148 West 57th Street
N. Y.

By Messenger

Used at session at Reeves Sound Studio.

1) Mr. Pike - 8th Ave - Ny - Ex. 7688

Peabody Award Tape

~~2) Mr. Speck - Trade Review~~

3) Op. 81 - St Paul

Mr. Rapp - Hamm Brewing

4) Columbus, Georgia - Op. 16

Mr. Myricks

Trad

Douglas, Justice

April 9, 1952

Dear Bill:

An old and tested friend of mine, Leigh White, who was wounded covering the war for us in Yugoslavia and who is no stranger to the Middle East, is leaving shortly for Egypt and Iran. He will be in Washington on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week and I have taken the liberty of suggesting that he telephone you.

He is our kind of people and if you could find the time to counsel him a little regarding Iran, he will appreciate it and so shall I.

As ever yours,

Mr. Justice Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington D.C.

April 9, 1952

Dear Saul:

I have put the matter of Milo Ryan in the mill and you will hear in due course either from me or from Sig Mickelson.

I have been spending a fair amount of time with Douglas on Travel Enterprises. We've got something, but I'm not sure what! The Asian film is now in Sam Goldwyn's hands; a lot of other people have seen it and we shall make a decision within the week. At that time, our venerable president will be advised.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
Cobb Building
Seattle 1, Washington

dm

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

April 1, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Last Friday, Milo Ryan, of the faculty of the University of Washington, School of Journalism, dropped in to see me. You may remember Milo. Your picture adorns the walls of his classroom.

Milo is an outstanding young man in my opinion, and has done some outstanding work for us during the past several years. He wanted me to write you in his behalf, since I don't know Sig Mickelson. I asked Milo to give me a memo and an outline of the proposed letter. These I enclose, since I could not improve upon them except to add some more literary adjectives.

If you, or any of your boys, could put this in the mill to help Milo in his aspirations, I would appreciate it, but, more than that, you would be giving help to the kind of guy you and I esteem.

I learn that I have been, or I am about to be, elected president of Travel Enterprises of which you are (or are about to be) a stockholder.

Believing as I do in the principles of democracy, and having my voice tuned to the will of my constituents, I eagerly await some word from you.

My best to you and yours.

Cordially

Saul

Saul Haas

SH:bjp

Enc. 1

OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

NEW YORK OFFICE
1270 SIXTH AVENUE

CABLE ADDRESS
"GOLDSAM"

HCA is on its way

SAMUEL GOLDWYN PRODUCTIONS, INC.

STUDIOS - 1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 54, CALIFORNIA

APRIL 9, 1952

DEAR MR. MURROW:

SINCE MR. GOLDWYN WROTE YOU THIS MORNING REGARDING THE JUSTICE DOUGLAS FILM, WE HAVE HAD A REQUEST FROM MISS HELEN STRAUSS OF THE WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY REQUESTING THAT THE FILM BE SENT TO HER. SHE IS JUSTICE DOUGLAS' REPRESENTATIVE ON THE FILM AND WE ARE, THEREFORE, RETURNING IT TO HER BY AIR EXPRESS. I AM TELLING YOU THIS BECAUSE THE FILM CAME TO US ORIGINALLY FROM YOU.

AS YOU MAY WELL GUESS, THE EYES OF EVERY GOLDWYN EMPLOYEE WILL BE GLUED TO A TELEVISION SET NEXT SUNDAY - IN ANTICIPATION, HOPE AND I MIGHT ADD A LITTLE FEAR AT SEEING OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US.

KIND REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Peggy Vaughn

SECRETARY TO MR. GOLDWYN

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

Douglas

APRIL 9, 1952

DEAR ED:

ENCLOSED YOU WILL FIND COPY OF A LETTER TO JUSTICE DOUGLAS WHICH SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

I AM KEEPING MY FINGERS CROSSED FOR SUNDAY.

WE MISS YOU. WHEN ARE YOU COMING BACK AGAIN?

ALL BEST REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

April 8, 1952

Dear Mr. Justice Douglas:

Thank you very much for having sent on to me the three reels which you took in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India last summer. They make an extremely interesting record.

I must say that the photography was professionally done. The composition and the color balance are excellent and the individual subject matter was apparently picked with care and with an eye to what would interest the viewer. Although I could not run the recordings in synchronization with the picture, they sound extremely interesting and I would hope that you might at some time be able to synchronize the sound with the film, together with a narrative. If you should be in a position to do this, I am sure that many theatres throughout the United States would be most anxious to show the film, if you would permit them to do so.

Do you wish me to return the film and the recordings to Ed Murrow or direct to you - or is there some other disposition which you would like to have me make of them?

I do hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you again either when I am next in the east or when your duties permit you to be out this way once more.

Sincerely,

The Honorable William O. Douglas
Justice of the Supreme Court
Washington, D. C.

COPY

APRIL 7, 1952

SAM GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

HAVE YOU HAD CHANCE LOOK AT JUSTICE DOUGLAS FILM AND IF SO WHAT DO YOU THINK WE OUGHT TO DO ABOUT IT. REGARDS

ED MURROW

T150-43

MARCH 20, 1952

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

AS PROMISED AM TODAY AIR EXPRESSING DOUGLAS HIMALYAN FILMS

PLUS RECORDINGS. REGARDS

discs

ED MURROW

1-43-7

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

March 17, 1952.

Dear Miss Secretary:

Mr. Justice Douglas asked that I write you concerning the disposition of the three reels of Himalayan film which we mailed to you on Saturday. The Justice asks if you will kindly send the three reels out to Mr. James Allen in Los Angeles, after the Justice has returned them to you on Wednesday, March 19th. Mr. Allen's address is:

discs
films

Mr. James Allen
10339 Cresta Drive
Los Angeles 34, California.

Sincerely yours,

Edith Allen
Edith Allen,
Secretary.

Secretary to Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Picked up by N.Y. 3/20/52
Sam Goldwyn office

Clark Clifford
Sterling, 1544

March 19, 1952

Travel Enterprises, Inc.
1523 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Att: Clark Clifford

Expenses incurred by me in connection with the production of "The Iranian Story":

2/11/52	To Roy Lockwood, writer	$ 700.00
3/17/52	To Paul Falkenberg, film editor	$ 404.85
3/17/52	To Preview Theatre, Inc., screenings of Iranian and Himalyan films	$ 25.00
Total		$1129.85

— Payment rec'd April 3, 1952 dm
To Mr. Seward for deposit

Douglas Film Sessions

Crerview Theatre

March 3 - Himalayan
Irving Jacoby, Affiliated Film Prod.
Ilya Lopert, Lopert Films
(Julian Bryan, International Film Editor was out of town until March 17.

March 4 - Iranian
Friendly & Zoumer
Helen Strauss. Wm. Morris Agency

March 13 - Iranian
Mike Todd

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

February 11, 1952.

Dear Ed:

Travel Enterprises, Inc., has been organized and is now ready to do business. The president of the company is Mr. Saul Haas of Seattle, Washington. The secretary and treasurer is Clark M. Clifford, 1523 L Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The corporation is in funds and solvent and I imagine that the bills which have been incurred for the production of the Iran movie for television are due and payable. You can send them either to me or direct to Mr. Clifford.

I am leaving tomorrow to be gone about two weeks. My address for most of that time will be La Osa Ranch, Sasabe, Arizona. My telephone and telegraph address is La Osa Ranch, Tucson, Arizona.

Three other parties have wanted to see the Himalayan movies. One is Mr. Julien Bryan of the International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, New York City. He was highly recommended by a mutual friend. Another is Irving Jacoby of Affiliated Film Producers, 164 East 38th Street, New York City. The third is Mr. Ilya Lopert of Lopert Films, New York City. I have told each of these gentlemen that you have the duplicates of the film and undoubtedly will be happy to arrange for them to see the movies if they want to see them this month while I am away. I gathered from a friend of mine that Lopert may be an exceedingly good prospect and I was particularly anxious to be on hand when he saw the film because perhaps my explanation would excite some interest. Anyway I think that interest in the Himalayan movies is growing. Perhaps we can reach a decision the first part of March after my return. Court sits for a week beginning March 3rd. But the week of March 10th is relatively free.

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

To you & your wife I'm deeply indebted for a grand evening. WOD

Preview Theatre
1600 Broadway
2:30 - 4:00

Mon. March 3

Douglas Film Session - 9th fl.
Himalayan - no Iranian
Mr (& Mrs.) G Elkenberg - Of. Ci 7-2850
Home - Ci 7-1886

Mon. 3/3 Tues.

Julian Bryan
Ci 6-9438 leaving for West Coast.
See Mrs. Bossett away until March 17.
International Film Prod.

Irving Jacoby
Mr 2-9279
Miss Paul
Affiliated Film Prod.

~~Yes.~~
Yes. 3/3

Mr. Alya Lopez
PL 7-3330
Lopez Films.
Reggy Lugg

not before March 3.
~~London~~
Yes. 3/3

Mike Todd
Mr 8-8282
Miss Montarcini

doubtful - due back from Cuba on Mon

L.A. Goldwyn

SHIPPING MEMORANDUM

BYRON INCORPORATED Motion Pictures

Studios and Laboratory
1226 Wisconsin Avenue
Washington 7, D. C.
Phone: DUpont 1 8 0 0

Rec'd To Palmer Williams 2/13 DM

Ship to: Mr. Roy Lockwood
c/o Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Date: Feb. 11, 1952
How Ship: Air Express Prepaid
Customer's Order No.
Work Order No.

1 reel Justice Douglas original film, "Persia" on 1600' Reel, Can, and Case.

Rec'd to Douglas per Mrs. Allen's phoned instructions 9/22/52 Insured $1000.

Insure $1,000.00

FORM L-4

Mr. M
S. Y. S.

TO: Justice Douglas

FROM: Roy Lockwood

January 31, 1952

The outline in its present form is too flat, too close to a travelogue narration. It needs a point of view. What are we trying to tell the audience?

I suggest the story line should be that the present situation in Iran is typical of all Asia — it is the outbreak of revolt against poverty and oppression by millions of suppressed people. If we can understand the Iranians we will understand what is happening in Egypt, North Africa, India, the Far East. And how Russian Communism is using this situation to gain friends and influence people and we are not.

We have to write a narration which does not stray too far from our available material yet contains some sort of story line rather than straight description. Here are some general observations:

1. The present outline could be better in its opening. I think the map is useful, but the opening should also state the theme.

2. The absentee landlord point comes in too soon. Incidentally, I am not straight in my own mind from the book on this point. The heads of the tribes which we show in the film--Amar Khan, Samsam, the chief of the Gashghais--are presented as fine men. But are not these men the landowners of their respective tribes?

3. Instead of the straight descriptive pieces on the Kurds, the Lurs, the Bakhtiari, the Gashghais, it would be better if we could talk a little more against the pictures and use the pictures we have to forward the main story line. For instance, instead of--"In Western Iran live the Lurs. They are, etc. etc."--It would be better to be talking in general about the primitive farming methods and use the Lurs to illustrate. Similarly--in the overall story--the Iranian peasants are proud, independent, and some of them quite rich and powerful as a potential fighting force, using the Gashghais sequence to illustrate.

4. A piece such as this on Iran requires, as well as a point of view, a style. It could be written in "Time style" if the same pictures were going to be part of a March of Time release. It could be written in "Murrow style" (he may deny he has one) if it were going to be narrated by Ed Murrow. Your style should be your own, and if I may suggest it, I think it should be as simple and forthright as possible as coming from a man who knows the facts from first-hand observation.

If you could therefore redraft the outline from your knowledge of the

facts, more or less along the lines of the present outline, but keeping to one story line to illustrate a point of view, I think we could fairly easily then move in to the next draft which would be written closely to the cut film.

I plan to get in touch with you by telephone at 5 P.M., Friday, February 1.

NEW YORK BEVERLY HILLS CHICAGO LONDON PARIS

ESTABLISHED 1898

WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY
INC.
1740 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-5100

Mon.
1/14/52
7:30

January 9, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Today I received a note from Justice William O. Douglas in which he says:

"The Asiatic film that I took last summer is now in the hands of Ed Murrow of CBS. Ed has decided to come into the production of it so we now have two things to sell: Ed and me, and the film and the sound track. We are going to make a documentary. Ed is at the present time engaged in canvassing the situation to see who might be interested and what the best bet would be. You might want to go over sometime and talk to him about it."

I'd appreciate it if you'd let me know when it will be convenient for you to see me. Will you let me know.

Just as a reminder, we did meet at CBS the day that you, the Justice and several others listened to his sound track.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Helen Strauss

HELEN STRAUSS

HS:RW

PAUL FALKENBERG
41 W 54 Sts. N.Y. 19

OFFICE: 1600 BROADWAY
Room 1001
CIRCLE 7 2850

@ $200. per week
start - Jan. 28

SOC. SEC. NO.
557 - 24 - 6573

BILLY FRIEDBERG
ALFRED KATZ

550 Fifth Ave.
New York 19
PL 7-4776

NEW YORK BEVERLY HILLS CHICAGO LONDON PARIS

ESTABLISHED 1898

WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY
INC.
1740 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-5100

Yes.

January 18, 1952

Iranian pictures
Tues. March 4

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Justice Douglas tells me that you're getting the Iranian film in shape and that it will probably be ready soon. As a reminder, will you let me know if there's anything I can do to help in this situation? Also, is it possible for me to see the film? I'm very much interested, as you know.

Thanks.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

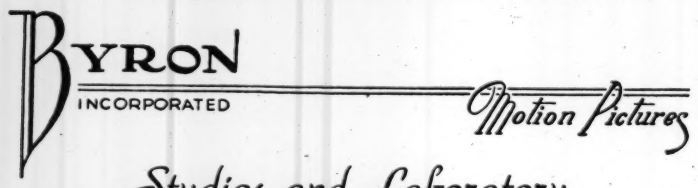
Helen Strauss

HELEN STRAUSS

HS:hp

See Helen Peters (Justice Douglas)

SHIPPING MEMORANDUM



Studios and Laboratory
1226 Wisconsin Avenue
Washington 7, D. C.
Phone: DUpont 1 8 0 0

Rec'd 1/16/52

Ship to Justice Douglas
c/o Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, N. Y.

Date Jan. 15, 1952
How Ship Air P. P. S. D.
Customer's Order No.
Work Order No. 17325

1 Koda. Timed Silent Print

Douglas v Mossadegh

FORM L-4

No. 432 1/3 1952

RECEIVED from A.V

In good order the following articles:

6-12" DF, 1-12" SF
India Recordings
Also Original Tapes

Addressed to Murray — 17th Fl. CBS

RETAIN THIS SLIP TO COMPARE WITH INVOICE

Per Mailed to Mr. Douglas 1/8/52

Records rec'd 1/9/52 K

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

January 8, 1952

Called Mrs. Allen 1/9/52

Dear John:

Are the records which I made last month ready? If so, let me know the charge so I can send you a check. Do not bother to mail them to me. I'll pick them up January 15th when I'm in New York City. I hope they can be ready by the 15th as I'd like to play them that evening.

Happy New Year to you.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. John A. Aaron
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

LOUIS DE ROCHEMONT ASSOCIATES, INC.
FILM PUBLISHERS

35 WEST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK

January 7, 1952

all of them packed up 1/8/52 Dm.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We understand you have the Kodachrome film footage Justice Douglas made during his recent travels. I called Miss McDonough today asking if we might see it. The Justice suggested that Mr. de Rochemont look at the material as the basis for a release in commercial theaters.

Should you have any hesitancy about letting us see the film without first hearing from Justice Douglas, we will ask him to get in touch with you about it.

With many thanks for your courtesy, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Borden Mace

Borden Mace

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Room 1702,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

QUADRUPLICATE
DEPARTMENTAL COPY

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

PURCHASE REQUISITION

F. 627-11/51

January 3, 1952

REQ. NO.	REQ. BY	DIVISION	DEPARTMENT	DELIVER TO	CHARGE TO DIV.	CHARGE TO DEPT.	CHARGE TO ACC'T	GREY COPY
77	E.R.Murrow	CRD	News	Murrow	SEE	BELOW		

JOB NO./MISC:—

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE — FOR PURCHASING DEPARTMENT USE ONLY.

	ORDERED FROM	APPD	ORDER NO.		ORDERED FROM	APPD	ORDER NO.
1				9			
2				10			
3				11			
4				12			
5				13			
6				14			
7				15			
8				16			

SHIP TO: E.R.Murrow

PURPOSE WANTED FOR: Personal

WHEN REQUIRED: As soon as possible

QUANTITY	LIST ONE ITEM TO A LINE — DESCRIPTION
	12" 78 instantaneous recordings of program material on
	enclosed tapes...approx. length, 1 hour
	Label: India Recordings
	Mr.Justice William O. Douglas
	Charge: Mr. Justice William O. Douglas
	Supreme Court of the United States
	Washington, D.C.

Received by Douglas 1/9/52

By _____ Division Head _____ Dept. Head _____ Treasurer's Office _____ Purchasing Dept. _____

December 6, 1951

Dear Mr. Douglas:

Pardon the delay in answering your letter of November 23, but I have been out of town for the past few days and just got back.

I think that everything you suggest in your letter can be done right out of Washington. I have discussed the whole project with Joe Wershba and he can make all the necessary arrangements if you get in touch with him at WTOP.

As for the cost involved, we are certain that the billing should not run over $50 or $60 and in any event, whatever it adds up to, we'll handle it on a strictly cost basis.

I have one other idea: If I were you, I would take the log of the recordings and write whatever introductions you want for them, then come into WTOP and record this portion--after which Wershba can splice your commentary into the proper places and then feed the completed tapes on to regular size discs. This would save you considerable time and perhaps a bit of aggravation.

If there are any other problems that come up please feel free to get in touch with me and I will be glad to do what I can to straighten them out. Incidentally, the tapes are now with Wershba in Washington. Ed sends his best.

Kindest personal regards,

John A. Aaron

Mr. Justice Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

December 4, 1951

Dear Mr. Aaron:

I wonder if you received my letter of November 23rd inquiring about the minitape and my question concerning the making of records from it.

It now appears I will be in New York City a few days next week, and I could make the records at that time. Could I do it at CBS? What would be the approximate cost?

I appreciate very much your help on the matter.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. John Aaron
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

November 23, 1951.

Dear Mr. Aaron:

I was in such a rush last Tuesday that I did not have a chance to talk with you. I think it probably would be best to have some records of those minitape recordings made. Could you tell me how much it would cost to make records and how I can go about doing it? I suppose I should introduce each number with some description as to the place and the theme of the song, the occasion, etc. Would it be possible for me to do it here or would I have to come up to New York?

Any help or suggestions you could make would be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Wm O Douglas

Mr. John Aaron,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

CBS

November 23, 1951.

Dear Mr. Aaron:

I was in such a rush last Tuesday that I did not have a chance to talk with you. I think it probably would be best to have some records of those minitape recordings made. Could you tell me how much it would cost to make records and how I can go about doing it? I suppose I should introduce each number with some description as to the place and the theme of the song, the occasion, etc. Would it be possible for me to do it here or would I have to come up to New York?

Any help or suggestions you could make would be greatly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. John Aaron,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
PLAZA 5-2000

17th floor
Ed Murrow's
office

November 14, 1951

Dear Mr. Justice:

I have just finished working on your minitape reels and they are now in pretty fair shape - timed, indexed and in chronological order. Some of the spelling I'm afraid is a little weird.

I am sending along the list and timings so that when your film comes you will be in a position to judge how much sound you have to go with each picture sequence.

I would be delighted to come down and help you match the two up when you are ready to take on that project. Meantime, I am keeping the tapes in the office here. If, for any reason, you may want them, let us know and we'll send them along.

Ed sends his best.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

John Aaron

John Aaron

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONTENT OF DOUGLAS TAPES

1.	Flute solo	2:20
2.	National Anthem (singer)	1:35
3.	Gilgit Band	2:10
4.	Gilgit ~~Dauny~~ Dakni Dance	1:10
5.	Gilgit Revolutionary Song	2:10
6.	China Folk Song (Gilgit)	1:30
7.	Bruchistic Folk Song (Gilgit)	1:50
8.	Chauan Folk Song (Gilgit)	1:07
9.	Gilgit Folk Song	1:50
10.	Flute Selection (Native) (Gilgit)	:30
11.	Flute Players (Conventional Flutes)	:30
12.	Manali Orchestra Northern India. — Sword dance	1:25
13.	Love Song (Seven Nam Chorus) " (~~Hal~~ Manali village)	1:00
14.	Three Woman Chorus at Manali	1:15
15.	Flute Selection (Unidentified) Manali	1:40
16.	Waterfall (No Level, useless)	
17.	Court Seene at Chipsa	1:30
18.	Five Man Chorus At Chipsa	:45
19.	Two Man Orchestra in Gya La Doc. (Flute and drum)	4:15
20.	Twelve Woman Chorus At Gya	3:00
21.	Musical Mule Train La Doc	:30
22.	Hemus Monastary 12 ft. Horns	:20
23.	Lama Dance Orchestra Hemus Monastary	2:35
24.	Four Lamas Reading Scriptures	3:00
25.	Expression of gratitude by Douglas	1:00
26.	Account of Lama Discovery by the teacher of the Lama in Indian	2:50
27.	Song by a girl in city of Leh	1:25 and 1:35
28.	Mixed chorus of two men and two women singing	2:00
29.	Interview with R. N. Rabule	1:50

November 14, 1951

Dear Mr. Justice:

I have just finished working on your minitape reels and they are now in pretty fair shape - timed, indexed and in chronological order. Some of the spelling I'm afraid is a little weird.

I am sending along the list and timings so that when your film comes you will be in a position to judge how much sound you have to go with each picture sequence.

I would be delighted to come down and help you match the two up when you are ready to take on that project. Meantime, I am keeping the tapes in the office here. If, for any reason, you may want them, let us know and we'll send them along.

Ed sends his best.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

John Aaron

Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D.C.

~~Station~~ - are used in mid-to Fri Ad
Washington

Douglas

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

October 10, 1951

Dear Ed:

Would it be convenient for your man to meet me at the studio here on Tuesday morning, October 23rd, say at 10:00, to take the recording off the mini-tape? If that day would not be convenient to you or him, the morning of the 25th, 26th, or 27th would suit me as well.

It was grand seeing you yesterday.

Yours faithfully,

Bill

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Johnny Aaron
Thurs. 10:00 AM. at WTOP

Justice Douglas

TELEGRAMS :- CECIL DELHI.

HOTEL CECIL,
DELHI 8.

Aug 22, 1951

Dear Ed -

I carried the tape recorder over the top of the Himalayas & down the other side into Little Tibet. It still works beautifully. I got lovely recordings of flutes, orchestras, singers & have a choice recording from a Buddhist monastery. I want to go over the whole thing with you - I'll be back in mid-Sept. I wish you could have been with me. Love

Bill

Highest use future IP, MS, etc.

Mrs. Allen - address for Douglas - W.O. Douglas - tiptape

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington 13, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

July 1, 1951

Dear Ed -

Mrs Gill gave me an excellent lecture on the use of the tape Recorder. If I don't make out well, it is all my fault. I hope I can bring you some pictures. I wish you were along. Then the trip would be a real joy. I look forward eagerly to seeing you in Sept. Many thanks for your great kindness. As ever Bill

Douglas, Wm. O

JUNE 29, 1951

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS (PLEASE HOLD FOR ARRIVAL JUNE 30)
YALE CLUB
VANDERBILT & 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

~~XXXXX~~ REGRET EXCEEDINGLY OBLIGED TO BE OUT OF TOWN BUT OUR MINITAPE EXPERT AND ENGINEER EDWARD GILLE WILL TELEPHONE YOU AT 10:00 AM SATURDAY AND WILL COME AT YOUR CONVENIECE TO DEMONSTRATE THE MACHINE. REGARDS AND BEST OF LUCK.

ED MURROW

IRAN - JUSTICE DOUGLAS

Third Draft

MURROW: Last week there were riots in Egypt and Morocco. Yesterday there was another outbreak in Iran. All over Asia there are potential spots of unrest which may erupt at any moment. In the centre of this explosive area is the ancient land of Persia. Not many of us know much about it, even under its modern name of Iran, and we thought you might like to hear from a man who went there to see for himself what the country and the people are like. He is Justice William O. Douglas, and he is waiting to speak to us in Washington.

(Douglas comes in on monitor. Murrow and Douglas speak. Then Douglas alone on monitor).

DOUGLAS: The Middle East is the great staging ground for the imperialistic designs of Russia. The upheavals in Iran are not Communist inspired, but the Communists are using the situation to spread their ideas and increase their strength within the country. I have seen this first hand and it is something that we in the West cannot just ignore. Iran is important to us if only for the oil - one fifth of all the known oil reserves in the world are there. So we've got to do something about it.

(He goes to a large scale map in background. The camera is far enough away to show Iran

in relation to the Mediterranean and India. As Douglas speaks, using a large paper knife from his desk as a pointer, the camera dollys in to pick up Iran by itself.)

DOUGLAS: Persia is a remote and lonely place. You get on a plane at Beirut and it takes four hours to reach Tehran - like going from New York to North Dakota. To the west is Turkey and the Arab world. To the east, Afghanistan. Across the northern border is Russia, and when you are there you feel really shut in, with the Soviets hanging over you like a big black cloud.

Revolution is a constant threat in the Middle East.

(FILM BEGINS)

Crowds milling about
Rioting
Tearing down signs
Police and rioters

Today a spirit of nationalism is sweeping Iran, a country which has been invaded throughout its history, by one foreign power after another. The violent emotionalism which has characterised the dispute with the British over oil, stems from ingrained memories of exploitation going back over two thousand years. But there are other things besides oil behind the present disorders.

Landscape

Iran is mainly an agricultural nation, and like most Asiatic countries, the mass of the people are poor, while a few individuals are rich.

TEHRAN

Even in the capital city of Tehran there is far more

poverty than wealth. While its schools and university, its few public buildings, a block or so of modern shops, suggest a prosperous modern city, Tehran is in reality little different from what it was centuries ago. There is little education for the villagers, who bring their produce into the market from outlying districts.

Public buildings

Street scenes

The municipal water system is an open ditch which runs the length of the city. Here people bathe, wash their clothes, and drink the water. On the south side of town are the slums, clay pits where people are huddled together in filth and disease.

Water ditch

Poor streets

Clay pits

Yet Iran is a rich land. It has abundant oil reserves, estimated at one fifth of the world's total supply. Of all Europe's oil needs in recent years, some Koming percent have come from Iran.

Landscape

Oil scenes

It has fertile valleys which support the sometimes vast herds of sheep of the migratory tribes, as well as other animals and wild life. It is rich also in other ways.. Its people are Moslems, and deeply religious. The teaching of its religious leaders gives a spiritual strength to the people which is often lacking in Western countries. And Iran is a land of ancient glory.

Landscape

Moslems

Persepolis was the old-time capital of Persia, built by Darius about 500 B.D. Darius was a great and noble king, the man who put Daniel in the lions den and later embraced Daniel's faith. Persians are proud of their race, and Persepolis stands for them as a memorial to their rich and ancient culture.

Persepolis

Peasants

Yet today the most important single factor in Iran is the poverty of the vast majority of its people. Nowhere is this more apparant than in the tribes of Iran, which total about one quarter of the total population.

Kurd scenes

Up north are the Kurds, the original Medes, of the Medes and Persians. Today they occupy the northwest territory called Azerbaijan. Within recent years in some villages, as much as ten per cent of the people have died of starvation though the graneries of the landlords were filled with grain. Along their mountain peaks runs the Russian border, and Soviet propaganda makes full use of the wretchedness of the peasants to point up the supposed millenium offered by Communism. Such men as Amar Khan Sharifi, leader of the Shakkeh tribe, well knows the real meaning behind such talk, since the Russians occupied his land during the last war and refused to leave until ousted by appeal to the United Nations in 1946.

Mountain pass

Typical of the conditions under which most of the tribes live are the Elburz Mountains, rising up from the

Hadavaands

Caspian Sea to a height of 19,000 feet. Here the people are tenant farmers, share croppers, with flocks of sheep and goats. They do not own the land, they roam the mountains, living in tents which they make from skins. Yet they are among the most independent peoples on earth, and have kept the spirit of resistance to the invader alive throughout the centuries. They earn a bare subsistence by sending milk and butter down by packtrain to the cities in the plain. As rent for the

land on which they live and graze their flocks they have to pay as much as 80% of all they raise to the few men who are their landlords. Nor is the best use made of the land in most parts of the country. In Western Iran are the Lurs. Their methods of farmong are primitive. Most of the land is plowed by sticks pulled by oxen. With few roads, such areas are practically cut off from all outside communication for eight months of the year. Grain, the mainstay of their diet for the winter months, is cut by hand. And it is threshed on ancient floors where about one third of it is lost. Yet these poor people are friendly and hospitable, ready to sacrifice their only sheep or cow for the stranger who visits them as a friend.

Lurs

Oxen plowing

Better off are those tribes, such as the Bakhtiari who migrate between two homes, one for the cold season, and another at a higher elevation for the hot summer months. Their arrival at the high altitude valley of Oregon, their summer home, is celebrated by the traditional stick dance, after a journey of two hundred miles across difficult mountain passes.

Bakhtiari

Oregon landscape

Stick dance

They are fine horsemen, even the poorest man being the proud possessor of a pure-bred Arabian stallion. They know the mountain passes and would make it difficult for any invader from the north. "Persia is known for two things", it is said, "its men and its horses". Their chief, Morteza Gholi Khan Samsam, rode at the head of his own cavalry in 1909 to capture Tehran, in order to save

Stampeeding horses

Samsam

the constitution of Iran and provide a parliament for the people.

Gashghais

But perhaps the most formidable potential force among all the tribes are the Gashghais. Also migratory, they are nevertheless rich in material goods. They run seven million sheep and goats - more than there are in all the United States. The lower economic group averages a cash income of about $2000 a year (and there is no income tax to pay). They started a rebellion in 1946, fighting and beating the regular Iranian army - in order to oust from the Iranian cabinet three communist members.

They are some of the best shots in the world. Overnight they could produce Koming thousand armed and mounted horsemen, and keep them in the field for Koming days. They could not stand against a mechanised Russian army, but they would be relentless guerillas on the flanks of any invader. The Iranians are passionately independent. They are easily roused by nationalist oratory.

Crowd

Tudeh scenes

Nevertheless, despite the activities of the Tudeh party - the mouthpiece of Russia in Iran, which seizes on every discontent XXXX to foment trouble - communism is hard to sell in this country.

Peasants

Rich landowner

But the legitimate grievances of the peasants - absentee landlords living in luxury in Tehran, Paris, or London - widespread starvation while the country is rich in oil - and the desire for national independence -

Mosadegh

produced the environment for the sudden rise of Mossadegh. His was only a minority party, but to the

people he was the man who threw out the foreign exploiter. Rightly or wrongly, public opinion was so strong over the oil issue that it propelled this minority party into a position of leadership. Mosadegh - an aristocrat, a liberal, a non-Communist - when he speaks on oil, speaks for the vast majority of Iran's peasants.

(END OF FILM)

(Douglas comes in on monitor)

DOUGLAS: The complaints of the peasants throughout the Middle East are just as specific as those of our own Declaration of Independence - and just as important. They want medical care, they want schools, and above all they demand land reform. American foreign policy must take notice of these conditions. The Iranians are not communists. But a revolution of the people, as in Egypt and elsewhere, is brewing there. And Communism soars in a political vacuum. Our point four, applied at the village level, could help. But reform of the ownership of the land is more important, and is inevitable. Can we help them conduct their revolution - American style - in the spirit of our own 1776? That is the question.

ER M

IRAN - JUSTICE DOUGLAS

Second Draft

MURROW: Last week there were riots in Egypt and Morocco. Yesterday there was another outbreak in Iran. All over Asia there are potential spots of unrest which may erupt at any moment. In the centre of this explosive area is the ancient land of Persia. Not many of us know much about it, even under its modern name of Iran, and we thought you might like to hear from a man who went there to see for himself what the country and the people are like. He is Justice William O. Douglas, and he is waiting to speak to us in Washington.

(Douglas comes in on monitor. Murrow and Douglas speak. Then Douglas alone on monitor as follows).

DOUGLAS: The Middle East is the great staging ground for the imperialistic designs of Russia. The upheavals in Iran are not Communist inspired, but the Communists are using the situation to spread their ideas and increase their strength within the country. I have seen this with my own eyes and it is something that we in the West cannot just ignore. We've got to do something about it. As you said Mr. Murrow, Persia is a fairly remote place to most of us. It might be a good idea, first of all, to get a clear idea where it is.

(He goes to a large scale map in background. The camera is far enough away to show Iran in relation to the Mediterranean and India. As Douglas speaks, camera tracks in to pick up Iran by Itself.)

Persia is just south of the Russian border. To the west it touches Turkey. Just north of the border is Mount Ararat. This range of mountains running down from Ararat is the Zagros. This one here south of the Caspian Sea, is the Elburz Mountains. In the valleys and fertile plains between these two ranges -

(Film begins)

- live the bulk of

<u>General landscape shots</u>

the population. Iran is mainly an agricultural nation and, like most of the Asiatic countries, the mass of the people are poor, while a few people are very rich.

Peasants farming

Tehran

Even in the capital city of Tehran there is far more poverty than wealth. While its schools and university, its few public buildings, a block or so of modern shops, suggest a prosperous modern city, Tehran is in reality little different from what it was half a century ago. It's municipal water system is an open ditch which runs the length of the city. Here people bathe, wash their clothes, and drink the water. On the south side of town are the slums, clay pits where people are huddled together in filth and disease. These are the conditions which spawn revolutions. Today the spirit of nationalism which is sweeping Iran, the savage emotionalism which has characterised the oil dispute, spring from the extreme poverty and hunger of the mass of the people.

Bublic Buildings

Streets

Water ditch

Poor Street scenes

Clay pits

Crowds milling about

National flag

Rioting

Landscape

Oil shots

Landscape with houses

Yet Iran is a rich land. It possesses about one fifth of all the known oil reserves in the world. It has fertile valleys which support the some times vast herds of sheep of the migratory tribes as well as other animals ~~XXX~~ and wildlife. It is rich in other ways also. Its people are

Moslems praying

Moslems and deeply religious. The teaching of its religious leaders gives a spiritual strength to the people which is often lacking in Western countries. And Iran is a land

Persepolis

of ancient glory. Persepolis was the old-time capital of Persia, built by Darius about 500 B.C. Darius was a great and noble king, the man who put Daniel in the lion's den and later embraced Daniel's faith. Persepolis stands as a memorial to the grandeur of ole Persia.

Peasants

Yet today the most important single factor in Iran is the poverty of the vast majority of its people. Nowhere is this more apparant than in the tribes of Iran, which total about one quarter of the total population.

KURD shots

Up north are the Kurds, the original Medes, of the Medes and Persians. Today they occupy the northwest territory

Russian border

called Azerbaijan. Along their mountain peaks runs the Russian border, and from behind that border comes a continuing infiltration of Communist ideas. Such men as

Amar Khan

Amar Khan Sharifi, leader of the Shakkak tribe, well knows the meaning of Soviet propaganda. He and his people own radios and are surprisingly well informed on world affairs.

Mountain pass

Hadavand sequence

Typical of the conditions under which most of the tribes live are the Elburz Mountains, rising up from the Caspian Sea to a height of 19,000 feet. Here the people are tenant farmers, share croppers, with flocks of sheep and goats. They do not own the land, they roam the mountains, living in tents which they make from skins, earning a bare subsistance by sending milk and butter down by packtrains to the cities in the plain. As rent for the land on which they live and graze their flocks they have to pay as much as 80% of all they raise to the few men who are their landlords.

Lurs

Oxen plowing

cutting grain

threshing

Lurs

Nor is the best use made of the land in most parts of the country. In Western Iran are the Lurs. Their methods of farming are most primitive. Most of the land is plowed by sticks pulled by oxen. The grain is cut by hand. And it is threshed on ancient threshing floors where about one third of it is lost. Yet these poor people are friendly and hospitable, ready to sacrifice their only sheep or only ~~XXXX~~ cow for the stranger who visits them as a friend.

Bakhtiari

Oregon landscape

Stick dance

Stampeding horses

Samsam

Better off are those tribes, such as the Bakhtiari, whp migrate between two homes, one for the cold season, and another at a higher elevation for the hot summer months. Their arrival at the high altitude valley of Oregon, their summer home, is celebrated by the traditional stick dance, after a journey of two hundred miles across difficult mountain passes. They are fine horsemen and would ~~XXX~~ make it difficult for any invader from the north. Their chief, Morteza Gholi Khan Samsam, rode at the head of his cavalry in 1909 and captured Tehran, in order to save the constitution of Iran

and provide a parliament for the people.

Gashghais migration

But perhaps the most formidable potential force among all the tribes are the Gashghais. Also migratory, they are nevertheless rich in material goods. They run seven million sheep and goats - more than there are in all the United States. The lower economic group averages a cash income of about $2000 a year (and there is no income tax to pay). They started a rebellion in 1946, fighting and beating the regular Iranian army - in order to oust from the Iranian cabinet three communist members. They are armed and mounted today, and would be relentless guerillas on the flanks of any invader.

Gashghais shooting from horseback

Man haranging crowd

Tudeah shots, (Koming)

The Iranians are passionately independent. Despite the activities of the Tudeah party - the mouthpiece of Russia in Iran which seizes on every discontent to foment trouble - communism is hard to sell in this country.

Peasant

Rich landowner

But the legitimate complaints of the peasants - absente landlords living in luxury in Tehran, or Paris, or London while exacting high rents - stravation while the country is rich in oil - produced the environment for the sudden rise of Mosadagh. His was only a minority party - eight out of the hundred and thirty in Majlis. But public opinion on oil was so strong that it propelled this minority into the position of leadership. Mosadegh - an aristocrat, a liberal, a non-Communist - when he speaks on oil, speaks for the vast majority of Iran's peasants.

Mosadegh

Majlis

Mosadegh

Peasant

(End of film)

(Douglas on monitor)

DOUGLAS: The complaints of the peasants throughout the Middle East are just as specific as those of our own ~~XXX~~ Declaration of Independence - and just as important. They want ~~XXX~~ medical care, they want schools, and above all they demand land reform. American foreign policy must take notice of these conditions. The Iranians are not communists. But a revolution of the people, as in Egypt and elsewhere, is brewing there. And Communism soars in a political vacuum. Our point 4, applied at the village level, can help them. But reform of the ownership of the land is more important, and is inevitable. How can we help them conduct their revolution - American style - in the spirit of our own 1776. That is the question.

2/4/52

January 31, 1952

Dear Bill:

Here is the rough and tentative draft of the script for Operation X.

As ever yours,

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C.

IRAN - JUSTICE DOUGLAS

Outline

MURROW: Last week there were riots in Egypt and Morocco. Yesterday there was another outbreak in Iran. All over Asia there are potential spots of unrest which may erupt at any moment. In the centre of this explosive area is the ancient land of Persia. Not many of us know much about it, even under its modern name of Iran, and we thought you might like to hear from a man who went there to see for himself what the country and the people are like. He is Justice William O. Douglas, and he is waiting to speak to us in Washington.

(Douglas comes in on monitor. Murrow and Douglas speak. Then Douglas alone on monitor as follows:)

DOUGLAS: First of all let's get a clear idea where Persia is.

(He goes to a large scale map in background. The camera is far enough away to show Iran in relation to the Mediterranean and India. As Douglas speaks camera tracks in to pick up Iran by itself.)

Persia is just south of the Russian border. To the west it touches Turkey. Just north of the border is Mount Ararat. This range of mountains running down from Ararat is the Zagros. This one here south of the Caspian Sea, is the Elburz Mountains. In the valleys and fertile plains between these two ranges -

(Film begins:)

- live the bulk of

General landscape shots

the population.

Peasants

Iran is an agricultural nation of sixteen million people. But the land is owned by only a few hundred men - many of them absentee landlords who live in Tehran, Paris, London. The rest of the population are tenants. These tenants are share croppers and though they sometimes pay only one-third of the crop as rent, for the most part they pay fifty, sixty, and even eighty per cent.

Rich landowner's home in Tehran.

Peasants farming

Landscape shots

Asia and the Middle East is the great staging ground for the imperialistic designs of Russia. Iran, or Persia, needs to be known more intimately by the West.

Oil fields

It is a rich land. It possisses about one fifth of all

the known oil reserves in the world. It is also rich in a spiritual sense. Its people are Moslems and deeply religious. Although it has a critical frontier with Communist Russia, communism is hard to sell in this country. In Azerbaijan, the province next to Russia, the people are friendly to the Russians but deeply suspicious of communism. These people, and all the Iranians, are fiercly nationalistic. This spirit of nationalism is the dominant fact throughout Asia today.

Moslems praying

Russian border shots.

Crowd shot with Iranian flag.

Tehran, the capital of Iran, has some fine schools and a good university. It has a few blocks of modern looking buildings. It is the seat of government. It has bazaars, shops, and several fine houses where the rich live. But, like the other cities of Iran, it is really quite primitive. Tehran has no sewage system. Each house has to have its own well. The municipal water of Tehran comes down from the mountains and flows through two open ditches the length of the city.

Tehran

Government buildings
Shops Houses
Bazaars

Street scenes

Water ditch

People drink the water, bathe in it, wash their clothes in it. By the time it gets to the south side of the town where the poor people live, it is no longer sparkling and cool. There is little education for the villagers who bring their produce into the city.

Peasants bring produce to the market.

Slums - clay pits

The slums of Tehran have an individuality of their own. They are the clay pits in the south side of town where people have dug caves for their homes. Here they keep a sheep or two - dig for water - and dwell in filth and disease huddled together like ants in a hill.

Rioting

It is from these causes that revolutions spring. The disturbances over the oil issue, the cry of nationalism, comes from the poverty and starvation of the mass of the people. The army has been a scourge to the people.

Iranian soldiers

Its officers and men - greatly underpaid - have often fastened themselves like leaches on the peasants, exacting blackmail and using terror and force to line their pockets. The poverty of the people, the lack of schools, the depredations of the army - these are the

Man buying communist paper.
Discussing in public park.

starting points for communist propaganda among them. Yet these people are not ready victims of Soviet propaganda. They are proud and independent. It was Darius, and early Persian king, who built the great Persepolis about 500 B.C. They have a long and glorius history going back to Zoroaster who preached "Be like God".

Persepolis

General shot Kurdistan

The tribes of Persia - which total about one quarter the whole population - are the hard core of Iran. Up north are the Kurds, made up of several tribes, who were the original Medes, of the Medes and Persians. To-day they occupy the northwest territory called Azerbaijan. Along their mountain peaks runs the Russian border. One of the leading Kurdish tribes is the Shaldak, headed by Amar Khan Sharifi, the grand old man of Kurdistan. These people are well informed about world affairs. Sometimes the Khan, that is the head of a tribe, is unable to write. But he has ears and eyes, and they all have radios. These people know what is going on in Korea now.

Kurd shots

Russian border

Amar Khan

Mountain trail

To the east along the Caspian Sea are the Elburz Mountains that rise to 19,000 feet. These mountains are inhabited by restless people - people with flocks of sheep and goats who comb the ridges all summer along. Some of these people pay as much as 80% of the crop for their land. They send their milk by pack strings down to the villages where it is transferred to fresh goat skins and made ready for transportation to the cities. These wandering people though poor feel free and are passionately proud - they have helped keep alive the spirit of independence of the nation.

Hedavand tribe
Milking sheep and goats
Making butter

Lurs

In western Iran are the Lurs. Their methods of farming are most primitive. Most of the farms are plowed by sticks pulled by oxen. The grain is cut by hand. It is threshed on ancient threshing floors where about one third is lost. "I am a Lur" is an expression which means that one is the poorest of the poor. Yet even these people are friendly and hospitable, ready to sacrifice their only sheep or only cow for the stranger who visits them as a friend.

Ploughing
Cutting grain
Threshing

Bakhtiari

Stick dance

Samsam

South of them are the Bakhtiari. Morteza Gholi Khan Samsam is their chief. It was he who led the cavalry in 1909 and captured Tehran in order to save the constitution for Iran and provide a parliament for the people. The Bakhtiari are a migratory tribe and have two homes where they own land - one for the cold season and another at a higher elevation for the summer months.

Bakhtiari migration

Stampeding horses

They are fine horsemen and one of their favorite pastimes is to line their horses up shoulder to shoulder and then stampede them. It's an exciting ride, particularly for the man out in front.

Gashghais

Migrating shots

South of the Bakhtiari are the Gashgais, another migrating tribe. They are powerful and well off. They run seven million sheep and goats - more than there are in all the United States. They are the ones who fought the Iranian army in 1946 and beat them - in order to oust from the Iranian cabinet three Communist members.

Gashghais shooting from horseback.

They are armed and mounted today. They could not stand against the Russian army. But they will be relentless guerillas on the flanks of any invader.

Mossadegh

Iranians are passionately independent. They - rightly or wrongly - feel deeply about the British oil concession. Mossadegh is the product of that feeling. He has only a minority party - eight out of the hundred and thirty in the Majlis. But public opinion on oil was so strong that it propelled this minority into the position of leadership. Mossadegh, when he speaks on oil, speaks for the vast majority of Iran's peasants.

Majlis interior

(End of film section4)

(Douglas on monitor)

DOUGLAS: The complaints of the peasants of Asia are just as specific as those in our own Declaration of Independence -- and to them they are just as important. The absence of medical care always comes first. The absence of schools is always second. Then comes land reform. American foreign policy must address itself to these conditions. It is no use telling Iranian peasants about our Democracy, our high standards of living. What they need is help in getting out of the feudal serfdom in which they live.

The people of Asia want the good things of life - but they also want freedom and justice. We of the West have those things for ourselves and should do our utmost to help Asia attain it.

IRAN - JUSTICE DOUGLAS

Outline

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(Film begins:)

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General landscape shots

the population.

Peasants

Iran is an agricultural nation of sixteen million people. But the land is owned by only a few hundred men - many of them absentee landlords who live in Tehran, Paris, London. The rest of the population are tenants. These tenants are share croppers and though they sometimes pay only one-third of the crop as rent, for the most part they pay fifty, sixty, and even eighty per cent.

Rich landowner's home in Tehran.

Peasants farming

Landscape shots

Asia and the Middle East is the great staging ground for the imperialistic designs of Russia. Iran, or Persia, needs to be known more intimately by the West.

Oil fields

It is a rich land. It possisses about one fifth of all

the known oil reserves in the world. It is also rich in a spiritual sense. Its people are Moslems and deeply religious. Although it has a critical frontier with Communist Russia, communism is hard to sell in this country. In Azerbaijan, the province next to Russia, the people are friendly to the Russians but deeply suspicious of communism. These people, and all the Iranians, are fiercly nationalistic. This spirit of nationalism is the dominant fact throughout Asia today.

Moslems praying

Russian border shots.

Crowd shot with Iranian flag.

Tehran, the capital of Iran, has some fine schools and a good university. It has a few blocks of modern looking buildings. It is the seat of government. It has bazaars, shops, and several fine houses where the rich live. But, like the other cities of Iran, it is really quite primitive. Tehran has no sewage system. Each house has to have its own well. The municipal water of Tehran comes down from the mountains and flows through two open ditches the length of the city.

Tehran

Government buildings
Shops Houses
Bazaars

Street scenes

Water ditch

People drink the water, bathe in it, wash their clothes in it. By the time it gets to the south side of the town where the poor people live, it is no longer sparkling and cool. There is little education for the villagers who bring their produce into the city.

Peasants bring produce to the market.

Slums - clay pits

The slums of Tehran have an individuality of their own. They are the clay pits in the south side of town where people have dug caves for their homes. Here they keep a sheep or two - dig for water - and dwell in filth and disease huddled together like ants in a hill.

Rioting

It is from these causes that revolutions spring. The disturbances over the oil issue, the cry of nationalism, comes from the poverty and starvation of the mass of the people. The army has been a scourge to the people.

Iranian soldiers

Its officers and men - greatly underpaid - have often fastened themselves like leaches on the peasants, exacting blackmail and using terror and force to line their pockets. The poverty of the people, the lack of schools, the depredations of the army - these are the

Man buying communist paper.
Discussing in public park.

starting points for communist propaganda among them. Yet these people are not ready victims of Soviet propaganda. They are proud and independent. It was Darius, and early Persian king, who built the great Persepolis about 500 B.C. They have a long and glorius history going back to Zoroaster who preached "Be like God".

Persepolis

General shot Kurdistan

The tribes of Persia - which total about one quarter the whole population - are the hard core of Iran. Up north are the Kurds, made up of several tribes, who were the original Medes, of the Medes and Persians. To-day they occupy the northwest territory called Azerbaijan. Along their mountain peaks runs the Russian border. One of the leading Kurdish tribes is the Shaldak, headed by Amar Khan Sharifi, the grand old man of Kurdistan. These people are well informed about world affairs. Sometimes the Khan, that is the head of a tribe, is unable to write. But he has ears and eyes, and they all have radios. These people know what is going on in Korea now.

Kurd shots

Russian border

Amar Khan

Mountain trail

To the east along the Caspian Sea are the Elburz Mountains that rise to 19,000 feet. These mountains are inhabited by restless people - people with flocks of sheep and goats who comb the ridges all summer along.

Hedavand tribe
Milking sheep and goats
Making butter

Some of these people pay as much as 80% of the crop for their land. They send their milk by pack strings down to the villages where it is transferred to fresh goat skins and made ready for transportation to the cities. These wandering people though poor feel free and are passionately proud - they have helped keep alive the spirit of independence of the nation.

Lurs

In western Iran are the Lurs. Their methods of farming are most primitive. Most of the farms are plowed by sticks pulled by oxen. The grain is cut by hand. It is threshed on ancient threshing floors where about one third is lost. "I am a Lur" is an expression which means that one is the poorest of the poor. Yet even these people are friendly and hospitable, ready to sacrifice their only sheep or only cow for the stranger who visits them as a friend.

Ploughing
Cutting grain
Threshing

Bakhtiari

Stick dance

Samsam

South of them are the Bakhtiari. Morteza Gholi Khan Samsam is their chief. It was he who led the cavalry in 1909 and captured Tehran in order to save the constitution for Iran and provide a parliament for the people. The Bakhtiari are a migratory tribe and have two homes where they own land - one for the cold season and another at a higher elevation for the summer months.

Bakhtiari migration

Stampeding horses

They are fine horsemen and one of their favorite pastimes is to line their horses up shoulder to shoulder and then stampede them. It's an exciting ride, particularly for the man out in front.

Gashghais

Migrating shots

South of the Bakhtiari are the Gashgais, another migrating tribe. They are powerful and well off. They run seven million sheep and goats - more than there are in all the United States. They are the ones who fought the Iranian army in 1946 and beat them - in order to oust from the Iranian cabinet three Communist members.

Gashghais shooting from horseback.

They are armed and mounted today. They could not stand against the Russian army. But they will be relentless guerillas on the flanks of any invader.

Mossadegh

Iranians are passionately independent. They - rightly or wrongly - feel deeply about the British oil concession. Mossadegh is the product of that feeling. He has only a minority party - eight out of the hundred and thirty in the Majlis. But public opinion on oil was so strong that it propelled this minority into the position of leadership. Mossadegh, when he speaks on oil, speaks for the vast majority of Iran's peasants.

Majlis interior

(End of film section!)

(Douglas on monitor)

DOUGLAS: The complaints of the peasants of Asia are just as specific as those in our own Declaration of Independence - and to them they are just as important. The absence of medical care always comes first. The absence of schools is always second. Then comes land reform. American foreign policy must address itself to these conditions. It is no use telling Iranian peasants about our Democracy, our high standards of living. What they need is help in getting out of the feudal serfdom in which they live.

The people of Asia want the good things of life - but they also want freedom and justice. We of the West have those things for ourselves and should do our utmost to help Asia attain it.

D R A F T

The Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world. They form an enormous barricade that runs northwest and southeast across northern India and Pakistan. Their highest peak is Everest - 29,141 ft.; it and many other mountains in the range have never been climbed by man.

Even the passes -- the low saddles in the range -- are high by American standards. The lowest pass is about 13,000 ft., the highest over 18,000 ft.; the average pass is 15,000 or 16,000 ft. -- higher than any mountain in the United States except McKinley in Alaska. These passes lead from India and Pakistan into the countries to the north.

The northern countries are Tibet and Sinkiang. Tibet has recently been taken over by Communists from China. Sinkiang is ancient Chinese Turkestan, and it is still Chinese territory. But Soviet Russia has moved into ancient Sinkiang with a modern industrial development program. Sovet money, Soviet technicians, Soviet planning now dominate Sinkiang.

There are great tensions inside Tibet and inside Sinkiang. In Tibet the Buddhist Church is opposed to the Communist regime; and the Communists are starting a program of political action to break up the influence and prestige of the church.

One who crosses the high Himalayas in the western part of the range comes out in Tibet. If he crosses the central part of the range, he comes out in Ladakh, which lies against the border of Tibet and Sinkiang. In history books, Ladakh is known as Little Tibet. The people, their racial characteristics, their language and culture, their religion are Tibetan. They have

been tied closely to Tibet and Sinkiang in trade and commerce that have moved for centuries over ancient caravan routes. But their political ties are with India, not with Tibet or Sinkiang.

Along the border one can feel the pressure of Communist activity and come to know the nature of Communist propaganda in Central Asia. Central Asia is a critical area. It now has airports from which Soviet airplanes can pound India. It is rich in minerals. Tibet -- the heart of Central Asia -- is the home of the Buddhist world. It is there that the Dalai Lama lives, the spiritual head of the Church. It is there that the Communists work these days to gain the upper political hand. If they can get control of the church and make it a puppet in their cause, they will spread their influence far and wide.

The story of these political maneuvers is a part of the reward for crossing the high Himalayas into Ladakh. There are other rewards of adventure along the trail.

The trek starts at Manali in Punjab, India. Manali is at the head of the beautiful Kulu Valley, rich in fruit and in the music and dances of the Hindu people. Manali looks up to Rothang Pass, 13,200 ft. We will cross that pass on foot. We will cross five other passes on mules, horses, and yaks. It will take us almost three weeks to reach Leh, the capital of Ladakh. We will hear the music of flutes and drums along the way. We will record the music and bring it home. We will photograph the famous lama dances at some Buddhist monasteries -- and record the music of huge 12-foot horns. We will see the lamas and the peasants

and learn of the mounting conflict between them. We will see peaks that reach high into the sky where mountains have never been before. We will see grandeur that is startling; and we will hear music that sounds like falling water.

PART I

Iran has long been a trouble spot. She has Soviet Russia as her northern neighbor. Russia has long had designs on Iran. A century ago Russia seized vast portions of Iran along the Caspian Sea and in the region of Baku. This century she has had her troops in Iran several times - the latest in 1946. England, too, has long had her eye on Iran. When England ruled India, she saw Iran as the "back door to Asia", - the backdoor that Russia might use to expand the Soviet empire eastward. Today Iran is still the backdoor to Asia. It is through Iran that Russia would move, if and when she turns towards India. Today Iran is a rich prize. She has a fifth of the known oil reserves of the world. England had a concession from Iran that granted a monopoly in the exploitation of the oil. That oil concession soon became a bone of contention between the two countries. One Prime Minister, Ali Razmara, was assassinated because he did not oppose the concession vigorously enough. His successor Mohammed Mossadegh came to power on that issue. He repudiated the concession and went to the country with the issue. The 1952 general election in Iran gave him an overwhelming popular vote and a majority of the Parliament. Meanwhile the oil refineries are mostly idle. Meanwhile Iran struggles to maintain her budget and keep her economy solvent without oil revenue. Whether she will make a new arrangement with England, whether some other power will get the oil concession, whether Iran will herself operate the fields are the questions of the day. Those are the headlines. They can be better understood if the nature of the Persian people and some of their problems are known.

PART II

That is a brief glimpse of the peoples of Iran. There are great tensions within the country. Will Soviet Russia, the aggressive neighbor on the north, be able to use those tensions to tie Iran into the Soviet organ? Will Iran find friends in the West in support of her struggle for independence? Today Iran looks west, not north, for support and she looks with loneliness for she is a long way from friends. When one gets into a DC-6 at Beirut on the Mediterranean and flys east, it takes 4 hours non stop to reach Iran. That is the distance from New York City to Omaha.

INTRODUCTION

Ju Le is the word of greeting along the trails of India's Himalayas. The Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world. They form an enormous barricade that runs northwest and southeast across northern India and Pakistan. Their highest peak is Everest -- 29,141 ft.; it and many other mountains in the range have never been climbed by man.

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lies against the border of Tibet and Sinkiang. In history books Ladakh is known as Little Tibet. The people, their racial characteristics, their language and culture, their religion are Tibetan. They have been tied closely to Tibet and Sinkiang in trade and commerce that have moved for centuries over ancient caravan routes. But their political ties are with India, not with Tibet or Sinkiang.

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Reel I

1. The trek starts at Manali in Punjab, India. We reach Manali, the starting point of the trek, by train. The train crosses the hot flat plains of India where teeming millions work a tired soil trying to eke out a living. Manali is at

the head of the beautiful Kulu Valley.

The northern valleys of India have fewer people per square mile than the plains. The mountains valleys grow fruit, tea, rice, and corn. These valleys -- around 6,000 ft. high -- are inhabited mostly by Hindus who till the soil, run caravans of horses and mules over the Himalayas to northern trading posts, or manage small retail shops.

They are simple, friendly people who live in a world where superstition flourishes. Each valley has a god or goddess who is the guardian of the welfare of the people. When plague or sickness strikes a village, the villagers under the leadership of the priests pray to the deities and make them offerings. When there is drought and crops are threatened, they also pray to the god or goddess. In Manali the goddess is Hirma. When I arrived the corn was turning yellow for lack of water. The villagers prayed for rain and as part of their program put on strange dances -- one of which was the sword dance.

Their orchestra -- made up of men from the Untouchable Caste -- played drums and flutes for hours on end while the villagers watched. In a few hours their prayers were answered. It rained. The rain came in torrents.

By that time we were on the trail, lightly dressed -- our rubber ponchos packed. We were soaked through in a few minutes. Then the rain turned to sleet and snow and the wind came with fury. I had twenty porters carrying 900 lbs.

of camp equipment. In addition I had a cook, an assistant, and an interpreter. All of us survived the storm. But death rode on its wings.

Higher up -- a few miles beyond us in the stretch we were to cover in the next day or two -- the storm was so severe it killed hundreds of ponies, mules, and cattle.

3-7 The trail above Manali leads toward the Rothang Pass which means the Pass of Death. The mountain peaks around Rothang Pass are 23,000 to 25,000 ft. high. Timberline goes close to 13,000 ft.

On the climb to Rothang we left the chestnut trees at 8,000 ft. and the fir and spruce at 10,000; then we picked up scatterings of birch, juniper, and the thick, bushy rhododendron.

The slopes of the Himalayas above 10,000 ft. hold many wide green basins, ideal for the grazing of sheep and goats. There are great quantities of buttercups, phlox, anemones, poppies, geraniums, and cinquefoil on these slopes. Fifty thousand sheep and goats cross Rothang Pass every year en route to grazing lands high on the other side.

This trail also sees many caravans bringing salt, wool, and skins down from the north and taking cloth, sugar, and spices up from the south. The trail is centuries old and follows an easy grade. The Himalayas are full of slate rock that chips off into flat slabs. The men who have traveled this trail have laid these slabs in the trail. The effect in many stretches is that of a wide, easy staircase

which, except for the altitude, is easy to climb.

My porters stopped frequently to rest and smoke. They were a friendly lot -- and very gay and happy now that their prayers for rain had been answered.

At Koti -- the last village below Rothang Pass -- we bought a chicken from a farmer; and we carried it over Rothang Pass on our packs and had it for dinner that night.

The top of Rothang -- 13,200 ft. high -- was covered with fresh snow from the blizzard we had encountered. Remnants of the storm still hovered over the pass; a raw, cold wind blew there.

There are many waterfalls around Rothang Pass -- some higher and more vivid than those of our own Columbia River Gorge. One of the largest looks like a bridal veil and is so remote that in all the centuries its music has probably seldom been heard by human ears.

Koksar is the first village on the north side of Rothang Pass. It was here that Rahul -- my interpreter -- met up with the first of many Buddhist lamas we saw. This lama -- like the lama in Kipling's book Kim -- was on a pilgrimage.

8. There were Hindu women from Kulu along the trail. They were pretty -- dark skin, sharp features, brown eyes, white teeth. They wore colored scarves over their heads. Their skirts were full. Some were barefoot; most of them wore sandals. They all wore earrings -- some had as many as 10

in each ear. Their noses were pierced and set with gold pieces. Most of them wore bracelets and anklets. They sang of love -- a song about Kunjva. It went like this:

Red, red wrist
Gold watch on wrist
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

White, white your teeth
Red lips, sweet your tongue
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

9. I had to build a bridge at Koksar. The Chandra River runs through the village; and one of its main tributaries comes in there. A bridge had been washed out by the blizzard we were in. I found about 30 travelers piled up at Koksar, waiting for the water to subside so that they could ford the river.

I suggested that we all build a bridge. Everyone else thought it was cheaper to wait. I looked for trees to cut. There were none except 2,000 to 3,000 feet high on the canyon wall. A local Indian official whose duty it was to repair the bridge had logs; but he also had a price. I negotiated with him for several hours and got the price reduced from $25 to $5. Then I promised everyone who helped with the bridge a free passage over it.

It was shortly finished -- flat slate slabs laid over logs.

These Himalayan streams are dangerous when swollen. They are not safe for man or beast. The natives believe there are angry spirits in the waters who take revenge on a man. Lives are often lost in their crossings. A good mule out there costs about $100; and that is a fortune to the average peasant.

10. There were streams we had to ford. The waters of one were so swift I was almost swept away. I was caught just in time by a local Lahuli man who was wiser about the danger of these streams than I. He dragged me to shore; and he and I helped a dozen or more other people across. There were two ladies and a baby whom we helped. Small mules and donkeys had to be unpacked before they could cross.

We followed the Chandra downstream for about 15 miles. High above us were 20,000 ft., snow-capped peaks. Below them were grassy basins and slopes where sheep grazed. But the valley is barren in summer -- rocks and sand with few places left for cultivation.

11-17. At the confluence of the Chandra and the Bagha rivers we turned east and came to the pleasant village of Kyelang, capital of Lahul -- one of India's frontier provinces. Most of the Lahuli people are Buddhists; a small minority are of the Hindu faith. One can reach Lahul only four months out of the year; the rest of the time the passes are blocked by snow. There are no power plants, no electricity, no plumbing in Lahul. It is primitive country; all labor is by hand. Men work; but the main burden of the fields is carried by the women.

These Lahuli women have Mongol features; they are mostly short and broad shouldred. They carry loads of grain and hay on their backs. They cultivate with a short handled instrument that looks like a pick but has a broader blade. Sometimes the men join them in the fields -- especially when their picture is being taken. But mostly the men sit under a tree -- serving in a supervisory role. The only work animal in this part of the world that is used on the farms is the dzo -- a cross between a cow and a yak. Their long black hair is used to make the long black dresses the women wear. The people live mostly on barley -- barley is their mainstay except for the milk and cheese from the dzo.

18. Upstream from Kyelang at a village called Jipsa I found a local Indian judge holding court in the open. All of the peasants came out to watch the proceedings -- the old and the young, the men and the women. These people had settled on government land illegally. They were squatters. They had paid no taxes; they had filed no homestead applications.

They are important people to India because they are on India's northern border. It is a nervous border where the Communist influence is strong. That is why this kindly judge was gentle with these people. "Will you eject them from this government land?" I asked. "Certainly not," he said. "They are border people who must be happy and content or else they may be used by the Communists against India's interests." "Will you make them pay back taxes? Will you make them pay for the land?" I asked. "They are too poor to pay," he replied. And then he

added, "The cash income of any of these families is probably not $10 a year."

19. During a recess of the court some of the men sang. They sang a song of Anghmo -- a girl who married a man and left Lahul. All girls want to leave Lahul. No outside woman wants to marry a Lahuli man. The reasons? First, Lahuli men make their women do all the work. Second, the food in Lahul is pretty monotonous. A girl who can escape to Kulu -- and many do -- can have fruit to eat as well as barley -- fruit, and rice, and lamb.

REEL II

1. (Sheep scene should be moved near the end of Reel IV.)

2-4. Jispa, where the court was held, lies over 11,000 ft. high. From there the trail heads for Baralacha Pass, ~~almost 17,000 ft. high.~~ It follows the Bagha River all the way. The last camp site is Zing Zing Bar over 13,000 ft. There used to be a shelter here; but heavy snows crushed it. We camped there in the ruins. We got a late start in the morning because the mules went to 16,000 ft. or more looking for feed, and it took hours to catch them.

These mules -- eleven in all -- were hung with bells. Their owner was a young man -- Rup Singh. He had two assistants -- jovial, carefree youngsters. We got these mules in Kyelang, sending our porters back to Manali. These mules stayed with me all the way to Leh, the end of the trek.

5-7. The trail above Zing Zing Bar threads through great fields of broken shale rock. The ascent to Baralacha Pass ~~was~~ is steep and tiring. Below Baralacha Pass is a blue and sterile lake -- Sun Lake with no grass or trees to mark its shores. Above this lake were huge drifts of soft snow. The snow blocked the trail -- and was too soft to hold a mule. Some of the smaller animals had to be repacked. Even the more rangy, robust ones foundered awkwardly in the drifts. One got stuck and in his violent struggle cut his head on the corner of a pack box, leaving an ugly wound.

Baralacha Pass is 16,~~800~~ 200 ft. high -- a barren, rolling amphitheatre. This day it was touched with snow and wet. The peaks that surround it are covered with snow and ice -- and from Baralacha look no higher than the mountains of New England. They are 23,000 ft. peaks, shrunk to small ones when seen from Baralacha.

8. The valleys on the north side of Baralacha are mostly barren -- swept by wind, over-grazed by sheep and goats, and having little grass left.

These valleys lie between 14,000 and 15,000 ft. The night wind is cool, the sun is hot and burning -- burning fair-skinned people so that their eyes are swollen shut and their lips puffed and sore.

9-14. Some of the trails climbed steeply. Chakchu was one of our camps. It lies on a narrow ridge 15,800 ft. high. We put our bedrolls under a cliff. Our camp this night was indeed a crow's nest.

We cooked on a two-burner kerosene stove. The muleteers made gur gur cha -- tea, salt, and yak butter. This is the usual beverage with every meal in the Himalayas. If the butter is not rancid, it is quite palatable. And it is very nourishing.

At Chakchu I met up with a group of men and women who had walked from Leh to Manali -- 240 miles -- on a shopping trip. They were now on their return. One lady was in her 30's -- and she carried an eighty-pound pack. One lady in her 70's carried a forty-pound pack. This old lady -- with a head dress that made her look like a wolf -- had a bad headache that night and was sick to her stomach. I gave her medicine; and in the morning she was well again.

14-16. The trail beyond Chakchu keeps at 15,000 ft. for miles on end. The mountains are dry and barren. High up are ibex, blue sheep and wild asses. ~~There are~~ We have three more passes to cross -- passes that rise to 17,479 ft.

The natives believe that each pass has a god or goddess. Some of the deities are evil; some good. They can strike men down; those who have mountain sickness and faint or bleed at the nose are thought to have incurred the wrath of the god or goddess.

Those who cross a pass accordingly say a prayer in thankfulness for the safety of their crossing. Each pass has a pile of stones -- a monument to the god or goddess. Each traveler adds a rock to the pile and often puts up a

prayer flag. These piles of rocks are called obos in Ladakh.

17. The yak is the best possible transportation at high altitudes. The yak is a member of the ox family with long hair that is usually black. I got yaks the day we had to travel 30 miles across the highest pass. That would have been too long a journey for the mules. Yaks are slow animals, averaging less than two miles an hour, but they are as sure-footed as a goat and can carry up to 250 pounds with ease. The yak groans as he walks, and there always seems to be blood dripping from his nose. But he is very reliable transport.

18-21. The village of Gya lies on the north side of our highest pass. It is a small village of a few hundred people. The houses are typically Tibetan with walls of rock stuck together with mud. The ceilings are low. The roofs are flat, the beams being poplar wood -- the only tree at this high altitude. The people are poor, having cash income per family of not more than $10 a year. In some valleys corn grows up to 12,000 feet. But in Gya there is only one crop; that is barley. It is the mainstay of the diet of the people. They have precious little meat. There are no schools in this region. There are monasteries; but there are no churches in the conventional sense. There are no hospitals and no doctors. The people live on the edge of misery and privation. They make their own clothes, the women spinning the yarn from the wool of sheep and hair of yaks.

The women in Ladakh have a peculiar headdress known as the perakh. It is a piece of leather about two feet in length that comes from the forehead over the top of the head and down across the shoulders. The leather is studded with gems, usually turquoise and agate. It is a highly decorative headdress and highly prized. The most beautiful one in Ladakh is said to be owned by the Queen of Ladakh.

REEL III

1-5. The land in Ladakh is owned mostly by the monasteries. The monasteries own well over 50% of the farming land and the land that they own is the best land. The vast majority of the people of Ladakh either are attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants. The monasteries rent the land sometimes on shares, sometimes for cash. The monasteries are also the source of credit for the tenant.

Kashmir today has a liberal government. It has liberal laws governing agricultural credit. No landlord can now charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. Money lenders today are restricted to 5% on their loans. But usury and extortionate credit practices have a deep hold on this country. Ancient habits are hard to break. Ladakh is full of ugly stories about current usurious practices.

Kashmir also has a law breaking up its ancient feudal system. Under its new law every landowner is entitled to keep only about twelve acres of land. The government has taken the

last of the holdings and distributed it to the tenants. In the vicinity of Leh over 20,000 acres passed from 24 landlords to the tenants. This distribution was free, the peasants not paying for the land; nor to date has the government given the owners any compensation. Whether or not the landlords should be paid is a political question that agitates Kashmir today. But in two important respects, Kashmir has not touched the central land problem of Ladakh. It has not distributed the land holdings of the King of Ladakh, who owns a large acreage, nor has it touched the land holdings of the monasteries.

The monasteries therefore continue to own most of the land in Ladakh in spite of Kashmir's new policy. The monasteries have been excluded because of the power of the lamas and because the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo. The lamas are a powerful political force. They have a strong position in the community. The hold of the lamas on the people does not result from any organized activities of the church. There are few schools run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert any power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render very little community service to the people. When a person is sick a lama will be sent to his bedside so that the lama may pray for him. Lamas conduct funeral services. Lamas perform marriage ceremonies. But the lamas keep their hold on

the people by fears, superstitions, and poverty. The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can influence the good ones to help the people.

The lama has contact with the other world. He has the wisdom and power of the land. The peasant is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. The peasant, filled with fears and superstitions, learns about the devils and demons from the lips of his parents when he is a babe, from the stories his elders tell as he grows up. The lamas also indoctrinate him with fears and superstitions. They teach that the devils are always present. Lamaism has a vested interest in the ignorance of the peasant and in the poverty of the peasant as well. Poverty and ignorance in fact go hand in hand. Poverty, indeed, is the main instrument for perpetuating and promoting ignorance.

Each monastery has a spiritual head and another lama who is the managerial head. The managerial head has his staff of working monks who supervise the making of leases, the cultivation of the lands of the monasteries, and the collection of rents. The business lama usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord; he also brings the power and prestige of the church.

6-11. Upshi is the first village on the Indus River that we reached. We stayed with Jigmet, the head man of the village. Jigmet, the

richest man in the village, owns a little more than an acre of land. He has no animals except a dzo and a few chickens. He is poor as a church mouse, but a very gracious host. Jigmet, like most Ladakhis, eats barley and wheat cakes called chappatis, an unleavened bread. He bakes barley flour and stirs it in his tea. He drinks the broth of turnips that may have some peas in it. He has fruits in season -- apples, grapes, and apricots. But he has precious little meat. Jigmet, like most other Ladakhis, lives at a bare subsistence level.

There are two schools of lamas in Ladakh. One is the Red Sect; the other is the Yellow Sect. The Yellow Sect is the reform sect, going back about 500 years. The Yellow Sect is the more powerful sect today. The head of the Buddhist world, the Dalai Lama who lives in Lhasa in Tibet, is a member of the Yellow Sect. Members of the Yellow Sect are always single men. They have a more strict discipline than the Red lama. The Red lama is permitted to marry, and some of them do.

These lamas look to the Dalai Lama in Tibet for their spiritual leadership. Many of them in fact study in Lhasa. They come back from Lhasa indoctrinated in the Buddhist faith and in its philosophy and literature.

The Buddhists believe in the reincarnation of the soul. A man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and takes possession of a new body. This is known as reincarnation. The man who has been an evil man in his lifetime may find that his soul moves not into a human body but into some animal

on his death. Man's soul lives on and on, and the constant struggle through the centuries is for man to perfect himself, first by escaping from the animal kingdom and then by working himself up to the highest, the most sublime form of life. The emphasis is on holiness, kindness, good deeds, and the maintenance of a peaceful and righteous life.

This doctrine of reincarnation has taken a special twist in Tibet. It has been used since about the 15th century to maintain the authority of the priesthood and to perpetuate the power of the lamas. The Chinese used it in order to control the selection of the Dalai Lama. And it has been used for some centuries for the selection of lesser lamas as well. For example, the head of every monastery is the reincarnation of the holy man who originally established the monastery. That is true of the Rinpoche, the boy of eleven with whom I stayed at the Hemis Monastery. When the soul of his predecessor departed, the lamas of the monastery went to Lhasa in Tibet to consult the oracle; and the oracle told how the reincarnated lama could be found in a remote province in Tibet. The lamas went there and found the boy. They satisfied themselves by various tests that the boy was the reincarnation of the former head of the monastery. He was brought back to the monastery and is under the supervision of his teacher, a man by the name of Phuntzog, until he reaches his maturity.

12-17. I stopped at Hemis Monastery for two days and visited with the Rinpoche and Phuntsog, his teacher. This boy of eleven will now go to Lhasa for ten years of study. Lhasa is now the stronghold of Red Chinese influence. Will this boy come back indoctrinated in Communist philosophy? Will he return hostile to the West, friendly to Russia? These are questions that bother the priesthood of the Buddhist world these days. When Red China got control of Tibet she won a political victory that may have repercussions far beyond the Tibetan border. Now the Communists have some control over the hierarchy of the church. They will now control the oracle who determines where the souls of the deceased lamas have gone. With that power they will control the selection of all the chief lamas in northern India. Whether they will succeed in making the church a mouthpiece for them, whether the priests will be able to resist, whether the Communists will confiscate the wealth of the monasteries and break the power of the lamas -- these are all questions yet to be answered. Only time will tell.

At Hemis I saw the lama dances. They are done on festive occasions. The orchestra is made up of drums, cymbals and horns. Two huge horns dominate the music. They are twelve feet long. They are blown from the top of the monastery in the morning to wake the monks and at night to put the monastery to bed. They can be heard for twenty miles.

The dancers are lamas. Their costumes are hundreds of years old. The masks are carved from ~~one piece~~ single pieces of wood and

enameled by an ancient process. The dances represent the struggle between Good and Evil. Evil is represented by ugly characters -- Anger, Lust, and Greed. These characters are the ones that best man throughout his life. If he escapes them and prevails over them, he wins merit and advances to a higher class in the next life. If he is a victim of them, he loses merit and slips down the ladder in the next life.

The peasants come ~~in~~ from far and wide to see these dances. There they can see the evil spirits and the good ones. There they can see the struggle of man against the evil ones.

The good spirits are represented by the stag and the yak. These spirits are kind and friendly to man. They are on his side in the struggle against evil. And always in these lama dances, the outcome is the same. The Stag and the Yak route Anger, Lust, and Greed. Good conquers Evil.

Thus does the monastery bring a moral lesson home to every peasant.

REEL IV

1-2. Even though the lamas hold the people in poverty and ignorance, there is no revolt and apparently not even any resentment. The hold of the lamas is great for, as expressed in a Tibetan proverb, "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." Yet people are people the world around, and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. This is all in

good taste, and one of the most dramatic ways is the singing of a famous Ladakhi folk song. The women of Gya sang it for me. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. As the women sang, they bent over, shaking their fingers at an imaginary figure at their feet as though they were scolding. And as they sang, their eyes danced with merriment, for now they were making fun of their lord and master, the one who owns their souls, their houses, their fields -- the big, rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

These lamas are devout men. They spend their days from morning to night in prayer and meditation. Very often they sit for days on end in the woods by themselves, reciting scriptures out loud. Sometimes they sit and say their prayers in unison. On a holy day at the beginning of each year, the entire monastery recites out loud the entire Buddhist scriptures.

3-5. After we left Hemis Monastery we met the Indus River, a big river that rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, cuts through the Himalayas, and comes out into Pakistan. The water rights of this river constitute one of the grievances in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. There is some irrigation from the river. But most of the systems are ancient and inefficient. The present Indian Government has vast irrigation projects planned for this region.

There are some camels in this region, but most of the transport is by the small Tibetan pony and by mules and yaks.

There are no trade routes that run the length of the Indus River; but most of the trade routes cut across it. These are the ancient caravan trails coming down from Tibet and Sinkiang into India. The trail that I followed from Manali to Leh was one of those routes.

6-7. When I had left New Delhi, the movie film which I had sent out from America had not arrived. I did not have the time to wait for it. Prime Minister Nehru of India told me not to worry, that he would get it to me. And it was delivered in the middle of my trek in a very remote place in the Himalayas by some of the Indian patrols who ride this northern country for bandits and for Red Chinese.

As we approach Leh, capital of Ladakh and the end of the trail, we see some of the longest mani walls in the world. The mani wall is ~~a wall~~ made of rocks. ~~They are~~ And is usually ~~eight~~ six feet or ~~more~~ so tall and twenty-five feet or more wide. There is one near Leh that runs for about a mile. The rocks on the top of the mani wall are flat slabs on each of which is engraved the magic words, <u>om mani padme hoom</u>. It means "Oh, jewel of the lotus". The lotus, the most beautiful of flowers, grows out of mud and filth. Buddha was born out of the lotus. Buddha, like the lotus, showed that the spirit of man can rise above the lowliest source and find perfection even among the dregs of the earth.

One who passes a mani wall keeps it on his right, for there is an old Tibetan saying, "Beware of the devils on the left-and side." The chhorten is a monument of pyramid design,

usually whitewashed. They are usually sepulchres where the ashes of a deceased are placed. They are sometimes connected with the mani walls. There is usually one at the entrance of a village. They guard the village, keeping the evil spirits away.

8. Ladakh is one of the few remaining places in the world where a woman has more than one lawful husband. I visited some of these families. One had the name of Dombos. This woman had two husbands. The family owned a few acres of land. The house was a two-story mud and stone affair. It was a gay and happy family. The husbands were brothers. When the oldest brother marries, his wife becomes the wife of all the brothers. The monasteries encourage this institution of polyandry. The Kashmir government opposes it. But it is deep in the traditions of the villages. The effect of polyandry is to keep the population from increasing. Lamas think it serves a good purpose in an area where the food supply is not abundant. They think so because in that way their food supply is protected.

Another polyandry family I visited were the Gyalangs. These people live in a one-room hut. There is much friction between the two brothers. The family is poor as poor can be. A good deal of the barley that the Gyalangs raise goes to make a local beer. Under the influence of this beer, the two husbands raise their voices over the wife.

9-14. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is a town of 4,000. It lies

11,500 ft. high in a vast sloping basin hemmed by 25,000 ft. peaks. Leh has narrow winding streets made for caravans, not cars. Leh has no cars except a few jeeps of the Indian Army garrison nearby. The main bazaars in Leh are located on a long ~~and~~ L-shaped street. Each shop is flush with the street. At one end of the main street is a ~~Moslem~~ mosque to accommodate the religious needs of a small minority of Moslems in this region. Leh is a peaceful town. Buddha taught the principles of non-violence, and it has had such an effect on the people that even in the hurley-burley of the city of Leh there have been in recent years no records of any crime of violence and very few thefts.

Leh is on an ancient caravan route that leads to Yarkand in Sinkiang and Lhasa in Tibet. Wool, tea, skins, carpets, borax, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, opium, pearls, spices, wheat, tobacco came up from the south. These caravans met at Leh and exchanges were made. Great commerce and industry flourished. Leh was indeed the great connecting link between the cold and forbidden land of the north and the warm and sunny land of the south. Today people still swarm through the bazaar of Leh as they did before. A few of the shops are still open. But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stores are closed. The heavy wooden doors of the shops have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. Only a trickle of trade now comes down from the north. The Russians have closed the Sinkiang border. A depression has struck Leh. This ~~was~~ is not a temporary depression. It ~~was~~ is

permanent because Russia has ~~turned~~ blocked the trade routes ~~around. For centuries they ran~~ that run north and south. Now they will run east and west. Russia will use the commerce of China, Tibet, and Sinkiang to lace those three regions tightly into the Soviet empire. This is a part of the Soviet empire building.

High above Leh and looking down upon it is the ancient castle of the King of Ladakh. It rises many stories like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Now it is empty, filled with cobwebs, bats and the memories of an ancient power. The King of Ladakh, a young man in his 20's, is now an officer in the Indian Army. I met him at Leh. The rule of the kings is ended. The Kashmir Government now makes the laws for this region.

When I was at Leh I saw what probably were the last of the caravans coming down from the north. The first of these were sheep. There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains." Sheep and goats have been used from time immemorial to bring produce down from the north. The sheep are loaded with pack bags full of salt. They start down from the north in June and travel hundreds of miles, grazing as they go. When they reach their destination, the packs are removed and the salt sold. Then the sheep and the goats are sheared, and their wool is sold. Then the packs are ~~xxxx~~ filled with barley or corn, and the herd starts its long way back.

I saw probably the last sheep train that will come down from the north. I saw also probably the last pack train of

horses and mules carrying great bales of wool. This wool is the soft wool from the under-belly of the goat. It is the wool that is used to make the famous Kashmir scarves and shawls. It comes from only parts of Sinkiang and Tibet. None of this famous wool is now traveling to Kashmir; it is going east and west into Chinese and Russian markets. As long as China and Russia keep their hold on the northern country, it will never come south again.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts along the Sinkiang-Tibetan border are also Central Asia. They are one world. The Communist regimes that lie to the north are a second world. We of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we did yesterday or what we will do tomorrow, are still a third world. These worlds, when seen through the eyes of an American, seem to be far apart. But it is important that we come to know them if we are to help find solutions to the tremendous revolutions that are sweeping Asia.

Today the Communist regimes have an upper hand in this region. But with small investments in understanding and affection, the influence can shift away from Russia to the democratic influences of the West. The searching for love and affection is endless. It goes on the world around. Communism, with its cruel and exploitive character, does not carry the hopes of the people. What they want is friendship and understanding. So far we have appeared in Asia largely as a

strong military figure. If we want the allegiance of these people of Asia on our side, we must show more than strength. We must show friendship and understanding. We must avoid a bloody conflict between East and West. If Asia knew our affection as well as our power, we could be wedded to her in great and noble deeds. The threat of Soviet imperialism would then disappear as the mad dream of another personality as sick as Hitler.

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INTRODUCTION

MURROW: 13 sec.

This is a story of Central Asia — one of the most remote, one of the least known areas of the world. Yet today it is a critical region. Justice ~~Bill~~ WM. O. Douglas has been there. He recently crossed the Himalayas and has brought us ~~the~~ this story of Central Asia.

DOUGLAS: 50 sec.

I should start this story with the words Ju Le for those are the words of greeting along the trails of the Himalayas.

The Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world. They form the great barricade that runs across northern India and Pakistan. The average pass is higher than any mountain in the United States except McKinley in Alaska. These passes lead from India and Pakistan into the countries to the north.

The northern countries are Tibet and Sinkiang. Tibet has recently been taken over by Red China. Sinkiang is Chinese territory. But Soviet Russia has moved in with a modern industrial program. Soviet money, Soviet technicians, Soviet planning now dominate Sinkiang.

North of the Himalayas is Ladakh which lies against the border of Tibet

Shinjang -

DOUGLAS:
CONT'D

and Sinkiang. Most of its people have been tied to Tibet by race, religion, and trade. They are politically a part of India. Along this border one can feel the pressure of communist activity and come to know the nature of Communist propaganda in Central Asia. The story of these political maneuvers is a part of the reward for crossing the high Himalayas. There are other rewards of adventure along the trail.

MORE

(⟵)

REEL 1

1-2 DOUGLAS: The trek starts at Manali in Punjab, India. Manali is at the head of

1 min.
11 sec. the beautiful Kulu Valley.

These mountain valleys grow fruit, tea, rice, and corn. These valleys are inhabited mostly by Hindus.

They are simple, friendly people who live in a world where superstition flourishes. Each valley has a god or goddess who is the guardian of the welfare of the people. When plague or sickness strikes a village, the villagers under the leadership of the priests pray to the deities and make them offerings. When there is drought and crops are threatened, they also pray to the god or goddess. In Manali the goddess is Hirma. When I arrived the corn was turning yellow for lack of water. The villagers prayed for rain and as part of their program put on strange dances — one of which was the sword dance.

Their orchestra — made up of men from the Untouchable Caste — played drums and flutes for hours on end while the villagers watched. In a few hours their prayers were answered. It rained. The rain came in torrents.

I had twenty porters carrying 900 lbs. of camp equipment. In addition

DOUGLAS: CONT'D I had a cook, an assistant, and an interpreter. All of us survived the storm. But death rode on its wings.

Higher up — a few miles beyond us in the stretch, we were to cover in the next day or two — the storm was so severe it killed ponies, mules and cattle.

3-7 MURROW: 1 min. 48 sec. The trail above Manali leads toward the Rothang Pass which means the Pass of Death. The mountain peaks around Rothang Pass are 23,000 to 25,000 ft. high. Timberline goes close to 13,000 ft.

The slopes of the Himalayas above 10,000 ft. hold many wide green basins, ideal for the grazing of sheep and goats.

The trail is centuries old, and follows an easy grade. The Himalayas are full of slate rock, that chips off into flat slabs. The men who have traveled this trail have laid these slabs in the trail. The effect in many stretches is that of a wide, easy staircase which, except for the altitude, is easy to climb.

The porters stoopped frequently to rest and smoke. They were a friendly lot — and very gay and happy now that their prayers for rain had been answered.

The top of Rothang — 13,200 ft. high — was covered with fresh snow

MURROW: CONT'D

from the blizzard. Remnants of the storm still hovered over the pass; a raw, cold wind blew there.

There are many waterfalls around Rothang Pass — some higher and more vivid than those of our own Columbia River Gorge. One of the largest looks like a bridal veil and is so remote that in all the centuries its music has probably seldom been heard by human ears.

Koksar is the first village on the north side of Rothang Pass. It was here that Rahul — the interpreter — met up with the first of many Buddhist lamas. This lama — like the lama in Kipling's book Kim — was on a pilgrimage.

8 DOUGLAS: 21 sec.

There were Hindu women from Kulu along the trail. They were pretty — dark skin, sharp features, brown eyes, white teeth. Their noses were pierced and set with gold pieces. /Most of them wore bracelets and anklets. They sang of love — a song about Kunjva. It went like this:

Red, red wrist
Gold watch on wrist
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

DOUGLAS:
CONT'D

White, white your teeth

Red lips, sweet your tongue

Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba

Come at night time

9 MURROW: A bridge at Koksar had been washed out by a blizzard. The Chándra

55 sec. River which runs through the village, and its tributaries were swollen. Travelers were piled up there, waiting for the water to subside so that they could ford the river.

DOUGLAS: I suggested that we all build a bridge. A local Indian official whose duty it was to repair the bridge had logs; but he also had a price. I negotiated with him for several hours and got the price reduced from $25 to $5. Then I promised everyone who helped with the bridge a free passage over it.

Logs were snaked across the river. Flat slabs were laid over the logs.

These Himalayan streams are dangerous; they are not safe for man or beast. The natives believe there are angry spirits in the waters who take revenge on a man. Lives are often lost in their crossings. A good mule out there costs about $100; and that is a fortune to the

DOUGLAS: CONT'D average peasant.

10 DOUGLAS: 5 sec. There were streams we had to ford. The waters of one were so swift I was almost swept away.

11-17 MURROW: 53 sec. At the confluence of the Chandra and the Bagha Rivers, Justice Douglas turned east, and came to the pleasant village of Kyelang, capital of Lahul — one of India's frontier provinces. Most of the Lahuli people are Buddhists; a small minority are of the Hindu faith. One can reach Lahul only four months out of the year; the rest of the time the passes are blocked by snow. There are no power plants, no electricity, no plumbing in Lahul. It is primitive country; all labor is by hand. Men work; but the main burden of the fields is carried by the women. These Lahuli women have Mongol features; they are mostly short and broad shouldered. They carry loads of grain and hay on their backs. They cultivate with a short-handled instrument that looks like a pick but has a broader blade. The men sit under a tree making sure the women work. The only work animal in this part of the world that is used on the farms is the dzo — a cross between a cow and a yak. Their long black hair is used to

MURROW: CONT'D

make the long black dresses the women wear. The people live mostly on barley -- barley is their mainstay except for the milk and cheese from the dzo. Justice Douglas found another judge!

18 DOUGLAS: 43 sec.

Upstream from Kyelang at a village called Jispa, there was a local Indian judge holding court in the open. All of the peasants came out to watch the proceedings. These people had settled on government land illegally. They were squatters. They had paid no taxes; they had filed no homestead applications.

They are important people to India because they are on India's northern border. It's a nervous border where the Communist influence is strong. These people might be used by the Communists against India. That is why this kindly judge was gentle with these people - that is why he decided not to make them pay back taxes, nor to pay for the land. They were too poor to pay; the cash income per family is not $10 a year.

19 MURROW: 16 sec.

During a recess of the court some of the men sang a song of a girl who married and left Lahul. All girls want to leave Lahul; Lahul men make their women do all the work. The food in Lahul is monotonous. A girl who can escape to Kulu can have fruit to eat as well as barley.

1-4 DOUGLAS: Jispa, where the court was held, lies over 11,000 ft. From there
19 secs.
the trail heads for Baralacha Pass. The last camp site is Zing Zing Bar over 13,000 ft. An old shelter there was crushed by snow. We camped in the ruins.

5-7 1 min. 5 secs. I left my porters at Koksar and hired mules. These mules -- eleven in all -- were hung with bells. Their owner was a young man -- Rup Singh. He had two assistants -- jovial, carefree youngsters. These mules stayed with me all the way to Leh, the end of the trek.

MURROW: The trail above Zing Zing Bar threads through great fields of broken shale rock. The ascent to Baralacha is steep and tireing. Below Baralacha is a blue and sterile lake -- Sun Lake, with no trees to mark its shores. Above this lake were huge drifts of soft snow. The snow blocked the trail -- and was too soft to hold a mule. Some of the smaller animals had to be repacked. Even the more rangy, robust ones foundered awkwardly in the drifts. Baralacha Pass is 16,200 ft. high -- a barren, rolling amphitheatre. The peaks that surround it are covered with snow and ice -- and from Baralacha look no higher than the mountains of New England. They

MURROW (cont'd) are, however, 23,000 ft. peaks, shrunk to small ones when seen from this high pass.

8 19 secs. The valleys on the north side of Baralacha are mostly barren -- swept by wind, over-grazed by sheep and goats, and having little grass left.

These valleys lie between 14,000 and 15,000 ft. The night wind is cool, the sun is hot and burning -- burning fair-skinned people so that their eyes are swollen shut and their lips puffed and sore.

9-14 DOUGLAS: 1 min. Chakchu was one of our camps. It lies on a narrow ridge 15,800 ft. high. We put our bedrolls under a cliff. Our camp this night was a crow's nest.

We cooked on a two-burner kerosene stove. The muleteers made gur gur cha -- tea, salt, and yak butter -- the usual beverage with every meal in the Himalayas. If the butter is not rancid, it is quite palatable. And it is very nourishing.

At Chakchu I met up with a group of men and women who had walked from Leh to Manali -- 240 miles -- on a shopping trip. They were now on their return. One lady was in her 30's -- and she carried an eighty-pound pack. One lady in her 70's carried a forty-pound pack. This old lady -- with a head dress that made her look like

DOUGLAS (cont'd) a wolf -- had a bad headache that night and was sick to her stomach.

MURROW:
15-16 22 secs. The trail beyond Chakchu keeps at 15,000 ft. for miles on end. The natives believe that each pass has a god who can strike man down. Those who are sick are thought to have incurred the wrath of the god.

When one crosses a pass safely he says a prayer in thankfulness. Each pass has a pile of stones -- a monument to the god of the pass. Each traveler adds a rock to the pile and often puts up a prayer flag.

DOUGLAS:
17 32 secs. The yak is the best possible transportation at high altitudes. He is a member of the ox family, with long hair that is usually black. I got yaks the day we had to travel 30 miles across the highest pass. That would have been too long a journey for the mules. Yaks are slow, averaging less than two miles an hour, but they are sure-footed as a goat and can carry up to 250 pounds with ease. The yak groans as he walks. He is the safest, the most reliable transportation in the Himalayes.

18-21 MURROW: 1 min. 24 secs.

The village of Gya lies on the north side of our highest pass. A small village of a few hundred people. The houses are typically Tibetan, with walls of rock stuck together with mud. The ceilings are low. The roofs are flat, the beams poplar wood -- (the only tree at this high altitude). The people are poor. Corn grows at the altitude of 12,000 feet -- but in Gya there is only one crop --- barley. It is the mainstay of the diet of the people. They have precious little meat. There are no schools. There are monasteries; but there are no churches, in the conventional sense. There are no hospitals and no doctors. The people live on the edge of misery and privation. They make their own clothes, the women spinning the yarn from the wool of sheep and the hair of yaks.

The women in Ladakh have a peculiar headdress known as the perakh. It is a piece of leather about two feet in length that comes from the forehead over the top of the head and down across the shoulders. The leather is studded with gems, usually turquoise and agate. It is a decorative headdress and highly prized. The most beautiful one in Ladakh is said to be owned by the Queen of Ladakh.

REEL III

1-5 MURROW: 2 min. 58 secs.

The monasteries own well over half of the farming land in Ladakh.

The vast majority of the people of Ladakh either are attached to the monasteries as lamas, or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

The monasteries usually rent the land on shares.

Under Kashmir law no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. But usury and extortionate credit practices have a deep hold on this country.

Kashmir passed a law restricting landowners to twelve acres each.

The government took the rest and distributed it to the tenants.

But it did not distribute the land holdings of the King of Ladakh, nor the land holdings of the monasteries.

The monasteries continue to own most of the land. The lamas are a powerful political force who have a strong position in the country.

The hold of the lamas on the people does not result from any organized activities of the church. The monasteries do not exert any power over the people through schools, hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render very little community service to the people. When a person is sick a lama will be sent

MURROW: (Cont'd) to his bedside to pray for him. Lamas conduct funeral services. Lamas perform marriage ceremonies. The lamas keep their hold on the people by fears, superstitions, and poverty.

The peasant is illiterate. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. He is filled with fears and superstitions, learns about the devils and demons from the lips of his parents when he is a babe. The lamas also indoctrinate him.

Each monasteryhas a spiritual head and another lama who is the managerial head. The managerial head has his staff of working monks who supervise the making of leases and the collection of rents. The business lama usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord; he also brings the power and prestige of the church.

6-11 3 min. 40 secs. Upshi is the first village on the Indus River. Jigmet is the head man and the richest man in the village and owns a little more than an acre of land. He has no animals except a dzo and a few chickens. He is poor as a church mouse, but a very gracious host. Jigmet, like most Ladakhis, eats barley and an unleavened bread made

MURROW (Cont'd) from wheat. Like most other Ladakhis he lives at a bare subsistence level.

There are two schools of lamas in Ladakh. One is the Red Sect; the other is the Yellow Sect. The Yellow Sect is the reform sect, going back about 500 years. The Yellow Sect is the more powerful sect today. The head of the Buddhist world, the Dalai Lama who lives in Lhasa in Tibet, is a member of the Yellow Sect. Members of the Yellow Sect are always single men. They have a more strict discipline than the Red lama. The Red lama is permitted to marry, and some of them do.

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MURROW: (Cont'd) sublime form of life. The emphasis is on holiness, kindness, good deeds and the maintenance of a peaceful and righteous life.

This doctrine of reincarnation has taken a special twist in Tibet. It has been used since about the 15th century to maintain the authority of the priesthood and to perpetuate the power of the lamas. The Chinese used it in order to control the selection of the Dalai Lama. And it has been used for some centuries for the selection of lesser lamas as well. For example, the head of every monastery is the reincarnation of the holy man who originally established the monastery.

Rim po' shay

That is true of the Rinpoche, the boy of eleven at the Hemis Monastery. When the soul of his predecessor departed, the lamas of the monastery went to Lhasa in Tibet to consult the oracle; and the oracle told how the reincarnated lama could be found in a remote province in Tibet. The lamas went there and found the boy. They satisfied themselves by various tests that the boy was the reincarnation of the former head of the monastery. He was brought back to the monastery and until he reaches his maturity is under the supervision of his teacher, a man by the name of Phuntzog.

12-13 DOUGLAS: 30 Secs.

I stopped at Hemis and visited with the Rimpoche. This boy of eleven will now go to Lhasa for ten years of study. Lhasa is now the stronghold of Red Chinese influence. Will this boy come back indoctrinated in Communist philosophy? This is a question that bothers the priesthood of the Buddhist world these days. The Communists now control the hierachy of the church and the selection of all the chief lamas. Whether they will succeed in making the church a mouthpiece for them is a question yet to be answered. Only time will tell.

14-17

1 min. 20 secs.

At Hemis I saw the lama dances. They are done on festive occasions. The peasants come from far and wide to see the dances. The orchestra is made up of drums, cymbals and horns. Two huge horns dominate the music. They are twelve feet long. They are blown from the top of the monastery in the morning to wake the monks and at night to put the monastery to bed. They can be heard for twenty miles.

The dancers are lamas. Their costumes are hundreds of years old. The masks are carved from single pieces of wood and enameled

DOUGLAS:
CONT'D

by an ancient process. The dances represent the struggle between Good and Evil. Evil is represented by ugly characters — Anger, Lust, and Greed. These characters are the ones that beset man throughout his life. If he escapes them, and prevails over them, he wins merit and advances to a higher class in the next life. If he is a victim of them, he loses merit and slips down the ladder in the next life. The audience can see these spirits and the struggle of man against the evil ones.

The good spirits are represented by the stag and the yak. These spirits are kind and friendly to man. They are on his side in the struggle against evil. And always in these lama dances, the outcome is the same. The Stag and the Yak route Anger, Lust, and Greed. Good conquers Evil.

Thus does the monastery bring a moral lesson home to every peasant.

REEL IV

1 MURROW: 30 Secs. Even though the lamas hold the people in poverty and ignorance, there is no revolt and apparently not even any resentment. Yet people are people the world around, and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. This is all in good taste, and one of the most dramatic ways is the singing of a famous folk song. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. As the women sing, they bend over, shaking their fingers at an imaginary figure at their feet as though they are scolding. And as they sing, their eyes dance with merriment, for now they are making fun of their lord and master, the one who owns their souls, their houses, their fields -- the big, rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

2 DOUGLAS: 15 1/2 Secs. These lamas are devout men. They spend their days from morning to night in prayer and meditation. Very often they sit for days on end reciting scriptures out loud. Sometimes they sit and say their prayers in unison. On a holy day at the beginning of each

DOUGLAS: (Cont'd) year, the entire monastery recites the scriptures out loud.

3-5 MURROW: 51 Secs. After leaving Hemis Monastery, Justice Douglas met the Indus River, a big river that rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, cuts through the Himalayas, and comes out into Pakistan. The water rights of this river constitute one of the grievances in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. There is some irrigation from the river. But most of the systems are ancient and inefficient. The present Indian Government has vast irrigation projects planned for this region.

There are some camels in this region, but most of the transport is by the small Tibetan pony and by mules and yaks. There are no trade routes that run the length of the Indus River; but most of the trade routes cut across it. These are the ancient caravan trails coming down from Tibet and Sinkiang into India. The trail from Manali to Leh was one of those routes.

6 6 Secs. Indian army patrols ride this remote Himalayan country looking for bandits and for Red Chinese.

7 DOUGLAS: 35 1/2 Secs. The mani wall is made of rocks. The rocks on the top of the mani wall are flat slabs on each of which is engraved the magic words, om mani padme hoom. It means "Oh, jewel of the lotus". The lotus, grows out of mud and filth. Buddha was born out of the lotus. Buddha, like the lotus, showed that the spirit of man can find perfection even among the dregs of the earth.

One who passes a mani wall keeps it on his right, for there is a Tibetan saying, "Beware of the devils on the left hand side". The chhorten is a monument of pyramid design, usually whitewashed, that contain the ashes of a deceased. There is usually one at the entrance of a village. They guard the villages keeping the evil spirits away.

8 22 1/2 Secs. Ladakh is one of the few remaining places in the world where a woman can have more than one lawful husband. I visited some of these families. When the oldest brother marries, his wife becomes the wife of all the brothers. The monasteries encourage this practice. Kashmir opposes it. The effect of polyandry is to keep the population from increasing in an area where the food

DOUGLAS: (Cont'd) supply is not abundant. That is why the lamas support polyandry.

9-14 MURROW: 2 min. 15 Sec. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is a town of 4,000. It lies 11,500 ft. high in a vast sloping basin hemmed by 25,000 ft. peaks. Leh has narrow winding streets made for caravans, not cars. Leh has no cars except a few jeeps of the Indian Army garrison nearby. The main bazaars in Leh are located on a long L-shaped street. Each shop is flush with the street. At one end of the main street is a mosque to accommodate the religious needs of a small minority of Moslems in this region. Leh is a peaceful town. Buddha taught the principles of non-violence, and it has had such an effect on the people that even in the hurley-burley of the city of Leh, there have been in recent years no records of any crime of violence and very few thefts.

Leh is on an ancient caravan route that leads to Yarkand in Sinkiang and Lhasa in Tibet. Wool, tea, skins, carpets, borax, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, opium, pearls, spices, wheat, tobacco came up from the south. These caravans met at Leh and exchanges were made. Great commerce and industry flourished.

MURROW: (Cont'd) Leh was indeed the great connecting link between the cold and forbidden land of the north and the warm and sunny land of the south. Today people still swarm through the bazaar of Leh as they did before. A few of the shops are still open. But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stores are closed. The heavy wooden doors of the shops have been swung shut, and fastened with padlocks. Only a trickle of trade now comes down from the north. The Russians have closed the Sinkiang border. A depression has struck Leh. This is not a temporary depression. It is permanent because Russia has blocked the trade routes that run north and south. Now they will run east and west. Russia will use the commerce of China, Tibet, and Sinkiang to lace those three regions tightly into the Soviet empire. This is a part of the Soviet empire building.

High above Leh, and looking down upon it, is the ancient castle of the King of Ladakh. It rises many stories like an awkward sky-scraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Now it is empty, filled with cobwebs, bats and the memories of an ancient power. The King of Ladakh, a young man in his 20's, is now an officer in the Indian Army. The rule of the kings is ended. The Kashmir Government now makes the laws for this region.

15-17 DOUGLAS: When I was at Leh I saw what probably were the last of the caravans
2 min.
10 sec.
coming down from the north. The first of these were sheep. There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains." Sheep and goats have been used from time immemorial to bring produce down from the north. The sheep are loaded with pack bags full of salt. They start down from the north in June and travel hundreds of miles, grazing as they go. When they reach their destination, the packs are removed and the salt sold. Then the sheep and the goats are sheared, and their wool is sold. Then the packs are filled with barley or corn, and the herd starts its long way back.

That's probably the last sheep train that will come down from the north. I also probably the last pack train of horses and mules carrying great bales of wool. This wool is the soft wool from the under-belly of the goat. It is the wool that is used to make the famous Kashmir scarves and shawls. It comes from only parts of Sinkiang and Tibet. None of this famous wool is now traveling to Kashmir; it is going east and west into Chinese and Russian markets. As long as China and Russia keep their hold on the northern country, it will never come south again.

MURROW: Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts along the Sinkiang-Tibetan border are also Central Asia. They are one world. The Communist regimes that lie to the north are a second world. We of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we did yesterday or what we will do tomorrow, are still a third world. These worlds seem to be far apart. But it is important that we come to know them if we are to help find solutions to the tremendous revolutions that are sweeping Asia.

DOUGLAS: Today the Communist regimes have an upper hand in this region. But with small investments in understanding and friendship the influence can shift away from Russia to the West. Communism, with its cruel and exploitive character, does not carry the hopes of the people.

So far we have appeared in Asia largely as a strong military figure. If we want the allegiance of these people of Asia on our side, we must show more than strength. We must show friendship and understanding. We must avoid a bloody conflict between East and West. If Asia knew our friendship as well as our power, we could be wedded to her in great and noble deeds.

Once we were the champions of change, of liberation from usury, tyranny,

DOUGLAS: CONT'D disease and poverty. Throughout Asia our championship is being challenged. The appetite for change is there. The Communists are capturing and channeling it for their own aggressive ends. If we fail to meet this challenge ~~history~~ the Future will take its revenge.

INTRODUCTION

MURROW: 13 sec.

This is a story of Central Asia — one of the most remote, one of the least known areas of the world. Yet today it is a critical region. Justice Bill Douglas has been there. He recently crossed the Himalayas and has brought us the story of Central Asia.

DOUGLAS: 50 sec.

I should start this story with the words Ju Le for those are the words of greeting along the trails of the Himalayas.

The Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world. They form the great barricade that runs across northern India and Pakistan. The average pass is higher than any mountain in the United States except McKinley in Alaska. These passes lead from India and Pakistan into the countries to the north.

The northern countries are Tibet and Sinkiang. Tibet has recently been taken over by Red China. Sinkiang is Chinese territory. But Soviet Russia has moved in with a modern industrial program. Soviet money, Soviet technicians, Soviet planning now dominate Sinkiang.

North of the Himalayas is Ladakh which lies against the border of Tibet

DOUGLAS:
CONT'D

and Sinkiang. Most of its people have been tied to Tibet by race, religion, and trade. They are politically a part of India. Along this border one can feel the pressure of communist activity and come to know the nature of Communist propaganda in Central Asia. The story of these political maneuvers is a part of the reward for crossing the high Himalayas. There are other rewards of adventure along the trail.

MORE

REEL 1

1-2 DOUGLAS: The trek starts at Manali in Punjab, India. Manali is at the head of

1 min.
11 sec. the beautiful Kulu Valley.

These mountain valleys grow fruit, tea, rice, and corn. These valleys are inhabited mostly by Hindus.

They are simple, friendly people who live in a world where superstition flourishes. Each valley has a god or goddess who is the guardian of the welfare of the people. When plague or sickness strikes a village, the villagers under the leadership of the priests pray to the deities and make them offerings. When there is drought and crops are threatened, they also pray to the god or goddess. In Manali the goddess is Hirma. When I arrived the corn was turning yellow for lack of water. The villagers prayed for rain and as part of their program put on strange dances — one of which was the sword dance.

Their orchestra — made up of men from the Untouchable Caste — played drums and flutes for hours on end while the villagers watched. In a few hours their prayers were answered. It rained. The rain came in torrents.

I had twenty porters carrying 900 lbs. of camp equipment. In addition

DOUGLAS: CONT'D

I had a cook, an assistant, and an interpreter. All of us survived the storm. But death rode on its wings.

Higher up — a few miles beyond us in the stretch, we were to cover in the next day or two — the storm was so severe it killed ponies, mules and cattle.

3-7 MURROW: 1 min. 48 sec.

The trail above Manali leads toward the Rothang Pass which means the Pass of Death. The mountain peaks around Rothang Pass are 23,000 to 25,000 ft. high. Timberline goes close to 13,000 ft.

The slopes of the Himalayas above 10,000 ft. hold many wide green basins, ideal for the grazing of sheep and goats.

The trail is centuries old, and follows an easy grade. The Himalayas are full of slate rock that chips off into flat slabs. The men who have traveled this trail have laid these slabs in the trail. The effect in many stretches is that of a wide, easy staircase which, except for the altitude, is easy to climb.

The porters stoopped frequently to rest and smoke. They were a friendly lot — and very gay and happy now that their prayers for rain had been answered.

The top of Rothang — 13,200 ft. high — was covered with fresh snow

MURROW: CONT'D from the blizzard. Remnants of the storm still hovered over the pass; a raw, cold wind blew there.

There are many waterfalls around Rothang Pass — some higher and more vivid than those of our own Columbia River Gorge. One of the largest looks like a bridal veil and is so remote that in all the centuries its music has probably seldom been heard by human ears.

Koksar is the first village on the north side of Rothang Pass. It was here that Rahul — the interpreter — met up with the first of many Buddhist lamas. This lama — like the lama in Kipling's book Kim — was on a pilgrimage.

8 DOUGLAS: 21 sec. There were Hindu women from Kulu along the trail. They were pretty — dark skin, sharp features, brown eyes, white teeth. Their noses were pierced and set with gold pieces. Most of them wore bracelets and anklets. They sang of love — a song about Kunjva. It went like this:

Red, red wrist
Gold watch on wrist
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

DOUGLAS:
CONT'D

White, white your teeth
Red lips, sweet your tongue
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

9 MURROW: A bridge at Koksar had been washed out by a blizzard. The Chandra
55 sec. River which runs through the village, and its tributaries were swollen. Travelers were piled up there, waiting for the water to subside so that they could ford the river.

DOUGLAS: I suggested that we all build a bridge. A local Indian official whose duty it was to repair the bridge had logs; but he also had a price. I negotiated with him for several hours and got the price reduced from $25 to $5. Then I promised everyone who helped with the bridge a free passage over it.

Logs were snaked across the river. Flat slabs were laid over the logs.

These Himalayan streams are dangerous; they are not safe for man or beast. The natives believe there are angry spirits in the waters who take revenge on a man. Lives are often lost in their crossings. A good mule out there costs about $100; and that is a fortune to the

DOUGLAS: CONT'D average peasant.

10 DOUGLAS: 5 sec. There were streams we had to ford. The waters of one were so swift I was almost swept away.

11-17 MURROW: 53 sec. At the confluence of the Chandra and the Bagha Rivers, Justice Fouglas turned east, and came to the pleasant village of Kyelang, capital of Lahul — one of India's frontier provinces. Most of the Lahuli people are Buddhists; a small minority are of the Hindu faith. One can reach Lahul only four months out of the year; the rest of the time the passes are blocked by snow. There are no power plants, no electricity, no plumbing in Lahul. It is primitive country; all labor is by hand. Men work; but the main burden of the fields is carried by the women. These Lahuli women have Mongol features; they are mostly short and broad shouldered. They carry loads of grain and hay on their backs. They cultivate with a short-handled instrument that looks like a pick but has a broader blade. The men sit under a tree making sure the women work. The only work animal in this part of the world that is used on the farms is the dzo — a cross between a cow and a yak. Their long black hair is used to

MURROW: CONT'D

make the long black dresses the women wear. The people live mostly on barley — barley is their mainstay except for the milk and cheese from the dzo. Justice Douglas found another judge:

18 DOUGLAS: 43 sec.

Upstream from Kyelang at a village called Jispa, there was a local Indian judge holding court in the open. All of the peasants came out to watch the proceedings. These people had settled on government land illegally. They were squatters. They had paid no taxes; they had filed no homestead applications.

They are important people to India because they are on India's northern border. It's a nervous border where the Communist influence is strong. These people might be used by the Communists against India. That is why this kindly judge was gentle with these people - that is why he decided not to make them pay back taxes, nor to pay for the land. They were too poor to pay; the cash income per family is not $10 a year.

19 MURROW: 16 sec.

During a recess of the court some of the men sang a song of a girl who married and left Lahul. All girls want to leave Lahul; Lahul men make their women do all the work. The food in Lahul is monotonous. A girl who can escape to Kulu can have fruit to eat as well as barley.

1-4 DOUGLAS: 19 secs. Jispa, where the court was held, lies over 11,000 ft. From there the trail heads for Baralacha Pass. The last camp site is Zing Zing Bar over 13,000 ft. An old shelter there was crushed by snow. We camped in the ruins.

5-7 1 min. 5 secs. I left my porters at Koksar and hired mules. These mules -- eleven in all -- were hung with bells. Their owner was a young man -- Rup Singh. He had two assistants -- jovial, carefree youngsters. These mules stayed with me all the way to Leh, the end of the trek.

MURROW: The trail above Zing Zing Bar threads through great fields of broken shale rock. The ascent to Baralacha is steep and tireing. Below Baralacha is a blue and sterile lake -- Sun Lake, with no trees to mark its shores. Above this lake were huge drifts of soft snow. The snow blocked the trail -- and was too soft to hold a mule. Some of the smaller animals had to be repacked. Even the more rangy, robust ones foundered awkwardly in the drifts. Baralacha Pass is 16,200 ft. high -- a barren, rolling amphitheatre. The peaks that surround it are covered with snow and ice -- and from Baralacha look no higher than the mountains of New England. They

MURROW (cont'd) are, however, 23,000 ft. peaks, shrunk to small ones when seen from this high pass.

8 19 secs. The valleys on the north side of Baralacha are mostly barren -- swept by wind, over-grazed by sheep and goats, and having little grass left.

These valleys lie between 14,000 and 15,000 ft. The night wind is cool, the sun is hot and burning -- burning fair-skinned people so that their eyes are swollen shut and their lips puffed and sore.

9-14 DOUGLAS: 1 min. Chakchu was one of our camps. It lies on a narrow ridge 15,800 ft. high. We put our bedrolls under a cliff. Our camp this night was a crow's nest.

We cooked on a two-burner kerosene stove. The muleteers made gur gur cha -- tea, salt, and yak butter -- the usual beverage with every meal in the Himalayas. If the butter is not rancid, it is quite palatable. And it is very nourishing.

At Chakchu I met up with a group of men and women who had walked from Leh to Manali -- 240 miles -- on a shopping trip. They were now on their return. One lady was in her 30's -- and she carried an eighty-pound pack. One lady in her 70's carried a forty-pound pack. This old lady -- with a head dress that made her look like

DOUGLAS (cont'd) a wolf -- had a bad headache that night and was sick to her stomach.

MURROW:
15-16 22 secs. The trail beyond Chakchu keeps at 15,000 ft. for miles on end. The natives believe that each pass has a god who can strike men down. Those who are sick are thought to have incurred the wrath of the god.

When one crosses a pass safely he says a prayer in thankfulness. Each pass has a pile of stones -- a monument to the god of the pass. Each traveler adds a rock to the pile and often puts up a prayer flag.

DOUGLAS:
17 32 secs. The yak is the best possible transportation at high altitudes. He is a member of the ox family, with long hair that is usually black. I got yaks the day we had to travel 30 miles across the highest pass. That would have been too long a journey for the mules. Yaks are slow, averaging less than two miles an hour, but they are sure-footed as a goat and can carry up to 250 pounds with ease. The yak groans as he walks. He is the safest, the most reliable transportation in the Himalayes.

18-21 MURROW: 1 min. 24 secs.

The village of Gya lies on the north side of our highest pass. A small village of a few hundred people. The houses are typically Tibetan, with walls of rock stuck together with mud. The ceilings are low. The roofs are flat, the beams poplar wood -- (the only tree at this high altitude). The people are poor. Corn grows at the altitude of 12,000 feet -- but in Gya there is only one crop --- barley. It is the mainstay of the diet of the people. They have precious little meat. There are no schools. There are monasteries; but there are no churches, in the conventional sense. There are no hospitals and no doctors. The people live on the edge of misery and privation. They make their own clothes, the women spinning the yarn from the wool of sheep and the hair of yaks.

The women in Ladakh have a peculiar headdress known as the perakh. It is a piece of leather about two feet in length that comes from the forehead over the top of the head and down across the shoulders. The leather is studded with gems, usually turquoise and agate. It is a decorative headdress and highly prized. The most beautiful one in Ladakh is said to be owned by the Queen of Ladakh.

REEL III

1-5 MURROW: 2 min. 58 secs.

The monasteries own well over half of the farming land in Ladakh. The vast majority of the people of Ladakh either are attached to the monasteries as lamas, or work for the monasteries as farm tenants. The monasteries usually rent the land on shares.

Under Kashmir law no landlord can charge any interest on a loan to his tenant. But usury and extortionate credit practices have a deep hold on this country.

Kashmir passed a law restricting landowners to twelve acres each. The government took the rest and distributed it to the tenants. But it did not distribute the land holdings of the King of Ladakh, nor the land holdings of the monasteries.

The monasteries continue to own most of the land. The lamas are a powerful political force who have a strong position in the country.

The hold of the lamas on the people does not result from any organized activities of the church. The monasteries do not exert any power over the people through schools, hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render very little community service to the people. When a person is sick a lama will be sent

MURROW: (Cont'd) to his bedside to pray for him. Lamas conduct funeral services. Lamas perform marriage ceremonies. The lamas keep their hold on the people by fears, superstitions, and poverty.

The peasant is illiterate. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. He is filled with fears and superstitions, learns about the devils and demons from the lips of his parents when he is a babe. The lamas also indoctrinate him.

Each monasteryhas a spiritual head and another lama who is the managerial head. The managerial head has his staff of working monks who supervise the making of leases and the collection of rents. The business lama usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord; he also brings the power and prestige of the church.

6-11 3 min. 40 secs. Upshi is the first village on the Indus River. Jigmet is the head man and the richest man in the village and owns a little more than an acre of land. He has no animals except a dzo and a few chickens. He is poor as a church mouse, but a very gracious host. Jigmet, like most Ladakhis, eats barley and an unleavened bread made

MURROW (Cont'd) from wheat. Like most other Ladakhis he lives at a bare subsistence level.

There are two schools of lamas in Ladakh. One is the Red Sect; the other is the Yellow Sect. The Yellow Sect is the reform sect, going back about 500 years. The Yellow Sect is the more powerful sect today. The head of the Buddhist world, the Dalai Lama who lives in Lhasa in Tibet, is a member of the Yellow Sect. Members of the Yellow Sect are always single men. They have a more strict discipline than the Red lama. The Red lama is permitted to marry, and some of them do.

These lamas look to the Dalai Lama in Tibet for their spiritual leadership. Many of them in fact go to Lhasa for years of study.

The Buddhists believe in the reincarnation of the soul. A man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and takes possession of a new body. This is known as reincarnation. The man who has been an evil man in his lifetime may find that his soul moves not into a human body but into some animal on his death. Man's soul lives on and on, and the constant struggle through the centuries is for man to perfect himself, first by escaping from the animal kingdom and then by working himself up to the highest, the most

MURROW: (Cont'd) sublime form of life. The emphasis is on holiness, kindness, good deeds and the maintenance of a peaceful and righteous life.

This doctrine of reincarnation has taken a special twist in Tibet. It has been used since about the 15th century to maintain the authority of the priesthood and to perpetuate the power of the lamas. The Chinese used it in order to control the selection of the Dalai Lama. And it has been used for some centuries for the selection of lesser lamas as well. For example, the head of every monastery is the reincarnation of the holy man who originally established the monastery.

That is true of the Rinpoche, the boy of eleven at the Hemis Monastery. When the soul of his predecessor departed, the lamas of the monastery went to Lhasa in Tibet to consult the oracle; and the oracle told how the reincarnated lama could be found in a remote province in Tibet. The lamas went there and found the boy. They satisfied themselves by various tests that the boy was the reincarnation of the former head of the monastery. He was brought back to the monastery and until he reaches his maturity is under the supervision of his teacher, a man by the name of Phuntsog.

12-13 DOUGLAS: 30 Secs.

I stopped at Hemis and visited with the Rinpoche. This boy of eleven will now go to Lhasa for ten years of study. Lhasa is now the stronghold of Red Chinese influence. Will this boy come back indoctrinated in Communist philosophy? This is a question that bothers the priesthood of the Buddhis world these days. The Communists now control the hierachy of the church and the selection of all the chief lamas. Whether they will succeed in making the church a mouthpiece for them is a question yet to be answered. Only time will tell.

14-17

1 min. 20 secs.

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The dancers are lamas. Their costumes are hundreds of years old. The masks are carved from single pieces of wood and enameled

DOUGLAS:
CONT'D

by an ancient process. The dances represent the struggle between Good and Evil. Evil is represented by ugly characters — Anger, Lust, and Greed. These characters are the ones that beset man throughout his life. If he escapes them, and prevails over them, he wins merit and advances to a higher class in the next life. If he is a victim of them, he loses merit and slips down the ladder in the next life. The audience can see these spirits and the struggle of man against the evil ones.

The good spirits are represented by the stag and the yak. These spirits are kind and friendly to man. They are on his side in the struggle against evil. And always in these lama dances, the outcome is the same. The Stag and the Yak route Anger, Lust, and Greed. Good conquers Evil.

Thus does the monastery bring a moral lesson home to every peasant.

REEL IV

1 MURROW: 30 Secs. Even though the lamas hold the people in poverty and ignorance, there is no revolt and apparently not even any resentment. Yet people are people the world around, and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. This is all in good taste, and one of the most dramatic ways is the singing of a famous folk song. The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. As the women sing, they bend over, shaking their fingers at an imaginary figure at their feet as though they are scolding. And as they sing, their eyes dance with merriment, for now they are making fun of their lord and master, the one who owns their souls, their houses, their fields -- the big, rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

2 DOUGLAS: 15 1/2 Secs. These lamas are devout men. They spend their days from morning to night in prayer and meditation. Very often they sit for days on end reciting scriptures out loud. Sometimes they sit and say their prayers in unison. On a holy day at the beginning of each

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There are some camels in this region, but most of the transport is by the small Tibetan pony and by mules and yaks. There are no trade routes that run the length of the Indus River; but most of the trade routes cut across it. These are the ancient caravan trails coming down from Tibet and Sinkiang into India. The trail from Manali to Leh was one of those routes.

6 6 Secs. Indian army patrols ride this remote Himalayan country looking for bandits and for Red Chinese.

7 DOUGLAS: 35 1/2 Secs. The mani wall is made of rocks. The rocks on the top of the mani wall are flat slabs on each of which is engraved the magic words, om mani padme hoom. It means "Oh, jewel of the lotus". The lotus, grows out of mud and filth. Buddha was born out of the lotus. Buddha, like the lotus, showed that the spirit of man can find perfection even among the dregs of the earth.

One who passes a mani wall keeps it on his right, for there is an Tibetan saying, "Beware of the devils on the left hand side". The chherten is a monument of pyramid design, usually whitewashed, that contain the ashes of a deceased. There is usually one at the entrance of a village. They guard the village, keeping the evil spirits away.

8 22 1/2 Secs. Ladakh is one of the few remaining places in the world where a woman can have more than one lawful husband. I visited some of these families. When the oldest brother marries, his wife becomes the wife of all the brothers. The monasteries encourage this practice. Kashmir opposes it. The effect of polyandry is to keep the population from increasing in an area where the food

DOUGLAS: (Cont'd) supply is not abundant. That is why the lamas support polyandry.

9-14 MURROW: 2 min. 15 Sec.

Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is a town of 4,000. It lies 11,500 ft. high in a vast sloping basin hemmed by 25,000 ft. peaks. Leh has narrow winding streets made for caravans, not cars. Leh has no cars except a few jeeps of the Indian Army garrison nearby. The main bazaars in Leh are located on a long L-shaped street. Each shop is flush with the street. At one end of the main street is a mosque to accommodate the religious needs of a small minority of Moslems in this region. Leh is a peaceful town. Buddha taught the principles of non-violence, and it has had such an effect on the people that even in the hurley-burley of the city of Leh, there have been in recent years no records of any crime of violence and very few thefts.

Leh is on an ancient caravan route that leads to Yarkand in Sinkiang and Lhasa in Tibet. Wool, tea, skins, carpets, borax, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, opium, pearls, spices, wheat, tobacco came up from the south. These caravans met at Leh and exchanges were made. Great commerce and industry flourished.

MURROW: (Cont'd) Leh was indeed the great connecting link between the cold and forbidden land of the north and the warm and sunny land of the south. Today people still swarm through the bazaar of Leh as they did before. A few of the shops are still open. But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stores are closed. The heavy wooden doors of the shops have been swung shut, and fastened with padlocks. Only a trickle of trade now comes down from the north. The Russians have closed the Sinkiang border. A depression has struck Leh. This is not a temporary depression. It is permanent because Russia has blocked the trade routes that run north and south. Now they will run east and west. Russia will use the commerce of China, Tibet, and Sinkiang to lace those three regions tightly into the Soviet empire. This is a part of the Soviet empire building.

High above Leh, and looking down upon it, is the ancient castle of the King of Ladakh. It rises many stories like an awkward sky-scraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Now it is empty, filled with cobwebs, bats and the memories of an ancient power. The King of Ladakh, a young man in his 20's, is now an officer in the Indian Army. The rule of the kings is ended. The Kashmir Government now makes the laws for this region.

15-17 DOUGLAS: When I was at Leh I saw what probably were the last of the caravans
2 min.
10 sec.

coming down from the north. The first of these were sheep. There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains." Sheep and goats have been used from time immemorial to bring produce down from the north. The sheep are loaded with pack bags full of salt. They start down from the north in June and travel hundreds of miles, grazing as they go. When they reach their destination, the packs are removed and the salt sold. Then the sheep and the goats are sheared, and their wool is sold. Then the packs are filled with barley or corn, and the herd starts its long way back.

I saw probably the last sheep train that will come down from the north. I saw also probably the last pack train of horses and mules carrying great bales of wool. This wool is the soft wool from the under-belly of the goat. It is the wool that is used to make the famous Kashmir scarves and shawls. It comes from only parts of Sinkiang and Tibet. None of this famous wool is now traveling to Kashmir; it is going east and west into Chinese and Russian markets. As long as China and Russia keep their hold on the northern country, it will never come south again.

MURROW: Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts along the Sinkiang-Tibetan border are also Central Asia. They are one world. The Communist regimes that lie to the north are a second world. We of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we did yesterday or what we will do tomorrow, are still a third world. These worlds seem to be far apart. But it is important that we come to know them if we are to help find solutions to the tremendous revolutions that are sweeping Asia.

DOUGLAS: Today the Communist regimes have an upper hand in this region. But with small investments in understanding and friendship the influence can shift away from Russia to the West. Communism, with its cruel and exploitive character, does not carry the hopes of the people.

So far we have appeared in Asia largely as a strong military figure. If we want the allegiance of these people of Asia on our side, we must show more than strength. We must show friendship and understanding. We must avoid a bloody conflict between East and West. If Asia knew our friendship as well as our power, we could be wedded to her in great and noble deeds.

Once we were the champions of change, of liberation from usury, tyranny,

DOUGLAS: CONT'D

disease and poverty. Throughout Asia our championship is being challenged. The appetite for change is there. The Communists are capturing and channeling it for their own aggressive ends. If we fail to meet this challenge history will take its revenge.

Introduction

M' 13 seconds

This is a story of Central Asia – one of the most remote, one of the least known areas of the world. Yet today it is a ~~one of the most~~ critical ~~areas~~ region. Justice Bill Douglas has been there. He recently crossed the Himalayas and has brought us the story of Central Asia ~~in pictures~~.

50 seconds

I should start this story with the words Jai Ho for those are the words of greeting along the trails of the Himalayas.

D//

~~INTRODUCTION~~

~~Su Le is the word of greeting along the trails of India's Himalayas.~~ The Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world. They form ~~an enormous~~ the great barricade, that runs ~~northwest and southeast~~ across northern India and Pakistan. ~~Their highest peak is Everest -- 29,141 ft.; it and many other mountains in the range have never been climbed by man.~~

Even the passes ~~-- the low saddles in the range~~ -- are high by American standards. ~~The lowest pass is about 13,000 ft., the highest over 18,000 ft.,~~ The average pass is ~~15,000 or 16,000 ft.~~ -- higher than any mountain in the United States except McKinley in Alaska. These passes lead from India and Pakistan into the countries to the north.

D

The northern countries are Tibet and Sinkiang. Tibet has recently been taken over by ~~Communists from~~ Red China. Sinkiang ~~is ancient Chinese Turkestan and still~~ is Chinese territory. But Soviet Russia has moved in ~~to Sinkiang~~ with a modern industrial ~~development~~ program. Soviet money, ~~Soviet~~ Soviet technicians, Soviet planning now dominate Sinkiang.

There are great tensions inside Tibet and inside Sinkiang. In Tibet the Buddhist Church is opposed to the Communist regime; and the Communists are starting a program of political action to break the influence and prestige of the church.

~~One who crosses~~ North of the ~~high~~ Himalayas ~~in the western part of the range comes out in Tibet. If he crosses the central part of the range, he comes out in Ladakh, which~~ is Ladakh which

lies against the border of Tibet and Sinkiang. ~~In history~~ most of its people ~~are~~ have been tied to Tibet ~~through~~ by books Ladakh is known as Little Tibet. The people, their ~~racial characteristics, their language and culture, their religion are Tibetan. They have been tied closely to Tibet and Sinkiang in trade and commerce that have moved for centuries over ancient caravan routes. But~~ race, religion and trade. They are politically ~~ties are with~~ a part of India, ~~not with Tibet or Sinkiang.~~

Along the border one can feel the pressure of Communist activity and come to know the nature of Communist propaganda in Central Asia. ~~Central Asia is a critical area. It now~~ has airports from which Soviet airplanes can pound India. It is rich in minerals. Tibet -- the heart of Central Asia -- is the home of the Buddhist world. It is there that the Dalai Lama lives, the spiritual head of the church. It is there that the Communists work these days to gain the upper political hand. If they can get control of the church and make it a puppet in their cause, they will spread their influence far and wide.

The story of these political maneuvers is a part of the reward for crossing the high Himalayas. ~~into Ladakh~~ There are other rewards of adventure along the trail.

Reel I 1-2

1 minute 11 seconds

The trek starts at Manali in Punjab, India. ~~We reach Manali, the starting point of the trek, by train. The train crosses the hot flat plains of India where teeming millions work a tired soil trying to eke out a living.~~ Manali is at

the head of the beautiful Kulu Valley.

~~The northern valleys of India have fewer people per square mile than the plains.~~ The mountain valleys grow fruit, tea, rice, and corn. These valleys ~~-- around 6,000 ft. high,~~ are inhabited mostly by Hindus ~~who till the soil, run caravans of horses and mules over the Himalayas to northern trading posts, or manage small retail shops.~~

They are simple, friendly people who live in a world where superstition flourishes. Each valley has a god or goddess, who is the guardian of the welfare of the people. When plague or sickness strikes a village, the villagers under the leadership of the priests pray to the deities and make them offerings. When there is drought and crops are threatened, they also pray to the god or goddess. In Manali the goddess is Hirma. When I arrived the corn was turning yellow for lack of water. The villagers prayed for rain and as part of their program put on strange dances -- one of which was the sword dance.

Their orchestra -- made up of men from the Untouchable Caste -- played drums and flutes for hours on end while the villagers watched. In a few hours their prayers were answered. It rained. The rain came in torrents.

~~By that time we were on the trail, lightly dressed -- our rubber ponchos packed. We were soaked through in a few minutes. Then the rain turned to sleet and snow and the wind came with fury.~~ I had twenty porters carrying 900 lbs.

of camp equipment. In addition I had a cook, an assistant, and an interpreter. All of us survived the storm. But death rode on its wings.

Higher up -- a few miles beyond us in the stretch we were to cover in the next day or two -- the storm was so severe it killed ~~hundreds of~~ ponies, ~~and~~ mules, and cattle ~~and cattle.~~

3-7 The trail above Manali leads toward the Rothang Pass which means the Pass of Death. The mountain peaks around Rothang Pass are 23,000 to 25,000 ft. high. Timberline goes close to 13,000 ft.

1 minute 48 seconds

~~On the climb to Rothang we left the chestnut trees at 8,000 ft. and the fir and spruce at 10,000; then we picked up scatterings of birch, juniper, and the thick, bushy rhododendron.~~

The slopes of the Himalayas above 10,000 ft. hold many wide green basins, ideal for the grazing of sheep and goats. ~~There are great quantities of buttercups, phlox, anemones, poppies, geraniums, and cinquefoil on these slopes. Fifty thousand sheep and goats cross Rothang Pass every year en route to grazing lands high on the other side.~~

~~This trail also sees many caravans bringing salt, wool, and skins down from the north and taking cloth, sugar, and spices up from the south.~~ The trail is centuries old, and follows an easy grade. The Himalayas are full of slate rock that chips off into flat slabs. The men who have traveled this trail have laid these slabs in the trail. The effect in many stretches is that of a wide, easy staircase

which, except for the altitude, is easy to climb.

~~My~~ The porters stopped frequently to rest and smoke. They were a friendly lot -- and very gay and happy now that their prayers for rain had been answered.

~~At Koti -- the last village below Rothang Pass -- we bought a chicken from a farmer; and we carried it over Rothang Pass on our packs and had it for dinner that night.~~

The top of Rothang -- 13,200 ft. high -- was covered with fresh snow from the blizzard ~~we had encountered.~~ Remnants of the storm still hovered over the pass; a raw, cold wind blew there.

There are many waterfalls around Rothang Pass -- some higher and more vivid than those of our own Columbia River Gorge. One of the largest looks like a bridal veil and is so remote that in all the centuries its music has probably seldom been heard by human ears.

Koksar is the first village on the north side of Rothang Pass. It was here that Rahul -- ~~my~~ the interpreter -- met up with the first of many Buddhist lamas ~~we saw~~. This lama -- like the lama in Kipling's book Kim -- was on a pilgrimage.

8. There were Hindu women from Kulu along the trail. They were pretty -- dark skin, sharp features, brown eyes, white teeth. ~~They wore colored scarves over their heads. Their skirts were full. Some were barefoot; most of them wore sandals. They all wore earrings -- some had as many as 10~~

2 records

i~~n each ear~~. Their noses were pierced and set with gold pieces. Most of them wore bracelets and anklets. They sang of love -- a song about Kunjva. It went like this:

Red, red wrist
Gold watch on wrist
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

White, white your teeth
Red lips, sweet your tongue
Kunjva, my camp is in the plain of Chamba
Come at night time

9. ~~I had to build a bridge at Koksar.~~ The Chandra River which runs through the villages and ~~one of~~ its ~~main~~ tributaries ~~comes in~~ where ~~there~~. A bridge at Koksar had been washed out by ~~the~~ a blizzard ~~we were in.~~ I ~~found about 30~~ travelers were piled up ~~at Koksar~~ there, waiting for the water to subside so that they could ford the river.

55 seconds

9. ~~I~~ suggested that ~~we all~~ ~~they~~ we all build a bridge. ~~Everyone else thought it was cheaper to wait.~~ I ~~looked for trees to cut. There were none except 2,000 to 3,000 feet high on the canyon wall.~~ A local Indian official whose duty it was to repair the bridge had logs; but he also had a price. I negotiated with him for several hours and got the price reduced from $25 to $5. Then I promised everyone who helped with the bridge a free passage over it.

~~It was shortly finished~~ -- ~~F~~lat ~~slate~~ slabs were laid over the logs.

logs were snaked across the river.

These Himalayan streams are dangerous, ~~when swollen~~. They are not safe for man or beast. The natives believe there are angry spirits in the waters who take revenge on a man. Lives are often lost in their crossings. A good mule out there costs about $100; and that is a fortune to the average peasant.

10. There were streams we had to ford. The waters of one were so swift I was almost swept away. ~~I was caught just in time by a local Lahuli man who was wiser about the danger of these streams than I. He dragged me to shore; and he and I helped a dozen or more other people across. There were two ladies and a baby whom we helped. Small mules and donkeys had to be unpacked before they could cross~~.

5 seconds

We followed the Chandra downstream for about 15 miles. High above us were 20,000 ft., snow-capped peaks. Below them were grassy basins and slopes where sheep grazed. But the valley is barren in summer -- rocks and sand with few places left for cultivation.

11-17. At the confluence of the Chandra and the Bagha rivers ~~we~~ Justice Douglas turned east and came to the pleasant village of Kyelang, capital of Lahul -- one of India's frontier provinces. Most of the Lahuli people are Buddhists; a small minority are of the Hindu faith. One can reach Lahul only four months out of the year; the rest of the time the passes are blocked by snow. There are no power plants, no electricity, no plumbing in Lahul. It is primitive country; all labor is by hand. Men work; but the main burden of the fields is carried by the women.

53 seconds

These Lahuli women have Mongol features; they are mostly short and broad shouldred. They carry loads of grain and hay on their backs. They cultivate with a short handled instrument that looks like a pick but has a broader blade. Some~~times the men join them in the fields -- especially when their picture is being taken. But mostly~~ The men sit under a tree -- ~~serving in a supervisory role~~ making sure the women work. The only work animal in this part of the world that is used on the farms is the dzo -- a cross between a cow and a yak. Their long black hair is used to make the long black dresses the women wear. The people live mostly on barley -- barley is their mainstay except for the milk and cheese from the dzo. -- Justice Douglass found another Judge!

18. Upstream from Kyelang at a village called Jispa ~~I found~~ there was a local Indian judge holding court in the open. All of the peasants came out to watch the proceedings. -- ~~the old and the young, the men and the women.~~ These people had settled on government land illegally. They were squatters. They had paid no taxes; they had filed no homestead applications.

They are important people to India because they are on India's northern border. It's ~~is~~ a nervous border where the Communist influence is strong. These people might be used by the Communists against India. That is why this kindly judge was gentle with these people. ~~"Will you eject them from this government land?" I asked. "Certainly not," he said. "They are border people who must be happy and content or else they may be used by the Communists against India's interests." "Will you make them pay back taxes? Will you make them pay for the land?" I asked. "They are too poor to pay," he replied. And then he~~

He said they were ~~must be~~ ~~Therefore~~ ~~That is why the judge decided not to~~ ~~Hearing~~ ~~Heard~~ ~~That's why~~ ~~That's why he~~

added, "The cash income of any of these families, probably not $10 a year."

19. During a recess of the court some of the men sang. They sang a song of Angmo, a girl who married a man and left Lahul. All girls want to leave Lahul. No outside woman wants to marry a Lahuli man. The reasons? First, Lahuli men make their women do all the work. Second, The food in Lahul is pretty monotonous. A girl who can escape to Kulu -- and many do -- can have fruit to eat as well as barley -- fruit, and rice, and lamb.

REEL II

1. (Sheep scene should be moved near the end of Reel IV.)

1-4. Jispa, where the court was held, lies over 11,000 ft. high. From there the trail heads for Baralacha Pass, almost 17,000 ft. high. It follows the Bagha River all the way. The last camp site is Zing Zing Bar over 13,000 ft. There used to be a shelter there; but heavy snows crushed it. We camped there in the ruins. We got a late start in the morning because the mules went to 16,000 ft. or more looking for feed, and it took hours to catch them.

5-7. These mules -- eleven in all -- were hung with bells. Their owner was a young man -- Rup Singh. He had two assistants -- jovial, carefree youngsters. We got these mules in Kyelang, sending our porters back to Manali. These mules stayed with me all the way to Leh, the end of the trek.

7. The trail above Zing Zing Bar threads through great fields of broken shale rock. The ascent to Baralacha ~~Pass~~ ~~was~~ is steep and tiring. Below Baralacha ~~Pass~~ is a blue and sterile lake -- Sun Lake, with no grass or trees to mark its shores. Above this lake were huge drifts of soft snow. The snow blocked the trail -- and was too soft to hold a mule. Some of the smaller animals had to be repacked. Even the more rangy, robust ones foundered awkwardly in the drifts. ~~One got stuck and in his violent struggle cut his head on the corner of a pack box, leaving an ugly wound.~~

Baralacha Pass is 16,800 ft. high -- a barren, rolling amphitheatre. ~~This day it was touched with snow and wet.~~ The peaks that surround it are covered with snow and ice -- and from Baralacha look no higher than the mountains of New England. They are 23,000 ft. ~~peaks~~ barrier, shrunk to small ones when seen from ~~Baralacha.~~ this high pass. high Pass

8. The valleys on the north side of Baralacha are mostly barren -- swept by wind, over-grazed by sheep and goats, and having little grass left.

19' records

These valleys lie between 14,000 and 15,000 ft. The night wind is cool, the sun is hot and burning -- burning fair-skinned people so that their eyes are swollen shut and their lips puffed and sore.

9-14. ~~Some of the trails climbed steeply.~~ Chakchu was one of our camps. It lies on a narrow ridge 15,800 ft. high. We put our bedrolls under a cliff. Our camp this night was ~~indeed~~ a crow's nest.

1 minute

We cooked on a two-burner kerosene stove. The muleteers made gur gur cha -- tea, salt, and yak butter. ~~This is~~ the usual beverage with every meal in the Himalayas. If the butter is not rancid, it is quite palatable. And it is very nourishing.

At Chakchu I met up with a group of men and women who had walked from Leh to Manali -- 240 miles -- on a shopping trip. They were now on their return. One lady was in her 30's -- and she carried an eighty-pound pack. One lady in her 70's carried a forty-pound pack. This old lady -- with a head dress that made her look like a wolf -- had a bad headache that night and was sick to her stomach. ~~I gave her medicine; and in the morning she was well again.~~

15-16. ~~The trail beyond Chakchu keeps at 15,000 ft. for miles on end. The mountains are dry and barren. High up are ibex, blue sheep and wild asses. There are three more passes to cross -- passes that rise to 17,479 ft.~~

records

We have

The natives believe that each pass has a god who ~~or goddess. Some of the deities are evil; some good. They~~ can strike men down. Those who are sick ~~have mountain sickness and faint or bleed at the nose~~ are thought to have incurred the wrath of the god ~~or goddess.~~

When one crosses ~~Those who cross~~ a pass safely he says ~~accordingly they~~ a prayer in thankfulness. ~~for the safety of their crossing.~~ Each pass has a pile of stones -- a monument to the god of the pass ~~or goddess.~~ Each traveler adds a rock to the pile and often puts up a

No trail beyond Chakchu keeps at 15,000 ft for miles on end.

prayer flag. ~~These piles of rocks are called~~ obos ~~in Ladakh.~~

17. The yak is the best possible transportation at high altitudes. ~~The yak~~ It is a member of the ox family with long hair that is usually black. I got yaks the day we had to travel 30 miles across the highest pass. That would have been too long a journey for the mules. Yaks are slow ~~animals~~, averaging less than two miles an hour, but they are ~~as~~ sure-footed as a goat and can carry up to 250 pounds with ease. The yak groans as he walks, ~~and there always seems to be blood dripping from his nose. But~~ He is ~~very~~ the safest, the most reliable transport in the Himalayas.

18-21. The village of Gya lies on the north side of our highest pass. ~~It is~~ a small village of a few hundred people. The houses are typically Tibetan with walls of rock stuck together with mud. The ceilings are low. The roofs are flat, the beams ~~being~~ poplar wood -- (the only tree at this high altitude.) The people are poor, ~~having cash income per family of not more than $10 a year. In some valleys~~ Corn grows at the altitude of ~~up to~~ 12,000 feet. But in Gya there is only one crop; ~~that is~~ barley. It is the mainstay of the diet of the people. They have precious little meat. There are no schools ~~in this region~~. There are monasteries; but there are no churches in the conventional sense. There are no hospitals and no doctors. The people live on the edge of misery and privation. They make their own clothes, the women spinning the yarn from the wool of sheep and hair of yaks.

The women in Ladakh have a peculiar headdress known as the perakh. It is a piece of leather about two feet in length that comes from the forehead over the top of the head and down across the shoulders. The leather is studded with gems, usually turquoise and agate. It is a ~~highly~~ decorative headdress and highly prized. The most beautiful one in Ladakh is said to be owned by the Queen of Ladakh.

REEL III

1-5. ~~The land in Ladakh is owned mostly by the monasteries.~~ The monasteries own well over half ~~50%~~ of the farming land in Ladakh ~~and the land that they own is the best land.~~ The vast majority of the people of Ladakh either are attached to the monasteries as lamas, or work for the monasteries as farm tenants. The monasteries usually rent the land ~~sometimes~~ on shares, ~~sometimes for cash~~. ~~The monasteries are also the source of credit for the tenant.~~

~~Kashmir today has a liberal government. It has liberal laws governing agricultural credit.~~ Under Kashmir law no ~~No~~ landlord can ~~now~~ charge any interest on a loan to his tenant, and ~~Money lenders today are restricted to 5% on their loans~~. But usury ~~and extortionate credit practices have~~ and extortionate credit practices have a deep hold on this country. ~~Ancient habits are hard to break. Ladakh is full of ugly stories about current usurious practices.~~

Kashmir ~~also has a law breaking up its ancient feudal system.~~ passed a law restricting ~~Under its new law every~~ landowners ~~is entitled to keep only about~~ to twelve acres ~~of land~~ each. The government ~~has taken~~ took the

~~last~~ rest of ~~the holdings~~ and distributed it to the tenants. ~~In the vicinity of Leh over 20,000 acres passed from 24 landlords to the tenants. This distribution was free, the peasants not paying~~ for the land; nor to date has the government given the owners any compensation. Whether or not the landlords should be paid is a political question that agitates Kashmir today. But in two important respects, Kashmir has not touched the central ~~land problem of Ladakh. It has~~ But it did not distribute the land holdings of the King of Ladakh, ~~who owns a large acreage, nor has it touched~~ nor the land holdings of the monasteries.

The monasteries ~~therefore~~ continue to own most of the land ~~in Ladakh in spite of Kashmir's new policy.~~ The monasteries ~~have been excluded because of the power of the lamas and because the government did not deem it expedient to disturb the status quo.~~ The lamas are a powerful political force, who ~~They~~ have a strong position in the ~~community~~ country. The hold of the lamas on the people does not result from any organized activities of the church. ~~There are few schools run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken~~ under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert any power over the people through schools, hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render very little community service to the people. When a person is sick a lama will be sent to his bedside ~~to that the lama may~~ pray for him. Lamas conduct funeral services. Lamas perform marriage ceremonies. ~~But~~ the lamas keep their hold on

the people by fears, superstitions, and poverty. ~~The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can influence the good ones to help the people.~~

~~The lama has contact with the other world. He has the wisdom and power of the land.~~ The peasant is illiterate. ~~He can neither read nor write.~~ He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. ~~The peasant~~ He is, filled with fears and superstitions, learns about the devils and demons from the lips of his parents when he is a babe, ~~from the stories his elders tell as he grows up~~. The lamas also indoctrinate him ~~with fears and superstitions~~. ~~They teach that the devils are always present. Lamaism has a vested interest in the ignorance of the peasant and in the poverty of the peasant as well. Poverty and ignorance in fact go hand in hand. Poverty, indeed, is the main instrument for perpetuating and promoting ignorance.~~

Each monastery has a spiritual head, and another lama who is the managerial head. The managerial head has his staff of working monks who supervise the making of leases~~, the cultivation of the lands of the monasteries,~~ and the collection of rents. The business lama usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord; he also brings the power and prestige of the church.

6-11. Upshi is ~~the first~~ village on the Indus River, ~~that we reached~~. We stayed ~~with Jigmet~~, the head man ~~of the village~~. Jigmet, ~~the~~

3 minutes
40 seconds

richest man in the village, and owns a little more than an acre of land. He has no animals except a dzo and a few chickens. He is poor as a church mouse, but a very gracious host. Jigmet, like most Ladakhis, eats barley and ~~wheat cakes called chappatis,~~ an unleavened bread made from wheat, ~~He bakes barley flour and stirs it in his tea. He drinks the broth of turnips that may have some peas in it. He has fruits in season -- apples, grapes, and apricots. But he has precious little meat. Jigmet,~~ like most other Ladakhis, he lives at a bare subsistence level.

There are two schools of lamas in Ladakh. One is the Red Sect; the other is the Yellow Sect. The Yellow Sect is the reform sect, going back about 500 years. The Yellow Sect is the more powerful sect today. The head of the Buddhist world, the Dalai Lama who lives in Lhasa in Tibet, is a member of the Yellow Sect. Members of the Yellow Sect are always single men. They have a more strict discipline than the Red lama. The Red lama is permitted to marry, and some of them do.

These lamas look to the Dalai Lama in Tibet for their spiritual leadership. Many of them in fact go to ~~study in~~ Lhasa for years of study. ~~They come back from Lhasa indoctrinated in the Buddhist faith and in its philosophy and literature.~~

The Buddhists believe in the reincarnation of the soul. A man does not die; his soul merely leaves his body and takes possession of a new body. This is known as reincarnation. The man who has been an evil man in his lifetime may find that his soul moves not into a human body but into some animal

on his death. Man's soul lives on and on, and the constant struggle through the centuries is for man to perfect himself, first by escaping from the animal kingdom and then by working himself up to the highest, the most sublime form of life. The emphasis is on holiness, kindness, good deeds, and the maintenance of a peaceful and righteous life.

This doctrine of reincarnation has taken a special twist in Tibet. It has been used since about the 15th century to maintain the authority of the priesthood and to perpetuate the power of the lamas. The Chinese used it in order to control the selection of the Dalai Lama. And it has been used for some centuries for the selection of lesser lamas as well. For example, the head of every monastery is the reincarnation of the holy man who originally established the monastery. That is true of the Rinpoche, ~~the~~ a boy of eleven ~~with whom I stayed~~ at the Hemis Monastery. When the soul of his predecessor departed, the lamas of the monastery went to Lhasa in Tibet to consult the oracle; and the oracle told how the reincarnated lama could be found in a remote province in Tibet. The lamas went there and found the boy. They satisfied themselves by various tests that the boy was the reincarnation of the former head of the monastery. He was brought back to the monastery and is under the supervision of his teacher, a man ~~by~~ the name of Phuntzog, until he reaches his maturity.

12-13. I stopped at Hemis ~~Monastery for two days~~ and visited with the Rinpoche ~~and Phuntzog, his teacher~~. This boy of eleven will now go to Lhasa for ten years of study. Lhasa is now the stronghold of Red Chinese influence. Will this boy come back indoctrinated in Communist philosophy? ~~Will he return hostile to the West, friendly to Russia?~~ The~~se~~ ~~are~~ is questions that bothers the priesthood of the Buddhist world these days. ~~When Red China got control of Tibet she won a political victory that may have repercussions far beyond the Tibetan border.~~ ~~Now~~ The Communists ~~have some~~ now control ~~over~~ the hierarchy of the church. ~~They will now control the oracle who determines where the souls of the deceased lamas have gone. With that power they will control~~ the selection of all the chief lamas, ~~in northern India.~~ Whether they will succeed in making the church a mouthpiece for them, ~~whether the priests will be able to resist, whether the Communists will confiscate the wealth of the monasteries and break the power of the lamas -- these are all~~ is a questions yet to be answered. Only time will tell.

30 seconds

14-17 At Hemis I saw the lama dances. They are done on festive occasions. The pilgrims come from far and wide to see these dances. The orchestra is made up of drums, cymbals and horns. Two huge horns dominate the music. They are twelve feet long. They are blown from the top of the monastery in the morning to wake the monks and at night to put the monastery to bed. They can be heard for twenty miles.

1 minute 20 seconds

The dancers are lamas. Their costumes are hundreds of years old. The masks are carved from ~~one piece~~ single pieces of wood and

enameled by an ancient process. The dances represent the struggle between Good and Evil. Evil is represented by ugly characters -- Anger, Lust, and Greed. These characters are the ones that bes~~t~~ man throughout his life. If he escapes them, and prevails over them, he wins merit and advances to a higher class in the next life. If he is a victim of them, he loses merit and slips down the ladder in the next life.

~~The peasants come in from far and wide to see these dances. There they~~ The audience can see ~~the evil~~ there spirits ~~and the good ones. There They can see~~ and the struggle of man against the evil ones.

The good spirits are represented by the stag and the yak. These spirits are kind and friendly to man. They are on his side in the struggle against evil. And always in these lama dances, the outcome is the same. The Stag and the Yak route Anger, Lust, and Greed. Good conquers Evil.

Thus does the monastery bring a moral lesson home to every peasant.

REEL IV

~~1.~~ Even though the lamas hold the people in poverty and ignorance, there is no revolt and apparently not even any resentment. ~~The hold of the lamas is great for, as expressed in a Tibetan proverb, "without a lama in front there is no approach to God."~~ Yet people are people the world around, and the Ladakhis show their resentment in simple, innocuous ways. It is in the form of making fun of the lamas. This is all in

1. ~~the~~ 39 seconds

good taste, and one of the most dramatic ways is the singing of a famous ~~Ladakhi~~ folk song. ~~The women of Gya sang it for me.~~ The song is a take-off on a man accused of being a lama. As the women sing, they bend over, shaking their fingers at an imaginary figure at their feet as though they ~~were~~ are scolding. And as they sing, their eyes danced with merriment, for now they ~~were~~ are making fun of their lord and master, the one who owns their souls, their houses, their fields -- the big, rich monastery that sits like a castle on the hill.

2. These lamas are devout men. They spend their days from morning to night in prayer and meditation. Very often they sit for days on end ~~in the woods by themselves,~~ reciting scriptures out loud. Sometimes they sit and say their prayers in unison. On a holy day at the beginning of each year, the entire monastery recites out loud the scriptures ~~the entire Buddhist scriptures~~.

15½ seconds

3-5. After ~~we left~~ leaving Hemis Monastery ~~we~~ Justice Douglas - met the Indus River, a big river that rises in Tibet, flows through northern India, cuts through the Himalayas, and comes out into Pakistan. The water rights of this river constitute one of the grievances in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. There is some irrigation from the river. But most of the systems are ancient and inefficient. The present Indian Government has vast irrigation projects planned for this region.

5½ seconds

There are some camels in this region, but most of the transport is by the small Tibetan pony and by mules and yaks.

There are no trade routes that run the length of the Indus River; but most of the trade routes cut across it. These are the ancient caravan trails coming down from Tibet and Sinkiang into India. The trail ~~that I followed~~ from Manali to Leh was one of those routes.

6~~4~~. When I had left New Delhi, the movie film which I had sent out from America had not arrived. I did not have the time to wait for it. Prime Minister Nehru of India told me not to worry~~, that he~~ would get it to me. And it was ~~delivered~~ in ~~the middle of my trek~~ ~~In a very remote place in the Himalayas~~ ~~by some of the~~ Indian army patrols ~~who~~ ride this remote Himalayan ~~northern~~ country looking for bandits and for Red Chinese.

7. ~~As we approach Leh, capital of Ladakh and the end of the trail, we see some of the longest mani walls in the world.~~ The mani wall is ~~a rock~~ made of rocks. ~~They are usually eight feet or more tall and twenty-five feet or more wide~~. ~~There is one near Leh that runs for about a mile~~. The rocks on the top of the mani wall are flat slabs on each of which is engraved the magic words, om mani padme hoom. It means "Oh, jewel of the lotus". The lotus, ~~the most beautiful of flowers~~, grows out of mud and filth. Buddha was born out of the lotus. Buddha, like the lotus, showed that the spirit of man can ~~rise above the lowliest source and~~ find perfection even among the dregs of the earth.

One who passes a mani wall keeps it on his right, for there is an old Tibetan saying, "Beware of the devils on the left-hand side." The chhorten is a monument of pyramid design,

usually whitewashed. They are usually sepulchres where the ashes of a deceased are placed. They are sometimes connected with the mani walls. There is usually one at the entrance of a village. They guard the village, keeping the evil spirits away.

8. Ladakh is one of the few remaining places in the world where a woman has more than one lawful husband. I visited some of these families. One had the name of Dombos. This woman had two husbands. The family owned a few acres of land. The house was a two-story mud and stone affair. It was a gay and happy family. The husbands were brothers. When the oldest brother marries, his wife becomes the wife of all the brothers. The monasteries encourage this institution of polyandry. The Kashmir government opposes it. But it is deep in the traditions of the villages. The effect of polyandry is to keep the population from increasing. Lamas think it serves a good purpose in an area where the food supply is not abundant. They think so because in that way their food supply is protected.

Another polyandry family I visited were the Gyalangs. These people live in a one-room hut. There is much friction between the two brothers. The family is poor as poor can be. A good deal of the barley that the Gyalangs raise goes to make a local beer. Under the influence of this beer, the two husbands raise their voices over the wife.

9-14. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, is a town of 4,000. It lies

11,500 ft. high in a vast sloping basin hemmed by 25,000 ft. peaks. Leh has narrow winding streets made for caravans, not cars. Leh has no cars except a few jeeps of the Indian Army garrison nearby. The main bazaars in Leh are located on a long ~~and~~ L-shaped street. Each shop is flush with the street. At one end of the main street is a ~~Moslem~~ mosque to accommodate the religious needs of a small minority of Moslems in this region. Leh is a peaceful town. Buddha taught the principles of non-violence, and it has had such an effect on the people that even in the hurley-burley of the city of Leh, there have been in recent years no records of any crime of violence and very few thefts.

Leh is on an ancient caravan route that leads to Yarkand in Sinkiang and Lhasa in Tibet. Wool, tea, skins, carpets, borax, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, opium, pearls, spices, wheat, tobacco came up from the south. These caravans met at Leh and exchanges were made. Great commerce and industry flourished. Leh was indeed the great connecting link between the cold and forbidden land of the north, and the warm and sunny land of the south. Today people still swarm through the bazaar of Leh as they did before. A few of the shops are still open. But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stores are closed. The heavy wooden doors of the shops have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. Only a trickle of trade now comes down from the north. The Russians have closed the Sinkiang border. A depression has struck Leh. This ~~was~~ is not a temporary depression. It ~~was~~ is

permanent because Russia has ~~turned~~ blocked the trade routes ~~around.~~ ~~For centuries they ran~~ north and south. Now they will run east and west. Russia will use the commerce of China, Tibet, and Sinkiang to lace those three regions tightly into the Soviet empire. This is a part of the Soviet empire building.

High above Leh, and looking down upon it, is the ancient castle of the King of Ladakh. It rises many stories like an awkward skyscraper. Once it was a place of splendor. Now it is empty, filled with cobwebs, bats and the memories of an ancient power. The King of Ladakh, a young man in his 20's, is now an officer in the Indian Army. ~~I met him at Leh.~~ The rule of the kings is ended. The Kashmir Government now makes the laws for this region.

When I was at Leh I saw what probably were the last of the caravans coming down from the north. The first of these were sheep. There is an old Tibetan saying that "sheep are the goods trains." Sheep and goats have been used from time immemorial to bring produce down from the north. The sheep are loaded with pack bags full of salt. They start down from the north in June and travel hundreds of miles, grazing as they go. When they reach their destination, the packs are removed and the salt sold. Then the sheep and the goats are sheared, and their wool is sold. Then the packs are filled with barley or corn, and the herd starts its long way back.

I saw probably the last sheep train that will come down from the north. I saw also probably the last pack train of

horses and mules carrying great bales of wool. This wool is the soft wool from the under-belly of the goat. It is the wool that is used to make the famous Kashmir scarves and shawls. It comes from only parts of Sinkiang and Tibet. None of this famous wool is now traveling to Kashmir; it is going east and west into Chinese and Russian markets. As long as China and Russia keep their hold on the northern country, it will never come south again.

Central Asia is mostly in Russia and Tibet. But the northern stretch of India and the outposts along the Sinkiang-Tibetan border are also Central Asia. They are one world. The Communist regimes that lie to the north are a second world. We of the West, propelled by events so fast that we have little time to learn what we did yesterday or what we will do tomorrow, are still a third world. These worlds, ~~when seen through the eyes of an American,~~ seem to be far apart. But it is important that we come to know them if we are to help find solutions to the tremendous revolutions that are sweeping Asia.

Today the Communist regimes have an upper hand in this region. But with small investments in understanding and ~~affection,~~ friendship the influence can shift away from Russia to the ~~democratic influences of the~~ West. ~~The searching for love and affection is endless. It goes on the world around.~~ Communism, with its cruel and exploitive character, does not carry the hopes of the people. ~~What they want is friendship and understanding.~~ ¶ So far we have appeared in Asia largely as a

strong military figure. If we want the allegiance of these people of Asia on our side, we must show more than strength. We must show understanding. We must avoid a bloody conflict between East and West. If Asia knew our ~~affection~~ understanding as well as our power, we could be wedded to her in great and noble deeds. ~~The threat of Soviet imperialism would then disappear as the mad dream of another personality as sick as Hitler.~~

D

Once we were the Champions of Change — of Liberation from usury, tyranny, disease and poverty. ~~In this part of~~ Throughout Asia our Championship is being Challenged. The apetite for Change is there — The Communists are capturing and channelling it, for their own agressive ends. If we fail to meet this Challenge history will take its Revenge.

Duggan, Steve

Correspondence

SIMPSON THACHER & BARTLETT
120 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

BOWEN BUILDING
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

March 15, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I did not want you to think that I have forgotten the subject of our conversation in your office some months ago. I mentioned to you at the time that I was going to see Earl Newsom and, indeed, did thereafter, getting several suggestions from him. I handed on your thoughts, Earl Newsom's and some other suggestions to the members of the family, including Polly and Sally who are both abroad at this point. I have now heard from them all and they are more or less unanimous in the belief that at this stage caution is of the utmost importance.

I have been in the hospital for about a month for an operation and am home now for several weeks convalescence. When I get out I hope to ask for some more of your time and review the present status of things. You recall that I told you about Chambers articles for the Saturday Evening Post and the book which will be a Book of-the-Month Club selection for May. In this connection I have had discussions, continuing for several months, with counsel for Random House, the publishers of the book. Counsel were unsuccessful in persuading Chambers to omit reference to Larry's name and finally suggested I write a letter myself. I did and enclose herewith a copy of it for your own private information. It did no good - as I expected - for, in fact, Chambers has rejected the suggestion. I don't think the letter did any harm for the record, however.

With warmest regards to you and Janet and looking forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Steve Duggan

(Enc.)

COPY

SIMPSON THACHER & BARTLETT
120 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 5

February 26, 1952

Mr. Whittaker Chambers,
c/o Mr. Horace S. Manges,
Messrs. Weil, Gotshal & Manges,
60 East 42nd Street,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Through the courtesy of Mr. Manges I have been permitted to see those extracts of your forthcoming book which refer to my brother, Laurence Duggan. I have also read those installments of the serial based upon your book which have thus far appeared in the Saturday Evening Post. In the first installment, as I understand you, you have expressed a conviction that America's strength, in part, is derived from its unswerving belief in fair play. I suggest for your consideration that your action in referring to my brother is not consistent with this conviction. I will explain.

At the time of my brother's death in December, 1948, in answer to the direct question of news reporters you stated you had no personal knowledge that he was either a member of the Communist Party or sympathized with its aims. From what I saw of your book that statement is confirmed. But nevertheless you frequently refer to him, and almost without exception the references are based on pure hearsay.

It is this repetition of hearsay and rumor which is, in my judgment, so unfair and therefore wholly inconsistent with the principles which you have expressed in your writing. With the enormous power of the printed word behind it (especially when it is the Saturday Evening Post or a Book-of-the-Month Club publication) an ordinary rumor is soon by repetition an established extraordinary fact, and in a few years is consecrated as history. Americans, all of us, believe a man is innocent until proved guilty, that he should be given the opportunity to defend against a charge. My brother is not here to rise to his feet and say "I deny", and the law affords his memory and family no protection. By repeating these

rumors in your book you have, in effect, made yourself prosecutor, judge and jury; you have determined unilaterally that hearsay shall become a fact.

The unfairness becomes particularly apparent, I believe, when the rumors are weighed against, among other things, the following events which took p ace after his death: the clearance given my brother by the Attorney General of the United States who based his statement on information from the F. B. I.; the clearance given by Senator (then Congressman) Nixon on behalf of the House Committee; and the magnificent testimonial given him by the high officials with whom he worked intimately during his dozen years in the State Department, namely, Messrs. Hull, Wells, Berle and Sayre; the expressed faith of the press, radio and other reputable journalists in New York and Washington who knew him, and they usually know a lot; and the payment in full of insurance policies (including double indemnity in case of accidental death) by three separate companies after exhaustive investigation lasting months, - which action in fact said he did not commit suicide and no motive for such a step could be proven.

Nothing new has happened since then except the repetition of rumors, which were known to, and investigated by, the F. B. I. before his name was cleared. Yet now you have chosen to disseminate them widely through media which will add to the damage, soon to become irreparable, to a fine name. When the Berle memorandum was offered at the Hiss trial Judge Goddard directed, so Mr. Murphy told me, that the reference to my brother in that document be blocked out because it was unfair under the circumstances to make it public. The fact that through inadvertence his order was not followed out is beside the point. The Court must then have been motivated by the same belief in the principle of fair play and have been aware of the same circumstances of which I now speak. I say it is not fair, nor in accord with American ideals which all of us are striving to preserve for ourselves and our children to perpetuate hearsay and thereby to injure others without warrant or necessity. For these reasons I believe references to Laurence Duggan should be eliminated from your book.

Very truly yours,

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN, JR.

Duggan, Steve

SIMPSON THACHER & BARTLETT
120 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

BOWEN BUILDING
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

March 16, 1951

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Apropos of our telephone talk several weeks ago, I enclose herewith copies of several clippings. The Sokolsky one has been the most vicious so far. Its being syndicated and republished in many papers adds to its unfortunate character.

The book review by Gannett, although having a favorable last paragraph, astonishes me in that they took the book as seriously as they did.

I do not feel that the moment has yet arrived to do anything but I thought you would be interested in seeing these clippings in the event you had missed them.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Steve Duggan

Duggan

Herald Tribune 3/1/54

BOOKS AND THINGS

By LEWIS GANNETT

THIS DECEPTION. By Hede Massing. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 335 pages. $3.50.

THE Austrian-born woman who married Gerhart Eisler, young Communist leader, in her twenties; who was trained in Soviet espionage by Ignace Reiss, a Communist bigshot who was bumped off in Switzerland in 1937, six weeks after he denounced Stalin; who in the middle 1930s worked in Washington, making contacts with Noel Field and Alger Hiss, who extricated herself from the Communist "apparatus" after 1938 and in 1947 told her story to the F. B. I., reveals her life story in "This Deception." It is, on the whole, the most readable as well as psychologically the most convincing story yet told by an ex-Communist.

Hede Massing

Memories of an Ex-Communist

The conviction stems in part from the fact that it isn't altogether a forgetful penitent's story. Mrs. Massing remembers her first husband, Eisler—who, after his escape from America, bobbed up again in Eastern Germany—with affection. She recalls gratefully the "sense of great security and well-being" which her fellow-traveling second husband gave her. She writes fondly of the "wonderful big smile" of Ludwig, her teacher and boss. She recalls the "humanitarian" glow as well as the sense of high adventure in her early years in the Communist movement. And she is equally happy in remembering how she poured out her heart, telling of her crumbled illusions to her friends in the F. B. I. That was "like a psychoanalysis."

The Psychology of the Break

What is hardest for her to understand today is how she and her third husband, doubting greatly, remained so long in the Soviet web. That is always the crux of the story. But even on that Mrs. Massing is convincing. She says:

> The breaking away from the movement, whatever function one might hold within it, does not come in a flash. It is a slow, painful process. It is not a decision one makes, but a decision that grows. It grows slowly in the beginning. It is nourished by disillusionment. And then finally come the days when one is sick enough. And still it is like renouncing your religion, your family, your life's work, the taking leave of your friends—all at once. . . . You go into loneliness, you hide. Slowly you recover, as from an illness.

That is keen self-analysis. Perhaps the gradualness of her own recovery explains why Mrs. Massing's narrative has so little of the common ex-Communist's neuroses. She always hated and still hates the mechanically conditioned wooden-headed Russian bureaucrats, but she has not forgotten the romantic fire of her youth in the movement. She understands how decent people have been caught in the network and poisoned, and she obviously hopes that more of her erstwhile comrades in America will yet see the light.

High Drama

High drama packs her pages. One dramatic moment, which perhaps impresses her more today than it did then, was her first attendance at one of President Roosevelt's press conferences in Washington—her "first lesson in democracy." There are lively sketches of lost comrades, including the amazing Dr. Richard Sorge, who played the role of a Nazi in the Far East, and was discovered and shot by the Japanese. "I believe him to be the only Russian agent who can be considered heroic by Americans," Mrs. Massing says. "Ludwig"—Ignace Reiss—the Old Bolshevik, disillusioned by the Russian purges, is another sympathetic portrait. There are also the faceless cogs in the machine, usually known to Mrs. Massing only by some assumed first name, Walter or Bill or Paul, and Helen, who lured Hede Massing back to Moscow, possibly for intended death.

It must have taken courage, and perhaps more lingering faith in Communism than Mrs. Massing now remembers, to return to Moscow in 1938 to ask permission to withdraw from the apparatus. The story of that visit is a dizzy, bitter picture of the fantastic life of the foreign comrade in the Communist capital. Probably it was a chance contact with the bewildered Noel Field that insured the Massings' escape. Noel Field she pictures as a neurotic and uncertain idealist; he is now somewhere behind the Iron Curtain, whether as a prisoner or a confessing convert only the Kremlin knows for sure.

A Dubious Chapter

Most of Mrs. Massing's story she told with the collaboration of Eugene Lyons in "The New York Daily Mirror" a year ago. The outlines of the story are unchanged, but new details are added, notably in the case of the late Laurence Duggan. The house which originally contracted to publish Mrs. Massing's book asked her to delete the dubious Duggan chapter. She indignantly refused, and took her book to her present publishers. In the disputed chapter Mrs. Massing implies that Mr. Duggan joined her group, although on another page she explicitly doubts that he did. Mrs. Massing makes no mention of the Attorney General's statement, made after Duggan's death, that Duggan was "a loyal employee of the United States government," who had told the F. B. I. of the Communist approach to him and of his rebuff of it.

H. H. Massing

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AMERICAN
Press Clipping Service
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119 Nassau Street
New York City

From

TIMES
Detroit, Mich.
MAR 1 1951

THESE DAYS

—By George E. Sokolsky

THE problem of the former Communist intrigues all sorts of people. Some, like Bernard Devoto, wonder why he should believe them. They were wrong once, may they not be wrong again? They changed once, might they not change again?

My own experience since 1917 shows that it is next to impossible to get at the heart of Communist organization and activities without the assistance of renegade Communists.

Even students who have devoted themselves to the problem, no matter how assiduously, for decades, find that there are missing links, unexplained details, curious personal relationships, without which even academic analysis becomes hopeless.

So we come to the question of Hede Massing's forthcoming book, entitled "This Deception." Hede Massing is the former wife of Gerhart Eisler, who represented the Third International in the United States and was the most powerful Communist in this country for a period.

Eisler escaped from the United States on the polish ship Batory under scandalous circumstances.

* * *

MRS. MASSING wrote a book on her experiences, which Farrar, Straus & Young accepted. The type was set. The book was ready for publication. Then Mrs. Massing was told that this firm desired that a chapter relating to Laurence Duggan be omitted. Otherwise, the book would not be published.

It would seem that Roger W. Straus Jr. of the publishing firm became "morally" concerned with the elimination of the Duggan chapter out of regard for Duggan's widow and children. It is a point of fine sentimentality.

Laurence Duggan was a member of the state department group that came out of Harvard and the Institute of Pacific Relations which some have held responsible for our errors in Asia. He was also a very close friend and protege of Sumner Welles. And he either committed suicide or was pushed out of a window.

* * *

ACCORDING TO Mrs. Hede Massing, Laurence Duggan offered his services to her and she handed him over to another group. This is either an important historic fact or a libel. In fact, Farrar, Straus and Young have not contended that they want the chapter suppressed because of libel but rather because of the moral issue of protecting Duggan's widow and orphans.

Morris Ernst has written a foreword to this book in which he said:

"It explicitly touches on a very sensitive spot in the culture of our nation. Why do people join the Communist party? I know of no one who has told before so clearly the reasons why people do things like this, how they fool people, use them innocently. I wish that all our legislators, officials and public leaders would read this volume."

So Mrs. Massing refused to suppress the chapter and the book will be published on March 14 by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, to whom the rights and plates were transferred.

* * *

I CAN undestand 'Straus' sentiments. The little boys who played with treason, with betrayal of their own country, with espionage have brought disgrace upon their families, their parents, their wives, their children.

I knew Laurence Duggan's father, who had been professor at the College of the City of New York and director of the Institute of International Education, a Carnegie benefaction.

He was a man of extraordinary capacity for friendship who devoted his life to the international exchange of students. He was an upright American.

It must have been a frightful shock to him when Laurence either committed suicide or was killed. It is tough for any father to lose a son whose career seemed to be so remarkable. Yet, the father could not have suffered the despair of suspicion.

* * *

I SHOULD imagine that I am as sentimental about this as Roger Straus, but a fact is a fact, and the facts of the Communist conspiracy must be told.

Undoubtedly, some influence was brought to bear on Mr. Straus, but the misery of it is that it is as important to get at the facts of this conspiracy as it is to fight in Korea. Maybe it is even more important.

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THE CENTURY ASSOCIATION

STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN
born: December 20, 1870
elected to the Century 1916
died: August 18, 1950

S/O

THE CENTURY ASSOCIATION
7 WEST FORTY-THIRD STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

No answer

Dear Sir:-

I should be very grateful if you would write a memorial of our fellow member whose name is on the attached card. I enclose some material which may help you. Will you please mail the enclosures back to me again when they have served your purpose.

The memorial ought to run somewhere between 350 and 1,000 words, and it may well contain reminiscences, or descriptions of his manner or conversation or friends -- or, indeed, anything you are moved to set down. I am trying to keep as nearly abreast of the Club's annuals as possible, and so I shall appreciate it if the memorial is sent in as soon as is convenient to you.

If you find this assignment is quite beyond you (I hope not) won't you please suggest the member of the Century who ought to be asked to do it?

With many thanks, I am,

Faithfully yours,

George W. Martin,
Historian.

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN, EDUCATOR, 79, DIES

Founded International Institute in 1919 to Promote Peace—Taught at City College

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

STAMFORD, Conn., Aug. 18—Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, founder and director emeritus of the Institute of International Education, died this morning in Stamford Hospital after a long illness. His age was 79.

Famed as a scholar in the field of international relations, Dr. Duggan founded the institute in 1919. He retired in 1946 and was succeeded by his son, Laurence, who fell to his death from a window of his sixteenth-floor offices at the institute's New York headquarters, 2 West Forty-fifth Street, on Dec. 20, 1948. The son had served in the State Department from 1930 to 1944.

Dr. Duggan made his home here in Old Long Ridge Road. He leaves his wife, Mrs. Sarah Elsesser Duggan; two daughters, Mary Duggan and Mrs. Alfred Weld, and a son, Stephen Duggan Jr.

A private funeral service will be held here on Monday in St. Francis Protestant Episcopal Church.

Credo Behind His Work

"Education is the only certain road to the attainment of world peace." Thus Dr. Stephen Pierce Duggan, in one of his innumerable commencement addresses, expressed the credo behind his educational work for international amity and good-will.

His main contribution to this ideal was as organizer and director of the Institute of International Education, which specializes in the promotion of exchange scholarships between the United States and other nations. He founded the institute at the request of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which provided funds for the project. Later the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial also contributed financial support.

So manifold were his activities in this cause that he was once characterized as the one-man "antidote to war." In 1928, he gave up a distinguished career as Professor of Political Science at City College to devote himself exclusively to the field of cultivating international good-will.

An authority on Latin America, his books on the subject did much to advance the Good Neighbor policy. He also headed committees to aid exiled scholars of Germany, Spain and Russia.

Born in New York on Dec. 20, 1870, he was the son of Hugh and Mary D. Hayden Duggan. His father had come to this country when a young man in 1837 from Londonderry, Northern Ireland. His mother was born in England.

Studied at City and Columbia

Dr. Duggan was graduated at the age of 15 from Public School 40 and received a Bachelor of Arts degree from City College in 1890. Soon after he became a teacher in public schools.

In 1896, when he received a Master of Science degree from City College, he was appointed a tutor in philosophy there, and the next year he became an instructor. Continuing his studies at Columbia University, he received a Master of Arts degree in 1898 and a Doctorate of Philosophy in 1902.

His rise on the City College faculty was rapid. In 1901 he was made Associate Professor of Philosophy and in 1906 he was appointed head of the education department. The next year he organized the teachers extension and evening courses and became head of the department. He was appointed Professor of Government in 1910.

Dr. Duggan conceived his idea for promoting international peace during World War I. He was one of a group of Americans who sent a report to the League of Nations in 1924 on the limitation of armaments.

The next year he served on the Philippines Educational Survey Commission and on the way home visited China, Siberia, Russia, Central and Western Europe. He was often consulted by the State Department.

In the Thirties he was active in promoting cultural exchanges with countries of South America and in 1933 he was appointed by President Roosevelt to serve on the Brazilian-American Conciliation Commission.

Received Two Awards in '34

Dr. Duggan was president of the Associate Alumni of City College and the local Phi Beta Kappa chapter. In 1934 he received the Townsend Harris Medal for Achievement and the same year the Alumni Association of Columbia University gave him an award for his work in education.

In 1948, the Associate Alumni of City College created the John H. Finley medal for distinguished service to New York, in memory of Dr. Finley, who was president of City College from 1903 to 1913 and later editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES. He died in 1940. The first award that year was bestowed by Dr. Duggan upon the Rockefeller family.

Dr. Duggan was the recipient of many honorary degrees and several awards from foreign countries. He was an officiating member of many scholarly, civic and social organizations. His clubs were the Cosmos in Washington and the Century in New York.

Among his books were "The Eastern Question, a Study in Diplomacy," "The League of Nations, the Principle and the Practice," "The Two Americas," "A Student's History of Education" and "A Professor at Large."

EDWARD MAGNUS

WATCH HILL, R. I., Aug. 18 (AP)—Edward Magnus, a member of the board of directors of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, St. Louis, died today in his summer home at the age of 75.

Mr. Magnus, who was spending the summer here with his wife, the former Nellie Orthwein, was active in the management of the brewing company until his retirement in 1945.

DR. STEPHEN P. DUGGAN
1949

DAVID LVOVITCH, O. R. T. LEADER, 68

Chief of Executive Committee of World Union Dies in Paris—Trained 35,000 D. P.'s

Dr. David Lvovitch, chairman of the executive committee of the World O. R. T. Union, died on Thursday in Paris of a stroke. He was 68 years old.

A native of Russia, Dr. Lvovitch became a citizen of this country in 1939. Although he maintained a residence here in the Peter Stuyvesant Hotel, he had spent much of his time in Europe since the end of World War II.

His duties with the World Union of the O. R. T., or Organization for Rehabilitation through Training, had recently kept him in Paris.

A leader for three decades in the O. R. T. movement, Dr. Lvovitch founded the agency's unit in Poland in 1920. The next year, when the World Union was founded in Berlin, he became vice president.

In addition to his long service with European branches of the agency, which sponsors vocational training programs for Jewish workers, he also had assisted the American O. R. T. Federation with its programs.

At the end of the recent war, Dr. Lvovitch organized O. R. T. programs in displaced persons camps in Germany — programs which eventually trained more than 35,000 workers for skilled jobs.

Dr. Lvovitch studied engineering, law and economics in Munich and at the University of St. Petersburg.

Surviving are his widow, Cornelia, and a son, Harry, both residing in Paris.

PAUL NEVIN

Paul Nevin, broker associated for the last twenty years with Sparkman & Stephens, Inc., yacht designers and brokers, died Thursday night in Doctors Hospital after an illness of several months. His age was 61. His home was on Hollow Tree Ridge Road, Darien, Conn.

Born in Quincy, Mass., the son of Ethelbert Nevin, the composer, Mr. Nevin attended Lawrenceville School before graduating from Princeton University in the Class of '12. He was a member of the Cottage Club at Princeton.

After serving in the Navy Transport Division in World War I, Mr. Nevin spent four years as an oil driller in Oklahoma. He was an instructor in navigation at the Merchant Marine Academy, Kings Point, L. I., during World War II.

He was a member of the Cruising Club of America and the New York Yacht Club.

Surviving are his widow, the former Jennie Fasset; two daughters, Mrs. Anne Chamberlin and Miss Jane Nevin; and two sons, Crocker and Ethelbert 2nd.

JOSEPH J. M'GRAW

Joseph J. McGraw of 31 Bank Street, state supervisor of on-the-job training for the New York State Division of Veterans Affairs, 270 Broadway, died yesterday of a heart attack in St. Louis. His age was 61. He was on the way to Colorado for a vacation.

Born in this city, Mr. McGraw attended New York University. After service in the first World War he became secretary-treasurer of the General Outdoor Advertising Company. Later he was with the New York City Department of Welfare. He joined the State Division of Veterans Affairs in 1945 as field supervisor for the training program in metropolitan New York.

Two daughters, the Misses Julia and Mary Ursula McGraw, survive.

LOUIS PAPP

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

UNION, N. J., Aug. 18—Louis Papp of 1387 Isabella Avenue, a custom tailor and designer for the firm of Morland B. Soria Inc., in near-by Newark, for twenty-eight years, died last night at his home after an illness of several months. His age was 63. Born in Hungary, he had resided here since 1904.

He leaves his wife, Katie Papp; a daughter, Mrs. Carl Herold of Union; a son, Albert L. Papp of Maplewood, and three grandchildren.

CLIFFORD W. MUELLER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

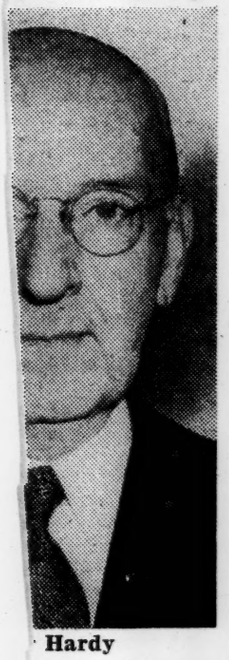
CINCINNATI, Aug. 18—Clifford W. Mueller, since 1936 president of W. H. Anderson Company, publisher of law books, died yesterday at the age of 56. He also was a director of The Ohio Law Reporter. Mr. Mueller was a charter member of the National Association of Small Business Men, and a director of St. Peter and St. Paul United Church of Christ.

FREDERIC C. EMANS

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y., Aug. 18—Frederic C. Emans of Hyde Park, who formerly conducted grocery stores in Peekskill, Pine Plains and Wiccopee, died yesterday in Vassar Hospital. His age was 71. He leaves a daughter, Mrs. David Whiten, and a sister.

U. S .Attorney



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Dr. Stephen Duggan Dies at 79; International Education Leader

Founder of World Institute of Education Was With City College 35 Years

Special to the Herald Tribune

STAMFORD, Conn., Aug. 18.—Dr. Stephen Duggan, seventy-nine, founder and director emeritus of the Institute of International Education, died this morning at Stamford Hospital. His home was on Old Long Ridge Road.

At the reques tof the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Dr. Duggan organized the institute in 1919 and served as its director until his retirement in 1946. He was succeeded by his son, Laurence, who fell to his death from the institute offices at 2 West Forty-fifty Street, on Dec. 20, 1948.

Dr. Duggan was born in New York City. He was graduated from City College in 1890, and joined the college staff as a fellow three years later. He was appointed an instructor in political science in 1898, when he received his Master of Science degree from the college. Two years later he received his Doctor of Philosophy degree from Columbia University.

With College 35 Years

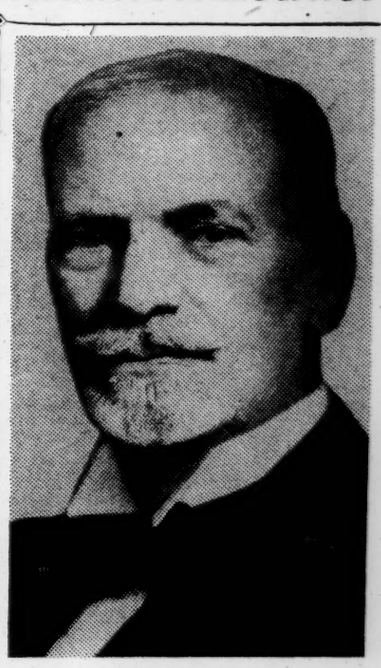
He was associated with City College for thirty-five years, rising to the rank of professor of political science and dean of the School of Education. He organized and directed the extension courses at the college and was the first director of the evening session there. He left the college in 1928.

Dr. Duggan once described the Institute of International Education as having "one great objective: to try and develop an understanding of other peoples and their problems by Americans and an understanding of our civilization by other peoples."

To this end, Dr. Duggan himself lectured on international relations at Columbia University and at the universities of Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest and the Royal Institute of International Affairs at London.

During the latter half of 1931, he visited several South American countries to strengthen educational and cultural co-operation between these countries and the United States and was instrumental thereafter in bringing more than 1,000 Latin-American students to the United States on fellowships. He worked closely with the State Department on such matters, as a member of the [illegible]sory board of its division of [illegible] relations.

Dr. Duggan [illegible] honorary degrees from [illegible]ollege, San Marcos Ur[illegible] the University [illegible]



Dr. Stephen Duggan

versity of Maine and Lafayette College.

Other Posts He held

He had served as secretary of the American University Union in Europe since 1926. He was a trustee of the American College for Girls in Istanbul, the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, the American College at Athens and the World Peace Foundation, and a director of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation and the Netherlands-American Foundation.

Dr. Duggan served four terms as president of the City College Alumni Association, the last ending in 1948. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Kappa Delta Phi. He was a Commander of the Order of the Crown of Italy; an Officer of the Legion of Honor, of France; an officer of the Order of the White Lion, of Czechoslovakia; an officer of Hungary's Order of Merit; commander of the Roumanian Order of the Star, and a member of Chile's Order of Merit. He was a member of the Century Club in New York City and the Cosmos Club in Washington.

Dr. Duggan was the author of several books, including "The Eastern Question—A Study in Diplomacy," "A History of Education," "The Two Americas—An Interpretation," and, most recently, "A Professor at Large," published in 1943.

Surviving are his wife, the former Sarah Alice Elsesser; a son, Stephen Pierce Duggan, and two daughters, Miss Mary Alice Duggan and Mrs. Alfred Weld. A pr[illegible]vate fu[illegible] service [illegible] be h[illegible]

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THE LAURENCE DUGGAN FUND · Room 410, 53 Broadway · New York 4, N. Y. · WHitehall 3-4196

March 30, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The presentation of the Laurence Duggan Fund will be made on Friday, April 8, at 2 P.M. in the offices of the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45 Street, New York. In a brief ceremony, Mr. Archibald MacLeish will present the Fund to Dr. George N. Shuster, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute. An invitation to attend the presentation has been extended to members of the Duggan family and to the Institute trustees. All the members of the staff will be present.

We should be very happy to have with us at that time members of the group sponsoring the Laurence Duggan Fund who would find it possible to attend. Enclosed is a return postal card on which you may indicate whether you will be in the city on that day and can join us.

The Fund totals over $21,000. from 411 contributors. It is expected that a few more gifts will be received. If you have suggestions of others who may wish to contribute before the presentation date, please let me know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Bess N. Trinks

Bess N. Trinks

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd
Moe Berg
Alberto Lleras Camargo
Marquis Childs
Allan Dawson
John Dickey
Harold Willis Dodds
Richard Flood
Lewis Gordon
Gardner Jackson
David Lilienthal
John Mott
Edward R. Murrow
Marguerite Owen
Drew Pearson
Clarence Pickett
William G. Saltonstall
Eduardo Santos
Robert K. Straus
L. Corrin Strong
Walter N. Tobriner
Sumner Welles
Helen C. White
Mrs. Quincy Wright
Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr.

Bess N. Trinks, *Secretary*

Duggan, Laurence

March 8, 1949

Mrs. Laurence Duggan
46 Walworth Avenue
Scarsdale, New York

Dear Helen:

Many thanks for your note of the 24th. I was delighted to hear the news about the insurance company. We must talk when the others have reached an agreement.

I hope that the new job with Max Ascoli works out successfully for you.

As ever yours,

46 Walworth Avenue
Scarsdale, New York

February 24, 1949

Dear Ed.

I have cast the die.

Come Monday, I go to work for Max Ascoli's new magazine The Reporter

Maybe it is a gamble but it is well worth taking financially and will give me a chance to make a current reputation if any —

One of the insurance companies has acted in our favor. I should hear word from the others in the near future. Then I would like to see you — if it still seems right to you.

Sincerely
Helen

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Duggan, Helen

46 Walworth Avenue
Scarsdale, New York
January 20.

Barberry Room
12:45

Dear Ed.

I am going to be in town ~~Thur. 1/31~~ Wed. 2/3 several days next week and would very much like to see you.

For one reason, I can't thank you without seeing you for what you did for Larry — For another, I am about to look for a job. I would value your advice

Mrs Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Sincerely
Helen Boyd Duggan
Duggan.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

2 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Copy for Mr. Murrow

Confidential

February 17, 1949

President George Shuster
Hunter College
695 Park Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Shuster:

When I returned from a two-day absence in New York this morning, I found a copy of Dr. Fisher's letter to Mr. Packard. I called Mr. Packard on the phone at once and learned that he had forwarded Dr. Fisher's letter to you. As you knew nothing of the previous correspondence, I called up Miss Dowd, who is good enough to look after my affairs at the Institute because there are many still to look after. I asked her to send you a copy of my answer to Dr. Fisher's first letter to me. I am now sending a few comments on Dr. Fisher's letter to Mr. Packard.

One can't read that letter without wondering what the other forty-five members of the staff had been doing during my administration because Dr. Fisher portrays himself as having done practically everything. He says that he had to take home work at night. Who didn't? Not only did I do so but all the heads of divisions frequently complained that they had to do so in order to complete their work. As Dr. Fisher himself says, we were always understaffed due to my policy - perhaps a mistaken one - of not refusing any reasonable request for advice and assistance. We were all overworked.

Dr. Fisher states that when he was on vacation there was sent from the office much material for him to look after. During my vacation I went two days every week to the Institute and had all the mail sent here to Stamford on the other days to indicate what should be done with each letter or pamphlet. Dr. Fisher did not indicate that when he was asked to give a course on International Relations at Chautauqua but could not accept because it had to be a six weeks' course to secure credit, I extended his vacation from a month to six weeks in order to enable him to do so. Laurence inquired of me why Dr. Fisher was favored on the length of vacation, but agreed to allow it to continue.

Dr. Fisher states his being "eased out" of the Institute caused him financial loss. I do not know what he was paid at Chautauqua but certainly not less than $500, and since he did the work for eight or ten years, my extending his vacation did result in financial gain.

Moreover his course at Chautauqua resulted in his being invited to give lectures at colleges for fees. At each request I consented with the understanding that he would visit our foreign students not only in that institution but in neighboring ones and report to me. His fees did bring him financial gain. I approved of the practice because having lectured myself in the earlier days of the Institute I discovered how valuable it was to discuss Institute problems with faculty members around the table. Moreover Dr. Fisher was a good lecturer and did represent the Institute.

When I retired from the directorship I told my successor I would never offer advice but would be glad to give it if I were asked. Laurence asked my advice on the "Fisher" problem as he phrased it at the end of his first year of administration. He said that he had never received a creative suggestion from Dr. Fisher during the whole year and that Dr. Fisher had a closed mind to new methods of Institute expansion and administration. He said that Dr. Fisher was really a $5,000 man holding a $10,000 job and he wanted the $10,000 for someone with more vision and ability. He said too much more to put down on paper. I shall be glad to give it if you care to have me do so.

I regret that Mr. Packard sent you Dr. Fisher's letter, not because of any lack of desire to have you read it but because Dr. Fisher himself stated it was not for publication and quoted Mr. Murrow to the effect that a continuance of the correspondence would avail nothing, but also because I can foresee only a nasty mess arising from the spread of the correspondence. Mr. Packard was good enough to try to allay my fears by saying the matter would be considered in a dignified manner and without hurt to Laurence's memory. But Laurence is no longer here to explain his attitude toward Dr. Fisher. I would want to tell my side of the pre-Laurence period. The splendid group of women who had so often complained to me that they could not get advice and assistance from Dr. Fisher when they asked for it and who begged that Dr. Fisher should not succeed me ought also to be heard in any discussion.

Dr. Fisher says in his letter to me and in the one to Mr. Packard that despite the injustice done him he is too much of a Christian to allow himself to become embittered. His Christianity did not prevent him spreading the story of Laurence's "iniquity" before he left New York and, I have been confidentially informed and have reason to believe, since he left New York. Whether intentially or not, he began this correspondence only after Laurence was dead and unable to give his side of any complaint.

I wonder whether my poor son will ever be allowed to rest in peace.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Duggan

P.S. Had I not been suffering from intestinal flu, I would have gone to see you today. I must go to the city next Wednesday. I hope I may see you then either at Hunter or at the Century Club.

P.P.S. I am sending copies of this letter to Mr. Packard and Mr. Murrow.

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
INCORPORATED
2 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 7-0630 · CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"

February 17, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

At the request of Dr. Duggan, I am sending you enclosed a copy of his letter of February 3 to Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, at Sweet Briar College.

Sincerely yours,

Bess N. Trinks

Bess N. Trinks
Executive Assistant

Enclosure

CONFIDENTIAL - For Mr. Edward R. Murrow

February 3, 1949

Dr. Edgar J. Fisher
Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar
Virginia

Dear Dr. Fisher:

I am in receipt of your letter of January 27, 1949 "for information and not for publication." I hope that didn't prohibit me from showing it to Arthur Packard and Edward Murrow. I have done so partly to confirm my own recollection and partly to let them answer, if they cared to do so.

The letter does not contain all the facts of the matter, and some that it does contain are inaccurate. I am correcting a few and giving others but by no means all so that there may not arise an unpleasant controversy.

The letter states "Dr. Stephen Duggan had hoped and expected that I would succeed him as Director." Not "expected", for no sooner was it generally known that I was about to retire than protests against such action from some trustees, some of the staff and some less intimately associated with the Institute were made to me. These protests were based partly upon personality, partly upon lack of vision as to the future of the Institute in the new world resulting from the war, and partly upon ineffectiveness in dealing with the staff. I did not speak of them to you because the Committee appointed by the Board of Trustees to secure my successor, though it knew of these protests, thought age was a sufficient enough basis for your non-selection. You were then sixty-one or sixty-two.

The third paragraph should emphasize more fully that I did not suggest to you or anyone else that any action be initiated to present the name of Laurence Duggan to the Committee. Your correspondence with Mr. Welles was your own initiative. It ought also to be more fully emphasized that Laurence did not want his father or anyone else at the Institute to present his name to the Committee. Dr. Leland told me after the selection had been made that he, Murrow and Packard, all of whom knew Laurence personally, had from the beginning believed him the best man for the position, though they carefully considered the qualifications of other men. Miss Gildersleeve, who did not know Laurence personally, gladly made it unanimous.

I did recommend that you be made Associate Director, but I do not believe that Laurence did. As you state further down in the paragraph, the Committee of Reorganization approved a recommendation of the new Director for two top executives under the Director. I knew after that was adopted that Laurence did not contemplate recommending you for one of them.

I know nothing about the luncheon meeting you held with Mr. Marrow and Mr. Packard. When my successor was elected I assured him that I would not make suggestions concerning the Institute unless I was asked. And I have maintained that attitude since.

The third page of your letter leaves out much background of which you were ignorant. Some trustees, apparently upon reflection, thought the action of the Board on June 25, 1947, requesting your severance with the Institute, too severe and suggested a modification. Others thought the action should be maintained. In view of the division in the Board, it was I who introduced the resolution providing that Dr. Fisher give two-thirds of his time to the work of the Institute under a title to be determined by the Director and that the Institute, in Dr. Fisher's own language, "cover my total remaining contribution to the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association until September 1950 for which action I expressed appreciation." My action was a compromise inspired by a desire to prevent unpleasant controversy and a possible more unhappy decision. Itwas able to introduce the resolution because it was only later that actions upon an age limit for trustees and for staff, which had been under discussion was voted. This action retired Dr. Leland, Professor Chamberlain, Miss Gildersleeve and myself from the Board of Trustees.

On page 4 of your letter you mention that you wrote to a score of college administrators informing them of your desire to withdraw from the Institute and of your availability for another position. You fail to mention that I also sent several similar letters,which I showed you before sending, and gave you the answers to them. I mention that for only one reason: You say "It appeared to me that Mr. Duggan was seeking to force me out of the field of international education." Nothing could be more untrue or unfair. I showed Laurence the letters I had written to college administrators, all of which praised your knowledge in the field of international education, and he expressed not only his approval but his hope that they would bring favorable results. He, himself, wrote similar letters from two of which I quote as follows: "Dr. Fisher could make his maximum contribution in a job where his knowledge of European and Near Eastern education could be drawn upon. He has a host of friends in these areas. He knows conditions there from first-hand experience. He speaks French fluently." "He (Dr. Fisher) would also be interested in a position as dean of a college. In this regard it occurred to me that you might know of opportunities, actual or imminent. If so, I would be immensely grateful to you for sending them along. Dr. Fisher did a Herculean work at the Institute . .. and I want to help him all I can."

Moreover you will remember that after you joined the Institute you were offered the position at Chautauqua Summer School to give the six weeks' course in International Relations. But each member of the staff at that time

was given only one month vacation in the summer. I went beyond my authority in giving you the necessary six weeks, which was done each year. When Laurence succeeded me and the question of summer vacations arose he asked about the extension of your vacation and when I explained the reason he stated that the extension should be continued.

I regret to have received your letter a little more than a month after Laurence's tragic death. You know, no doubt, of the general public condemnation of the statement issued by the Un-American Activities Committee immediately after Laurence's death, insinuating disloyalty by Laurence while in the State Department. The editorials of our finest newspapers and the broadcasts of our best known commentators were one in condemning such an action about a man who could no longer defend his integrity. I do not believe that you deliberately wrote this statement because Laurence was no longer here; otherwise you would not label it "not for publication." I am certain that its publication would have aroused the same defense among all those in and closely associated with the Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Duggan
Director Emeritus

2/4/49

Mr. M

Mr. Packard dictated the following to me over the phone. He would like to send it out today and would like your reaction before doing so:

"Dear Dr. Fisher:

"Thank you for your letter of January 27th and for the statement that came with it setting forth your views and interpretations concerning your withdrawal from the service of the Institute of International Education.

"Since your memorandum interprets and comments upon the Board of the Institute; since it reflects an estimate of Laurence Duggan which runs counter to the expressions of confidence which the Executive Committee of the Board publicly expressed in him at the time of his death; since Laurence Duggan with whom your statement is largely concerned is, unfortunately, not here to comment on your statement, and since in the light of the foregoing, your statement involves the Institute as an organization whose welfare we both have at heart, I do not feel that I could make a personal comment on your statement without involving the Institute and the trustees. I plan therefore to refer the matter to the forthcoming meeting of the Board later this month.

"With all good wishes.

"Sincerely yours,"

dm

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK BUILDING · BROADWAY AND 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR

January 12, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks very much (if now very late) for your thoughtful wire regarding the Duggan story. All hands concerned appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/fmb

The attached may interest you.

C O P Y

Law Offices of
LESLIE JACKSON
Kirby Building
Dallas 1, Texas

Jan. 2, 1949.

Mr. Ernest K. Lindley,
c/o Newsweek Magazine,
Newsweek Building,
42nd and Broadway,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Lindley:

I have just read your article and the news item in your Newsweek Magazine on the death of Mr. Lawrence Duggan. Having had an experience in raising a window in a New York skyscraper myself, and nearly falling out, I think it plain that his death was accidental. From the fact that he were one overshoe, I would suppose that he was preparing to go home, and had put on one overshoe, got dizzy or hot from bending down, and wanted some air. Had he raised the window at that time, he might have had my experience-- my window shot up unexpectedly fast, and I found myself with my arms raised, and my body surging forward out of the window, while the view downward frightened me almost enough to make me let go and fall. The impulse I had was to let go the window handles and try to catch something back in the room. But fortunately I did not do so, and regained my balance almost at once. I have always thought since then that all New York windows should be barred, to prevent such accidents. That was some years ago, and still frightens me when I think of it. Today, with my back weak, I can well imagine that a similar situation would be the end of me, and your magazine stated that Mr. Duggan had some spinal pain. This alone could have given him enough of a spasmodic twist to send him through the open window. Furthermore his rubber-shod foot could have slipped and thrown him, especially if any snow fell inwards as he raised the window, or if the floor was slippery.

If it had not been for the spectacular jump by Mrs. Kasenkina and the similar fate of Mr. Masaryk, I do not believe anyone would have suggested Mr. Duggan would take his own life, even if he were not, as his friends have emphasized, a man of fine character.

I think perhaps your article may be of great comfort to his bereaved family, as indicating that Mr. Duggan's death and its dramatising of a reprehensible state of affairs in the Congressional technique may lead to a reform there that will save some other patriotic soul from the agony of unfounded slander. Perhaps if members of the investigating committee had less other work to do they would have time to be briefed on judicial methods. Perhaps the work of such a committee should not be superimposed on a regular Congressman's duties, but outside experts should be employed.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Marie Jackson
(Mrs. Leslie Jackson)

December 30, 1948

Ed Barrett
NEWSWEEK
Broadway and 42nd St.
New York

MY BEST SALUTE TO YOU AND NEWSWEEK FOR YOUR HANDLING OF THE DUGGAN STORY REGARDS

ED MURROW

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK BUILDING • BROADWAY AND 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18

December 29, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Barrett has suggested that, as a Trustee of the Institute of International Education, you may be particularly interested in the report starting on page 14 of the current issue, as well as in the columns of Ernest Lindley and Raymond Moley on pages 21 and 60. I am therefore enclosing a copy of the issue with our compliments.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh D. Beach

Hugh D. Beach
Public Relations Director

Duggan, S.

INSTITUTE of INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Incorporated

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VANDERBILT 6-1471

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January 1, 1949

Edward Murrow Esq

Dear Ed, You knew Laurence so well that there is no need to speak of his splendid personality, his kindliness, his consideration for others and his devotion to his family and his work. Even you do not know of the nights and Sundays he spent at the State Department at the request of Mr Hull in order to catch up with the accumulation of business caused by the war. No one could have shown more devotion to his work for the sake of his country and its government. That was only in line with the high principles which governed his life.

I am writing this note to express my indebtedness to you for the manly and courageous manner in which you at once sprang to the defense of his honor when he could no longer defend himself. And also for your indignant condemnation for the mean-spirited little men who undertook to destroy his incorruptible character.

I am personally of the belief that the interests of justice and the national welfare would best be served by the abolition of the Un American Activities Committee and placing reliance upon the F.B.I whose objective is to seek the facts and not sensational headlines. I am sure that Lawrence's death will result in improvement in the way of holding meetings of Congressional committees but the loss of such a son is too great a price to pay.

Gratefully Yours,

Stephen Duggan

Director Emeritus

Stamford, Conn.

COPY FOR MR. MURROW

December 31, 1948.

Dear Dr. Duggan:

I appreciate very much the feeling which prompts you to let me see the draft of your letter to the Times. I feel just as you do about it, and, God knows, there is every justification for making your point. As a matter of factual comment, I should suggest deleting the phrase relating to Levine, "another self-confessed former Russian Communist", because I have no documentary evidence to substantiate it. Your remarks about Mundt are more than justified; in fact, the editorial pages of the Times, the Tribune, and many journalists and commentators have used even severer language.

Because of my own feelings, I find great difficulty in being objective. With a distinct effort, therefore, I bring up for your consideration one possibility which you may wish to consider, if it has not already occurred to you.

Public and press have already passed their verdict on Mr. Mundt's action,--a complete condemnation from which he will probably never recover. They have wholly cleared Larry's memory by a vindication almost unparallelled in its swiftness. So far as Larry's memory is concerned, indeed the present record can hardly be improved, save as it will be inevitably by the many tributes which are swelling the account. Your letter might have the effect of leading Mundt by way of answer to try to reopen the question, spreading more false innuendoes which again have to be crushed. Mundt can hardly make his present position any worse. He may think he can make it better. Levine is in somewhat the same position. If you have not already done so, you may want to give thought to

whether a possible renewal of Mundt's attack might not affect in part the results of your letter. When I was in the Government we used to be told never to give an enemy a second chance at a headline after he was thoroughly smashed.

But this is a decision which only you can make--and I merely raise it for your consideration because of the clear justification for your feeling, for the impulse which leads you to write the letter, and for resenting the public wrong which was attempted--even though it failed. It is difficult to write even so much since my own emotion is exactly the same as yours.

May I also express the hope that next year may bring you consolation and peace, and surcease of sorrows.

Faithfully,

A. A. Berle, Jr.

Dr. Stephen P. Duggan,
Old Long Ridge Road,
Stamford, Connecticut.

Altschul, Frank

December 28, 1948

Mr. Frank Altschul
Overbrook Farm
Riverbank Road
Stamford, Connecticut

Dear Frank:

Here are the scripts. These are the only pieces to date on the subject; if there should be more in the future, I will send them on to you. Please forgive the condition of the scripts, as we have no facilities for a daily mimeographing job.

As ever yours,

FRANK ALTSCHUL
OVERBROOK FARM RIVERBANK ROAD
STAMFORD CONNECTICUT

Sent Dec 28, 1948

December 27, 1948

Dear Ed,

Since writing to ask you for your supplementary comment, I seem to have misplaced your original broadcast in regard to Larry Duggan, and therefore I have to bother you to send me another copy.

After discussion with Dr. Duggan I am getting together a certain amount of material in which of course your eloquent words would figure prominently, with a view to printing at the Overbrook Press a suitable memorial volume for Larry's family and particularly for his children.

You might send the scripts, and any other items which you come across and which may have escaped me and seem to you to merit inclusion, to the address above.

With many thanks in advance, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Altschul

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

ROOM 4706
TEL. HANOVER 2-1200

FRANK ALTSCHUL
40 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

December 24, 1948

Dear Ed,

Thank you very much for sending me the script of the broadcast. I thought the text was splendid when I heard it on the air, and my original impression is more than confirmed in reading it.

I understand that you dealt with this matter again the following night. Would you please be good enough to send me the text of the subsequent broadcast as well? Many thanks in advance.

Yours sincerely,

Frank

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

F 565

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

To ~~Mr. Paley cc Mr. Taylor~~

From ~~Edward R. Murrow~~

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Consultation

December 24, 1948

I propose urgently and with complete convinction of its success a documentary titled "The Duggan Story". This show, probably thirty minutes in length, will be made up exclusively of material that is on the record, using primarily the voices of those who have participated in this fantastic story. Both Fred Friendly and myself are prepared, together with Lee Bland, our Special Events Director, to write and produce such a program without cost to CBS and, if you think advisable, without billing of any kind.

I am entirely persuaded that such a program, wholly factual, without editorial content, would have a great impact on the public mind and would in the military vernacular, "reflect great credit upon CBS".

If you look with favor upon this project, I can anticipate only one major difficulty and that is that the sound library, the recordings of public utterances by the participants in this story, is wholly inadequate. (This inadequacy is something I have discussed previously with both you and Dr. Stanton.) However, in spite of this, I am certain that we can do a program that will be in the best traditions of this network.

September 13, 1948

Frat it!

Dear Miss Adams:

Thank you for your letter of September 9th.

I shall have Peter Zenkl get in touch with you when he arrives so that you will have the opportunity of talking with him to decide whether any engagements can be arranged for him.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Mildred Adams
Institute of International Education
2 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

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September 9, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Duggan has informed Mr. Pierson and me of your telephone conversation concerning Mr. Peter Zenkl, whom you suggest for our lecturing program.

Perhaps you will recall that last March the Board of Trustees adopted a new policy for this Division, one part of which limits the number of lecturers whom we can sponsor in any one year. We have already committed ourselves to the full quota of six for 1948-49 and, as you can well imagine, our staff is more than busy at present arranging their engagements.

While it will not be possible to organize a series of lectures for Mr. Zenkl, we nevertheless shall keep him in mind for any requests for speakers on his topics. Perhaps we can put him in touch with a few additional engagements.

It is good to hear the familiar voice on the radio once again!

Sincerely yours,

Mildred E. Adams

Mildred E. Adams, Head
Professors & Lecturers Division

Duggan, S.

News Bulletin

Twelfth Volume | October 1, 1936 | No. 1

HARVARD'S TERCENTENARY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
Stephen Duggan

THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST
Paul Monroe

OUR COOPERATIVE LECTURE PLAN
Mary L. Waite

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
2 West 45th Street New York City

NEWS BULLETIN *of the* INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

VOL. 12, No. 1 NEW YORK, N. Y. October, 1936

Published monthly October to May—Annual Subscription, 25 cents
BY INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, INC.
2 West 45th Street, New York

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HARVARD'S TERCENTENARY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

DURING the past month the alumni and students of Harvard University engaged in a great celebration to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of its founding. Thousands of non-Harvard men and women throughout the country viewed the celebration with sympathy and rejoicing, for the tercentenary was a national event of the greatest importance in the history of higher education in the United States. During those three centuries Harvard gave the nation many of its leaders in politics, literature, science and philosophy. It provided guidance and assistance to many of the younger colleges throughout the country by its example and by means of its graduates who taught and administered in them. The record of its contribution in every field of research is most impressive. Every intelligent non-Harvard citizen will want to express to the oldest college in North America congratulations for its past achievements, and sincere and confident wishes for its future.

Were we to stop here we should lose the chief significance of the Harvard celebration. Harvard stands for freedom: freedom to undertake with energy and courage the research that will advance the boundaries of knowledge; freedom to engage in untrammeled and enlightening discussion that alone will prepare men as educated citizens for service to a democratic state; freedom to advocate an unpopular cause that ought to be sustained. Freedom at Harvard has not gone without attack. As early as the days of the Salem Witchcraft, Judge Saltonstall, a Harvard graduate, preferred to resign from the bench rather than sentence people to death upon fanatical charges and the President of Harvard was one of the chief agencies in recalling people to a rational attitude towards the absurd mania. From those days to but yesterday attacks upon freedom at Harvard have not been wanting. It is not so many years back that reactionary alumni petitioned the Harvard authorities to dismiss a professor accused of teaching radical doctrines. But the administration at Harvard stood adamant against such suggestion. The Harvard faculty has always maintained a sensible attitude in the matter of academic freedom.

Harvard's motto is *Veritas,* Truth. Pontius Pilate asked Jesus, "What is truth?" At least it is not deliberate falsehood. Neither is it propaganda. Whenever the aim is not an honest search for the facts of a situation and a fair, honorable, and objective interpretation of those facts we have not truth. With increasing insistence Harvard seeks to realize its motto, to discover and diffuse truth. It is for that reason that a hearing is given to what is considered heretical. That was once

needed primarily in religion and it resulted in religious tolerance and the separation of Church and State. Today it is needed primarily in the field of social relations where it is just as difficult to maintain objectivity as it was in the domain of religion in the seventeenth century.

The Harvard tercentenary celebration was not only a national event of great importance, it was international in its influence. Leaders in scholarship from every country in the world assembled at the celebration. They freely discussed problems of the deepest significance; not only problems of physical nature but of society. In this day of intellectual suppression over so large an area in the world, it was heartening to follow their untrammeled discussions. The Harvard celebration thereby rendered an inestimable service to the cause of democracy and liberalism everywhere. Universities and university-trained men must become leaders of public opinion more and more. Unless they maintain the right to think and speak what they believe, training men to guide public opinion is a futility. One can hardly avoid comparing the Harvard Tercentenary celebration with the 550th anniversary of a great university in another country, a celebration devoted partly to condemning the independent search for and diffusion of truth. We rejoice that Harvard is American.

STEPHEN DUGGAN

THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST
(PART ONE)

PAUL MONROE, *Professor Emeritus of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*

THE educational problem of the Near East is that of all oriental peoples, namely, to adjust the new education of the West to the traditional social structure of the East and through this adjustment to create the basis for a modern national state in a unified nationalistic culture; to substitute a realistic education for a verbalistic one which found all of culture in a religious literature; to affect the entire mass of the population through the technique of modern elementary and popular education; to create and develop a technical education which will affect the fundamental life needs of the people as they now exist.

In every instance the traditional education of the oriental peoples was bound up with their sacred literature. The sacred literature was embodied in forms that were extremely complex and difficult to master. Consequently, the mastery of them was limited to the few of superior intellectual ability who could through interest and economic independence devote a lifetime to this task. The technique and procedure of this education was committed to an ecclesiastical class or to a class of

scholars that, in the case of China, was the social substitute for an ecclesiastical class.

The first phase of the adjustment of the modern education of the West to the traditional education of the East is the substitution of the ideals of a secular education for one religious in content and control. Consequently, in almost every instance the first step of the Eastern peoples in making this adjustment to the new is to decree that education should be secularized. This involves the building up of a school system which is secular in content and under the control of political rather than of ecclesiastical authority. As the modern education of the West was first carried to the peoples of the East by those representatives of the West who were moved by religious motives, this transfer involved a conflict which in recent years has become acute in a number of Eastern countries. In the suppression of the traditional education it has been necessary to suppress the established ecclesiastical institutions and the traditional procedure and thus run counter to a large element of public opinion backed by powerful institutions and influences. This suppression can not be accomplished without arousing hostile attitudes affecting the bearers of the new education from the West. Consequently, in turn there have been among all oriental peoples periods of somewhat acute hostility upon the part of the authorities towards those bearers of Western education who first brought its ideals and practices among them.

But it should be realized that this hostility upon the part of the oriental authorities or public toward the religious embodiment of education of the West, or towards those who first brought it amongst them, is not due wholly or in a large part to a hostility to Western religion, that is to Christianity, so much as it is due to a hostility towards ecclesiastical control of education. Ecclesiastical control of education is a status which they must overthrow if they are to make progress in the substitution of a modern education for the traditional one which has enveloped their whole social life.

A second phase of this difficulty in the substitution of the modern Western education for the traditional oriental one is that the traditional education of the East relates primarily to forms of conduct, to social rites, especially as established by the various clerical classes. Education is concerned with meticulous control of the conduct of the masses of the people. The ecclesiastical interpreters of the social literature pass on this knowledge of the forms of conduct to the illiterate masses of the population. The religious discipline of the peoples was concerned very largely with the interpretation and application of these precepts in the minutiæ of conduct. In China this was accomplished largely by the selection of magistrates from those who had proven themselves, by

examination as well as by practice, most thorough masters of the traditional literature. In the Moslem countries of the Near East this was accomplished largely through the inclusion of all forms of what in other countries would be civil law, within the limits of the ecclesiastical law; and, through giving into the hands of the educated ecclesiastics the scholars of the mosques, the interpretation of such law and its application to every phase of conduct.

Modern Western education concerns itself little directly with forms of conduct; that is, with daily relations of the individual components of society. It has concerned itself with the understanding and interpretation of the natural environment and with the control of the natural forces. This difference in major point of interest has presented another most difficult problem in the substitution of modern Western education for the traditional one. In the East as elsewhere, with the breakdown, or at least the weakening, of the traditional ideals much of the control of conduct exerted over the masses tends to disappear. It is true that custom, habit, and tradition have profound influences and that their control lingers; but in the East these tend to disappear with the permeation of oriental societies by Western or modern thought. The new education which replaces the old is far less concerned with forms of conduct; so much so that the Orient is prone to look upon the West as more or less barbaric. The Westerner is not concerned with the cultural forms of conduct, which the oriental has been accustomed to look upon as the important content and the chief concern of education. Such a substitution does in fact leave a large gap which becomes apparent when the secularization of the culture of the East has proceeded far enough to break down regard for and even knowledge of forms of conduct; while the new education has supplied a substitute which is wholly inadequate.

The tendency of the leaders of the oriental peoples is to attempt to fill this gap by emphasis upon the national or political aspects of modern education. The ideals and the technique of the political education they have borrowed from the West. But such a substitution proves a very inadequate one because a general political and nationalistic motivation has no such control over the minutiæ of conduct as had the old religious forms of education. Furthermore, again borrowed from the West, this emphasis upon national motivation depends to a large extent for its efficiency upon the cultivation of rivalries, if not downright animosities, towards other similar groups. Consequently, even to the extent to which this elaboration of nationalistic education solves some problems, this procedure creates other problems quite as dangerous or as limiting in their nature and quite as difficult of solution as those which they replace.

OUR COOPERATIVE LECTURE PLAN

MARY L. WAITE, *Executive Secretary*

THE Institute is embarking upon a new venture this fall. It is the outgrowth of a plan cherished for many years of sending distinguished foreign lecturers to the many small and geographically remote colleges, which because of location and limited budgets have not been able to enjoy the privilege of hearing the splendid men and women whom we have been circuiting among the larger and more centrally located institutions.

Two years ago a small award given the Institute by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation made it possible to send a lecturer to a group of colleges in the southern states without any expense to the institutions visited, save the providing of entertainment during his two-days' stay. Many of our subscribers may have read the report of this visitor, Dr. Karl Polanyi of Vienna, political scientist, author and lecturer. The letters received from presidents and deans of the institutions visited, were ample evidence that the students and faculty alike had enjoyed this experience and were eager that the Institute should send other men in the future to discuss current international problems. Dr. Polanyi's visit in the spring of 1935, was followed in the fall by a visit from Professor Etienne Dennery of the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* of Paris, to a group of colleges in the Northwest, and in the winter of 1936, by a visit from Mr. Donald Grant of Edinburgh and London to a group of institutions in the southeastern states. As a result of these visits, the Institute received letters from colleges in other parts of the counry asking if they could not be included in the itinerary of the next lecturer. With the large number of universities and colleges in this country, we realized it would be impossible to furnish this service on the terms of the three visits referred to above. As requests continued to come in, we were obliged to alter our methods and this led to the organization of our Cooperative Lecture Plan.

The plan, briefly stated, contemplates the division of the country into regions, on the basis of the number of institutions of higher education in each. A college president or dean is asked to act as chairman of a region, writing the initial letters to the institutions in the region to interest them in participating in the plan. Each college is asked to contribute a modest honorarium and provide entertainment for the visitor during his stay on the campus of usually two and a half days. Saturdays and Sundays are reserved for such use as the lecturer may wish to make of them, except in the few cases where some travel is needed in

order to reach the next campus. When the chairman of the region notifies the Institute which institutions desire to be members of the group, an itinerary is made out and sent to each college so that it will know exactly when the visitor can be expected. If the dates offered are not convenient, as sometimes happens, changes are made to meet the needs of all. There is great advantage in such organization because when the Institute seeks for the best lecturer to send to the group, it knows the total honoraria which can be offered and can also present a completed itinerary to the proposed visitor instead of, as in former years, being obliged to leave the number of places to be visited, the states to be traveled, and the total sum to be received, very much of an enigma.

During the past fifteen years the Institute has circuited distinguished foreigners to lecture in the fields of science, art, history, political science, and many others. However, because of the unprecedented political situation existent in all parts of the world today and the great need that democracies shall train an informed electorate, we have decided that for the present at least, we shall circuit under this cooperative plan only men and women competent to discuss political problems of an international nature. We, in the Institute, hope that our new lecture plan may prove to be a valuable contribution toward the development of an intelligent opinion concerning foreign affairs among American college students and bring about important international contacts as well for the members of the faculties.

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE IN GENEVA

DURING the summer the oldest palace in Geneva, the historic Necker house, became an international house for students. It is located on the site where Bonivard, Bryon's "Prisoner of Chillon" lived before being thrown into the dungeon and where Clothilde lived before she became the Queen of Clovis. The present building was erected in 1702 and has remained in the Necker family since the 18th century. What is now the club room for foreign students was once the celebrated salon of Madame de Staël.

The new International House is under the auspices of the University of Geneva and is directed by Mr. and Mrs. Ian Tullis.

OUR FOREIGN EXCHANGE STUDENTS

JESSIE DOUGLASS, *Secretary, Student Bureau*

IT has again been the privilege of the Institute of International Education to welcome to this country the foreign students who have received fellowships or scholarships under its auspices for study in the United States. In spite of the changes which are taking place in some of the European universities as to educational ideals, and the financial difficulties which face students everywhere, it has been possible to arrange for the interchange of as large a number of students for the coming year as in the past. For almost three days at International House in New York City, from Friday evening, September eleventh until Monday morning, September fourteenth, there were as guests of the Institute over one hundred foreign students representing several countries of Europe and South America. The largest groups were the French and German, with a few more from France than from Germany. There were also represented Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Hungary, and Switzerland. Arrangements had been made for several Spanish exchanges but owing to prevailing conditions, Spanish students have not been able to reach this country. All the South American countries were represented as well as two Central American countries. As a special appointment we had a young woman from Norway. To list these nationalities gives some idea of the varied types and mentalities which combined to form a most interesting group. The program included addresses to the entire number by Professor Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute; Dr. Robert L. Kelly, Secretary of the Association of American Colleges; Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, Assistant Director of the Institute; and Mr. Edward R. Murrow, of the Columbia Broadcasting Company, formerly Assistant Director of the Institute. All these men presented different aspects of American life and education, and in order that certain points in American academic life might be especially emphasized and thoroughly understood, group meetings were held and conducted in various languages. Professor Felix Weill, Professor of Romance Languages of the College of the City of New York, spoke in French, Professor John Whyte, Professor of German in Brooklyn College in German, Dr. Howard Marraro of Columbia University in Italian, and Mr. Josef Hanc, a member of the Czechoslovak consulate in New York, in Czechoslovakian. Every student was thus enabled to listen to an informing talk in some language that was more familiar to him than English. Of the social activities of the Conference, one of the most interesting was perhaps the expedition which included a bus ride

through New York and a boat trip around the island of Manhattan. A reception, a tea, a dance, a concert of negro spirituals and an impromptu entertainment by the students completed the round of activities. By the time the Conference was over and the students separated for their various colleges and universities, located in all sections of the country, many friendships had been formed and the newcomers realized that they were no longer strangers but a welcome addition to the student body of the United States.

INSTITUTE LECTURERS

Dr. J. B. Condliffe, editor of the annual *World Economic Survey* of the League of Nations, will visit New Zealand with his family this fall. Upon his return the last of January, 1937, he will be ***available*** for lectures on his way across the United States. He expects to arrive in Los Angeles on January 23rd and sail from New York on February 24th. Dr. Condliffe has accepted a chair at the London School of Economics beginning October 1, 1937.

Lecture Subjects

1. Economic Nationalism in an International World
2. The Elements of Economic Recovery
3. International Aspects of Monetary Policy
4. Economic Experiment in New Zealand

Professor Bernard Faÿ, of the *Collège de France,* has been in the country for several weeks, having come over to attend the Harvard Tercentenary Celebration. During the months of October and November Professor Faÿ will be ***available*** for lecture engagements. The first three weeks of December he will lecture at the Des Moines Public Forums.

Lecture Subjects

1. Communism in 1936
2. The Balance Sheet of Dictatorship in 1936
3. The Conflict between Democracy and Science
4. The Rise of Liberalism and the Franco-American School (1778-1850)
5. The Meaning and Action of Freemasonry in the 18th Century
6. Poetry in the Modern World
7. American Prose, Its National and International Meaning

Mr. Harrison Brown of London, journalist and lecturer, left England last spring for a visit to the Scandinavian countries, Russia, China, Japan and the Philippine Islands. Mr. Brown will arrive in British Columbia this fall and will be ***available*** for a few lectures in California during the month of December. Beginning February 1, 1937, he is engaged to lecture in Washington, Oregon and Idaho to a group of colleges and universities on the Institute's Cooperative Lecture Plan.

*Lecture Subjects**

1. The Far Eastern Situation
2. Russia in 1936
3. The Rôle of Youth in an Age of Transition
4. European Problems
5. The Inter-relation of Pacific and European Problems

Mr. Ameen Rihani of the Lebanon, Syria, author, lecturer and traveler, received his education in the United States. Mr. Rihani occupies a unique position as interpreter of the Arabian Near East to America. He speaks of the Arab world and its problems with authority and comprehensive understanding. Mr. Rihani has spent an extended period as the guest of Ibn Sa'oud in Sa'oudi Arabia. Publications: *Makers of Modern Arabia; Around the Coasts of Arabia; History of Modern Nejd and Ibn Sa'oud.* From February 1 to May 5, 1937, Mr. Rihani will visit a group of colleges under the Cooperative Lecture Plan in Kentucky, Indiana and West Virginia. He will be ***available*** for lectures elsewhere during the month of January and the early summer months.

Lecture Subjects

1. The Holy Land Between Three Fires
2. The Economic Developments in Sa'oudi Arabia
3. The Economic Phase of the Mandate in Syria and Mt. Lebanon
4. The Alliance Between Iraq and Sa'oudi Arabia (The Corner Stone of an Arab Confederation)

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* Mr. Brown felt it was impossible to give lecture subjects so long in advance but suggested those listed subject to amendment this fall.

CHILEAN SCHOLARSHIPS FOR TRAVEL AND STUDY

Two scholarships will be available to American students for study at the forthcoming summer school session of the University of Chile, which extends from January 2 to February 1, 1937. The offer is made by the Chilean government and includes exemption from the payment of tuition, the sum of 900 Chilean pesos for living expenses in Chile, and a pass on the railroads for a complete tour of the national territory.

Twenty-nine similar scholarships are being offered by the Chilean government to the other American Republics, two each to the larger countries and one each to the smaller countries.

The Institute of International Education, realizing that the considerable expense of the trip to Chile would prevent many qualified students from making application, presented this matter to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which has agreed to supplement the scholarships for students from this country in order to cover the cost of travel to Chile and return. The amount granted to each student will be $500.

The special January session of the University of Chile, which takes place during the Chilean summer, is intended for mature students desiring to broaden their general culture or to go further in certain special fields. It was held for the first time in January 1936, when the students numbered 534, including sixteen from foreign countries. The forthcoming summer school, as a result of the scholarships, is expected to attract many more persons from countries other than Chile and to furnish an excellent opportunity to promote better international understanding.

The offer of the two scholarships was made by the Chilean Ambassador in Washington to our Department of State, which has been requested to designate the recipients of the scholarships. The Institute of International Education has been asked by the Department of State to give publicity to the matter and to nominate candidates. Those interested in making application should address the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City, at the earliest opportunity since the appointments will be made the first of November. An applicant must have a practical reading, writing and speaking knowledge of Spanish and must be a graduate of an American college, university or professional school of recognized standing.

NEW INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

UNDER the title of "Discussion of International Problems with Students in the South," the Institute has published the report of the visit under

its auspices made by Mr. Donald Grant to a group of southern colleges. This is the third report of such extramural lectures. The first report was by Dr. Karl Polanyi, political scientist and foreign editor of *"Der Osterreichische Volkswirt"* of Vienna, entitled "Reflections on a Visit to Southern Colleges"; and the second report was written by Professor Etienne Dennery of the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* of Paris, on "A French Economist's Visit to Western Colleges." Mr. Grant, who is a graduate of New College, Edinburgh, has followed student work closely in Europe and Asia since the World War, and in recent years has been an effective writer and lecturer on international affairs. This pamphlet is available upon request.

There has just been issued the sixth edition of the bulletin *Fellowships and Scholarships Open to Foreign Students for Study in the United States.* As in previous editions, an attempt has been made to include only those grants for which a foreign student may apply with some chance of success. Price twenty-five cents.

The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Director will be published October fifteenth and will be available at the Institute upon request.

PROFESSOR MARGARET B. HOLZ

It was with a profound sense of loss that the Institute received the news of the death in Austria on September sixth of Miss Margaret B. Holz who had been for many years the head of the foreign language department at New Jersey State Teachers College in Montclair. It was due to her energy and initiative that funds were raised in the fall of 1929 for the interchange of students between her college and Europe. Since that time seventy-three students of the college have been assisted for a year of study abroad, forty going to France, eleven to Germany, nine to Spain, one to Switzerland, three to Mexico and nine to Austria. Twenty-one foreign students have visited Montclair; seven from France, five from Germany, three from Spain, three from Mexico and three from Austria. The students from abroad have been provided with fellowships by Montclair and the Institute has had the privilege of nominating candidates from its exchange countries, i.e. France, Austria and Germany. This cooperation in the exchange of students between the Institute and Miss Holz has been of a most cordial and friendly nature. It is difficult to think of the continuance of this work at New Jersey State Teachers College without the energetic and inspiring leadership of this gifted and able woman.

INSTITUTE ALUMNI NOTES

CORNELIA M. ANDERSON (University of Berlin, 1931-32) was selected for the second successive year by the faculty of Barnard College as the winner of the $1,300 fellowship established by the Woman's Organization for National Prohibition Reform which, since the repeal of prohibition, has been used to train women for public service. Miss Anderson made a study of Boston labor market conditions during her post-graduate work at Radcliffe College and has made a similar study in England during the past summer.

FRANK MONAGHAN (University of Paris, 1929-30), instructor in History at Yale University and fellow of Calhoun College, has been appointed a Knight of the Legion of Honour by the government of France. Dr. Monaghan is Secretary of the American editorial board of the new *Franco-American Review,* published by the Yale University Press. Last June Dr. Monaghan was awarded the doctor's degree from Yale University on the basis of his book "John Jay, Defender of Liberty," and in September he received the *Médaille de L'Union des Combattants* because of his book "French Travelers in the United States."

JOSEPH L. SVIRBELY (University of Szeged, Hungary, 1931-33) of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, delivered a report of his studies on Vitamin C at the meeting of the American Chemical Society held last month in Pittsburgh.

SIGISMUND VON BRAUN (University of Cincinnati, 1933-34) has been appointed a member of the staff of the German Foreign Office.

R. H. EDWIN ESPY (University of Tübingen, 1933-34) has been appointed Secretary in charge of the Youth Commission of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches with offices at 41, Avenue de Champel, Geneva. Mr. Espy is the first person to fill this position.

NOTES

During the past summer the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honour was conferred upon Professor Duggan, the Director of the Institute of International Education, by the President of the French Republic.

During the past summer Utrecht University in Holland celebrated its tercentenary and London University its centenary.

MARCEL AUBERT, Director of the *Société Française d'Archéologie* in Paris, will be Visiting Professor of the History of Art at Yale University this fall and, during the months of October and November, will be available to lecture at neighboring institutions on the following subjects: *Les cathédrales de France; Les vieilles abbayes et les vieux chateaux de France; Le vitrail en France au moyen âge; La sculpture au moyen âge.*

FREDERICK MAURICE POWICKE, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, and DAVID NICHOL SMITH, Merton Professor of English Literature at Oxford, will be visiting scholars at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, for several months this fall.

The first National Conference on Educational Broadcasting will be held in Washington, D. C., December 10-12. The Conference is sponsored by a group of organizations representing important phases of American education and is held in cooperation with the United States Office of Education and the Federal Communications Commission. The purpose of the meeting is to enable the large number of persons who are interested in educational broadcasting to discuss means by which radio may become a more effective instrument for education; to serve as a clearing house for information on the latest technical and professional developments in educational broadcasting; and to enable persons representing all phases of the subject to become acquainted and to exchange ideas and experiences. Government officials and prominent educators from the United States and foreign countries will take part, and educational broadcasting in other countries will be discussed.

All organizations interested in radio as a social force are invited to participate and may receive further information from Dr. C. S. Marsh of the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., the Executive Secretary for the Planning Committee.

The *Society for the Protection of Science and Learning* is to be the permanent successor to the Academic Assistance Council, which was established in London in 1933 as a temporary organization to assist scholars and scientists who, on grounds of religion, race, or opinion, were unable to continue their work in their own country.

DR. FRITZ KARL MANN, Professor Emeritus of the University of Cologne, is to be in the United States during the present academic year and will be available for lectures in the field of political economy. Professor Mann took his Ph.D. at the University of Berlin and became

privatdozent at the University of Kiel. After the war he acted as political and economic expert of the Supreme War Council for the Balkan States; became a member of the German Peace Delegation in Roumania, and President of the Interallied Danube Distribution Board. He was Professor of Economics at the University of Kiel (1920-22), at the University of Koenigsberg (1922-26), and at the University of Cologne (1926-35). Professor Mann will lecture on the following topics: *Economic Planning in Europe; Significance of Mercantilism Today; Public Finance.* He may be reached in care of the Columbia University Club, 4 West 43rd Street, New York City.

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MISS KATHLEEN E. HARVEY of the Central Library, Wellington, N. Z., and MISS DOROTHY M. NEAL of the Canterbury Public Library, Christchurch, N. Z. are studying library methods for children in the United States under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation.

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The Chekhov Theatre Studio will open early this month at Dartington Hall, Totnes, South Devon, England, under the direction of Micheal Chekhov. The Studio offers unusual advantages in a three-year course in the field of acting, producing, playwriting and dramatic arts. Detailed information and application blanks may be secured from The Chekhov Theatre Studio, Madam Daykarhanova, 29 West 56th Street, New York City.

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At a recent meeting in Gdynia, Poland of FIDAC, the organization of Interallied World War veterans, Boston University, Oberlin College and the University of Washington were awarded medals for developing during the past year the best curricular programs for promoting international understanding and doing the most toward building up a sound public opinion for world peace in the community.

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REV. EDWIN C. LOBENSTINE, who has acted as General Secretary of the National Christian Council of China for many years, will succeed Dr. Edward H. Hume as President of Yale-in-China. Dr. Hume is at present in the service of the Chinese government working on a correlated program of public health for China.

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The newly-appointed Minister of Education of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Emil Franke, recently stated in his Report to the Chamber of Deputies that, in accordance with his educational program, it is proposed to commence the teaching of English in all Czechoslovak secondary schools, reform secondary schools, and technical secondary schools or technical

high schools (*Real-gymnasien, Reformrealgymnasien, and Realschulen*).

This instruction will either be adopted on trial or in a course in which English and French are alternately taught, or as an optional choice between English and French; and will be put into effect in July, 1937.

PROFESSOR LÉON LEMONNIER, *Agrégé de l'Université* and *Docteur ès Lettres,* who is now *Chargé de Conférences* at the Sorbonne, is to be Visiting Professor at the University of Buffalo the first semester of this academic year. Professor Lemonnier will be available week-ends for lectures in the vicinity of Buffalo. His lecture subjects are as follows: *The Origins of European Realism* (8 lectures in French or English); *Le Roman realiste en France au XIXe Siècle* (8 lectures); *Le Théâtre Contemporain* (10 lectures); *L'Influence d'Edgar Allen Poe sur les Conteurs Français* (6 lectures); *L'Oeuvre d'Oscar Wilde* (6 lectures); *La Foire Aux Vanités de Thackeray* (12 lectures); *Dickens* (single lecture): *Populisme* (single lecture in French or English).

PROFESSOR F. SCHOENEMANN of the University of Berlin is to be Visiting Professor at the University of Nebraska the first semester of this year. From February until the end of the academic year he will be available for lectures on the following subjects: *Trends in Contemporary German Education, Problems of Modern German Literature, The New German Woman, National Socialism as a Cultural Movement.* Professor Schoenemann may be addressed in care of the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.

A treaty of cultural cooperation was signed during the past summer between Germany and Hungary. Among other activities agreed upon were the following: an exchange of professors and of college assistants; exchange of students and the establishment of student camps in which youth of both countries will take part.

WALTER LANDÉ, former member of the Prussian Ministry of Education and Lecturer at the University of Berlin, will lecture at the College of the City of New York and at Brooklyn College the first semester of this year. After February 1, he will be available for lectures at other institutions. His lecture subjects include: *State and School as a General Problem of Political Science; Comparison of American and European School Systems; Freedom in Education; What became of the American Bill of Rights in Continental Europe? The Relationship between State and Church in Europe.* Further information may be secured from Mr. Landé at 17 West 94th Street, New York City.

The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations. Geneva, Secretariat of the League of Nations.

This small volume gives a brief account of the origin of the League of Nations and of its organization, methods and achievements. At this time when the League has sustained two major humiliating defeats and when its critics have pronounced its obituary, it is useful to recount the ideals which gave birth to the League and to indicate its substantial if unobtrusive accomplishments.

In the first part of this volume a description is given of the organization of the machinery of the League and its methods of operation. There follows an account of the measure of the League's achievement. No attempt is made to minimize the failures, notably in the Manchurian and Ethiopian controversies and in the efforts to bring about limitation of armaments. On the other hand attention is drawn to the successful efforts of the League in adjusting a number of international disputes that might have developed into serious crises.

However discouraging the work of the League has been in settling international controversies, its activities along other lines have more than justified its existence. Notable among these activities have been the promotion of health through research work on various diseases, encouragement of international intellectual cooperation, and social and humanitarian work.

A brief account is given of the associated international organizations, the Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization.

The conclusion reached in this short treatise that "the shortcomings (of the League) are not in the instrument itself, but in the peoples and their governments, who, even with the best intentions, are too often held back by timidity, by routine, by prejudice, and cannot see where their duty lies, or are not prepared to do it" is hardly open to dispute.

NELSON P. MEAD, College of the City of New York.

Every five years the University Grants Committee of Great Britain makes a Report covering the five preceding years, giving an account of salient developments and discussing needs and problems confronting British universities. In its Report covering the period 1929-30 to 1934-35, recently published, the University Grants Committee stated that although there had been an increase in attendance of full-time students from 44,000 in 1929 to 50,000, the question of unemployment among graduates is not yet a real problem in England, but that the

position is much less favorable in Scotland and Wales. In England there is one university student for every 1,147 of the population, in Switzerland one for every 387, and in the United States one for every 125. Approximately 42 percent of the total number of British university students are assisted by scholarships or grants and during the period covered by the Report the increase in endowments and benefactions amounted to £5,250,000. One great danger described in the Report was that of the compulsory lecture system and the need for the extension of the "seminar system" or "group tutorial" method, especially in the newer universities, for the purpose of bringing about closer relations between teachers and students, which has long been traditional in the older institutions of learning. More adequate students' unions and additional university hostels for the newer universities were also advocated.

In making a considerably increased grant to the University Grants Committee for the next five years, the Chancellor emphasized that the British universities form a system of autonomous organizations "with deeply rooted traditions of academic freedom, independence, and freedom from State control."

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German Education Today, an illustrated pamphlet by Theodor Wilhelm and Gerhard Graefe of the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* of Berlin, is a short survey in English of recent German educational reforms in the secondary and technical schools. It contains an introductory chapter on "German Educational Ideals" and a comprehensive bibliography. The table of contents includes: Structure of the German School System, Hitler Youth, the Land Year, Labor Service, Training of Teachers, German Students Abroad. This booklet is available at the Institute. Price thirty-five cents.

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The first issue of *The Franco-American Review* appeared during the summer. The Review, which is devoted to history, literature and criticism, is to be published quarterly by the Yale University Press. M. Charléty, the Rector of the University of Paris, is President of the *Comité de Patronage* in France and Professor Frank Monaghan of the Department of History of Yale University is the Secretary of the American Board. It has both an American and a French Editorial Board, containing names of many distinguished professors and men of affairs. Contributions will be published in French and in English. While adequate attention will be paid to current topics, the chief purpose of the Review will be to throw fresh light upon the manifold historical aspects of Franco-American relations.

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION · NEW YORK ·

A Frank, Informal Headquarters Document

Gen. Eisenhower's Naval Aide Lights Up a Very Personal War

MY THREE YEARS WITH EISENHOWER
The Personal Diary of Captain Harry C. Butcher, U. S. N. R., Naval Aide to General Eisenhower, 1942 to 1945. . . . ***910 pp. . . . New York: Simon and Schuster. . . . $5.***

Reviewed by
EDWARD R. MURROW
Vice-President and Director of Public Affairs of Columbia Broadcasting System

IT WAS a strangely personal war. Historians for years to come will argue about the personal relationships between commanders and politicians, and the effect of those relationships upon grand strategy. No one today can estimate with accuracy the importance of the contributions made by such men as Harry Hopkins, General Sir Hastings Ismay, Robert Murphy and all the rest. Each man was the prisoner of his own indoctrination and experience. That was an essential part of the equipment he carried into battle.

Captain Harry C. Butcher held a unique and indeed unprecedented position. He was naval aide to General Eisenhower, and he spent the war surrounded by "brass" and "scrambled eggs." He never ran out of his favorite Burns Panatelas—"living conditions were always better than tolerable." You will find in this book none of the sand, suffering and sadness of a North African campaign; none of the bitter, bloody fighting in the Normandy hedges. This is a headquarters document.

When Eisenhower and Butcher arrived in London, English friends asked, "Who is this chap Butcher?" He was in the uniform of a lieutenant commander of the United States Navy. He was obviously on intimate terms with the general. It was clear, even to the casual observer, that he was no professional man of war. His understanding of military etiquette was not all that it might have been. I remember one occasion when at a party attended by considerable "brass" Butcher looked at his watch, touched the general on the sleeve, and said, "Come on, Ike, we've got to be going." It became clear that Eisenhower brought Butcher with him because he liked him, because he was discreet, convivial, a good listener, and knew a lot about public relations. His position baffled the British, but they liked him too.

It was part of Butcher's job to keep a diary. Before the end it reached about a million words. After editing, the part now published remains about 640,000 words, most of them small, because, as Butcher says, he doesn't know very many big ones.

Names that made headlines during the war—and a lot that didn't—parade through the eight hundred and seventy-six pages of Captain Butcher's diary. He was more interested in people than in grand strategy. Unfortunately, few of the people emerge as clear-cut characters, recognizable through the haze of words and trivial incidents. This is true even of General Eisenhower. But we gather a great deal of interest about him. We see him at times impatient, "pushing on the reins," at times irritated by the slowness of the Combined Chiefs of Staffs, or relaxing with his favorite reading (Western stories). We observe, through Butcher's eyes, his reactions to Roosevelt, Churchill, De Gaulle and all the others who controlled the destiny of nations. We learn of his determination to make the greatest combined operation of all time a success. We understand that Eisenhower wrote his own speeches and that he had a gift from the gods of war which permitted him to inspire confidence in his troops and respect in his commanders. We are even permitted to read a communique written but never issued by General Eisenhower. It was dated June 5:

General Eisenhower

From the frontispiece of "My Three Years With Eisenhower"

"Our landings in the Cherbourg-Havre area have failed to gain a satisfactory foothold and I have withdrawn the troops. My decision to attack at this time and place was based upon the best information available. The troops, the air, and the Navy did all that bravery and devotion to duty could do. If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt it is mine alone."

Captain Harry C. Butcher Halsman

General Eisenhower is a modest and indeed a humble man. When he first arrived in England he remarked: "This war isn't being fought to make a hot-shot out of Ike Eisenhower." The Supreme Commander never sought personal publicity, never failed to admit his errors and never failed to advance and defend his policies with vigor and, occasionally, with profanity. Eisenhower was more than life size. Captain Butcher shows him as a chairman without equal in his ability to secure agreement between men of divers nationalities and training; but Eisenhower the man is not as clearly pictured as we have the right to expect.

The entries in the diary during the North African operation are revealing. They tend to prove that the political planning was inadequate, that Admiral Darlan ordered the cease fire when it was ceasing of its own accord. Moreover, it is to be noted that there is, curiously enough, no reference to the effort of A. F. H. Q. to impose a purely political censorship in regard to the Darlan situation. There is one sentence showing really monumental understatement: "By Saturday morning Ike had a cable from Beetle in London, saying the deal was being coolly received." Is it possible that General Bedell Smith was such an inaccurate or indifferent reporter? There was in Britain at that time a sense of revulsion in the Parliament and in the pubs that had not been equaled since Hoare and Laval. Captain Butcher's carefully edited diary defense is scarcely more convincing than were the explanations offered at the time. The author concludes that there was a "miserable press situation at home where a handful of columnists, commentators and other newspaper people have thrown a lot of sand over the Darlan deal."

He calls Darlan's letter to General Eisenhower in which the admiral complained of President Roosevelt's premature letdown of his regime on the grounds of military necessity "rather pathetic"—Churchill called it "pathetic and dignified." It is permissible to wonder whether the French hostages turned over by Darlan to the Germans and the slave labor sent to Germany from France regarded Admiral Darlan as pathetic. Incidentally, Marshall's comment on the Darlan letter for the United States is described as more "hold-backish."

Butcher reports Elmer Davis, chief of the O. W. I., as crying desperately for constructive material with which to beat off the critical columnists, radio commentators, "and even respectable people." I wonder if Davis stated his requirements in exactly that fashion. My memory is that Mr. Davis was trying to secure, without much success, some information as to just what Allied policy in North Africa was. The Army doesn't like criticism, and, in this instance at least, the Navy, in the person of Captain Butcher, was in enthusiastic agreement.

There is about this diary a frankness and informality which is refreshing, but there is reflected at the same time a lack of awareness of basic issues. It would have been interesting had the author seen fit to illuminate the considerations that were involved in arriving at vital and fatal decisions, rather than to devote so much space to the comings and goings of V. I. P.s, the playing of poker and the consumption of alcohol. These were understandable and enjoyable forms of relaxation, but it may be doubted that they contributed materially to the conduct of the war.

The diary contains a considerable amount of unpublished material. There are many revealing glimpses of Allied commanders. The boldness and the bombast of Patton is there. So, too, is the whimsical, civilized humor of Tedder. Captain Butcher reveals that Eisenhower was, from the beginning, opposed to unconditional surrender. Butcher's reporting of the friction between Montgomery and Eisenhower is impeccable, and even the British are unlikely to object. The British

(Continued on page two)

pany. . . . $3.75.

Reviewed by
STANLEY WALKER

MALCOLM BINGAY, the veteran Detroit editor and reporter, who probably deserves the title of Detroit's most articulate citizen, has turned out an eminently readable, breezy and anecdotal study of his home town. The story of Detroit, as seen by Bingay, is simply reeking with drama.

Aware though he seems to be of some of the town's problems and shortcomings, he is, first of all, a Detroit booster. He actually loves the place. In his own lifetime he has seen Detroit become what it is. Mr. Bingay, who is editorial director of "The Detroit Free Press," author of a popular column of general comment and inventor of a singularly successful sports commentator known as "Iffy the Dopester," is a man of endless energy, and he writes with something of the speed which characterizes his favorite town.

The author pays his respects to many remarkable personalities, and for the overwhelming majority he has little but praise. However, friendly booster though he is, he is no sycophant. He simply happens to have a vast respect for those imaginative, often ruthless strong men who built Detroit.

Mr. Bingay's gallery of Detroit notables is long and varied: There is, of course, the Old Master, Henry Ford, about whom Mr. Bingay tells many anecdotes. He does not pretend to understand Mr. Ford—indeed, he regards him as so remarkable that he is virtually beyond ordinary human comprehension—but he does tell much of how Ford's mind works.

Here also are stories of William C. Durant, the game little man who founded General Motors, became one of America's most astonishing speculators, and wound up broke; of Charles F. Kettering, the tinkering genius who invented the self-starter; of Albert H. Kahn, the architect who revolutionized the design of large factory buildings; of the late Senator James Couzens, the rich man who once had been a partner of Henry Ford and who all his life seemed to distrust the motives of his fellowmen (Mr. Bingay's comments on Couzens, by the way, are among the most penetrating in the book); of Eddie Guest, Detroit's popular versifier who is one of the city's heroes and a very amiable fellow, at that; of that able and agreeable former newspaper man, Charles A. Hughes, who has made such a success of the "Detroit Athletic Club News." And there are many, many others—automobile men, odd characters, sportsmen and politicians. Mr. Bingay even includes revealing glimpses of some of Detroit's Founding Fathers, way back yonder.

Not one to forget his old pals, Mr. Bingay puts in a generous plug for Clarence Budington Kelland, the writer and politician, and Gene Buck, song writer and the pride of Great Neck, both of whom were Detroit boys who went elsewhere and made good. He places a high estimate upon the character of Joe Louis, the heavyweight champion, another Detroit product.

Fittingly enough, Mr. Bingay, an old sports writer himself, recog- Athletic Club [illegible] men. And down through the years the doings of that hard-fighting, fiery baseball club the Detroit Tigers has made news. Mr. Bingay tells much of the history of the Tigers and quite properly devotes considerable space to the immortal Tyrus Raymond Cobb, who for so many years was Mr. Baseball, certainly so far as Detroit was concerned. Cobb, a speedster, a taker of fantastic chances, endowed with a competi- the rabble-rousing priest was denouncing Wall Street and stock speculation.

Of the future Mr. Bingay has this to say: "What the Detroit of fifty years from now will be we do not know. But one thing is certain: it will be dynamic. It is a destiny we cannot escape. The lads from the machine shops and the designing boards, the laboratories and the assembly lines will take the atom in their stride."

Iffy the Dopester
A painting by Floyd Nixon from "Detroit Is My Home Town"

Archives Publishing Company of Pennsylvania. . . . $4.50.

Reviewed by
CAPTAIN P. J. SEARLES

IT IS probable that when two emissaries of Kamehameha III on December 5, 1842, approached Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, with a request that America guarantee the independence of the Kingdom of Hawaii they already foresaw the inevitable absorption of the islands by some major power. Missionaries, traders, sailormen, adventurers of several nations had gathered at Honolulu and were struggling for power and profit. Most were selfish grabbers, but a few unconsciously determined, Prof[illegible] Sylvester Stevens carries the story [illegible] —but Congress either ignored or rejected such requests. There were too many irons in the fire on the continent to bother about a group of far-away islands.

It is not a pretty story, but one that, fortunately, ended well. The author has devoted years to a study of records and documents and presents a detailed, chronological and scholarly account of the gradual growth of American influence which resulted in Hawaii becoming a territory. An invaluable contribution to one of the sideshows of our history.

Informal Document

(Continued from page one)

general's excessive caution, his reluctance to move until he had amassed an overwhelming number of guns and men, was the subject of frequent criticism in the British war cabinet. Butcher's diary reflects Eisenhower's objectivity and his desire to distribute praise and blame without regard to nationality.

The diary also contains a great deal of trivia which is interesting and amusing to those of us who were occasionally admitted behind the scenes. This material, it is true, is unlikely to contribute very much to the reader's fundamental understanding of the persons and policies which determined how the tide of battle flowed, but it will add human interest to more serious study.

Captain Butcher's revelations regarding the activities of that indestructible, juvenile and able man of war Winston Churchill confirm comments by high-ranking British officers. Mr. Churchill's concept of grand strategy was wrong more often than it was right. He was disposed, on more than one occasion, to attempt to interfere in strategy, and even tactics, and General Eisenhower's handling of this brilliant and at times inspired statesman is an abiding lesson in the art of diplomacy. Mr. Churchill wanted to go across to Normandy on D-Day, and he wanted to do a lot of other things which, by combination of tact and plain talk, General Eisenhower prevented him from doing. Britain's war-time Prime Minister was not fond of opposition; nevertheless, he probably has more respect, admiration and affection for Eisenhower than for any man who wore an Allied uniform during this war.

Long as this book is, I regret that Captain Butcher did not include General Eisenhower's Guild Hall speech on [illegible] 13, 1945. It was, in my estimation, the finest utterance of any soldier of our day.

But the diary does include an appealing little incident that occurred very shortly after General Eisenhower reached London. He visited Windsor Castle one afternoon, and while walking through the grounds was observed by the King and Queen. Crouching behind a hedge, their Majesties made their way back into the palace through a low opening in the wall so that the general might not see them and feel that his few hours of relaxation had been interrupted by the formalities which would have been necessary had they met face to face.

Captain Butcher was not appointed naval aide to the supreme commander by virtue of his literary abilities, but he has produced a readable diary which nevertheless has in it the shortcomings of many diaries written under pressure and subsequently printed and pressed between cardboard covers. He is no profound student of strategy or international affairs. However, his contribution as a catalytic agent serving to bring together junior staff officers of different nationalities was more considerable than appears in the diary. His devotion to General Eisenhower, his assistance to war correspondents, his unfailing good humor and inexhaustible supply of good stories will cause him to be remembered with affection by those of us who saw him in the anteroom of the "ivory tower."

WEEKLY BOOK REVIEW

Edited by IRITA VAN DOREN

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Eisenhower, D. D.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

xxxxxxxxx
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

September 24, 1947

Personal

Dear General Eisenhower:

This is personal and may even be presumptious, but I can at least make it brief.

Last week I spent some time in Philadelphia and was informed by several leaders of the community that they greatly desired you to come there and talk at the opening of their Community Chest campaign on the evening of November 6th. The meeting will be held in Convention Hall and the attendance is likely to be between fifteen and twenty thousand.

I have repeatedly refused to bother you with correspondence or phone calls, although many people have mistakenly assumed that I might intercede in their behalf to persuade you to fill a speaking engagement. I venture to do so now only because of the unusual distinction of those Philadelphians who are anxious to have you come—McLean of the Bulletin who is also president of the Associated Press, the Levy brothers, and many others. There is also a selfish reason behind this letter and it is this: having read every speech you have made during the last three years, I would like to read another.

Should you be disposed to comply with this request, one of the gentlemen in Philadelphia will, of course, be willing and anxious to come to Washington to discuss the details with your.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

General Dwight D. Eisenhower
War Department
Washington, D.C.

cc: Mr. Isaac D. Levy
Radio Station WCAU
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Eisenhower, D. D.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

26 September 1947

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As General Eisenhower is away and will not be returning to Washington until the early part of October, I am acknowledging your very cordial letter.

Unfortunately, the General is faced with a formidable schedule and will just be returning from a trip to the Southwest. In anticipation of the accumulation of urgent official matters which will await him here, he cannot possibly go to Philadelphia for the opening of the Community Chest Campaign.

Many thanks for your courtesy and consideration. I shall show your letter to the General when he is back at his desk.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Schulz

ROBERT L. SCHULZ
Major, ADC
Aide to General Eisenhower

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Gregory

For Release at 2:45 P.M., E.S.T.
Tuesday, October 12, 1948

Public Information Office
Columbia University
Morningside Heights
New York 27, N.Y.

Robert Harron, *Director*

Notes for Inaugural Address

By President Dwight D. Eisenhower

Columbia University, October 12, 1948

Never in her long history has any honor come to Columbia greater than that accorded her by this gathering of her friends. No other testimony could more convincingly demonstrate universal respect for this university as a fruitful agent in the promotion of human knowledge and human welfare. Among you are men and women from the learned professions, from the offices of management and finance, from labor unions, from the machines of factories, from the shops of small towns, from the farms and the plain homes of America. No school, narrow in its outlook, fearful of the new, bogged down in sterile allegiance to the past, could provoke such a diverse assembly as is this.

Columbia welcomes you and will record with lasting pride the tribute of your presence.

I feel a sense of high personal distinction that I am privileged to participate in this ceremony. If this were a land where the military profession is a weapon of tyranny or aggression—its members an elite caste dedicated to its own perpetuation—a life-long soldier could hardly assume my present role. But in our nation the army is the servant of the people, designed and trained exclusively to protect our way of life. Duty in its ranks is an exercise of citizenship. Hence, among us, the soldier who becomes an educator or the teacher who becomes a soldier enters no foreign field but finds himself instead engaged in a new phase of his fundamental life purpose—the protection and perpetuation of basic human freedoms.

Today's challenge to freedom and to every free institution is such that none of us dares stand alone. For human freedom is today threatened by regimented statism. The threat is infinitely more than that involved in opposing ideologies. Men of widely divergent views in our own country live in peace together because they share certain common aspirations which are more important to them than their differences. But democracy and the police state have no common purposes, methods, or aspirations. In today's struggle, no free man, no free institution can be neutral. All must be joined in a common profession—that of democratic citizenship; every institution within our national structure must contribute to the advancement of this profession.

The common responsibility of all Americans is to become effective, helpful participants in a way of life that blends and harmonizes the fiercely competitive demands of the individual and of society. The individual must be free, able to develop to the utmost of his ability, employing all opportunities that confront him for his own and his family's welfare; otherwise he is merely a cog in a machine. The society must be stable, assured against violent upheaval and revolution; otherwise it is nothing but a temporary truce with chaos. But freedom for the individual must never degenerate into the brutish struggle for survival that we call barbarism. Neither must the stability of society ever degenerate into the enchained servitude of the masses that we call statism.

Only when each individual, while seeking to develop his own talents and further his own good, at the same time protects his fellows against injury and cooperates with them for the common ~~betterment~~ good—only then is the fullness of orderly, civilized life possible to the millions of men who live within a free nation.

The citizenship, which enables us to enjoy this fullness, is our most priceless heritage. By our possession and wise use of it, we enjoy freedom of body, intellect, and spirit, and in addition material richness beyond the boast of Babylon. To insure its perpetuation and proper use is the first function of our educational system.

To blend, without coercion, the individual good and the common good is the essence of citizenship in a free country. This is truly an art whose principles must be learned. Like the other arts, perfection in its manifold details can never be attained. This makes it all the more necessary that its basic principles

be understood in order that their application may keep pace with every change—natural, technological, social.

Democratic citizenship is concerned with the sum total of human relations. Here at home this includes the recognition of mutual dependence for liberty, livelihood and existence of more than 140 million human beings. Moreover, since we cannot isolate ourselves as a nation from the world, citizenship must be concerned too with the ceaseless impact of the globe's two billion humans upon one another, manifested in all the multitudinous acts and hopes and fears of humanity. 12:00

The educational system, therefore, can scarcely impose any logical limit upon its functions and responsibilities in preparing students for a life of social usefulness and individual satisfaction. The academic range must involve the entire material, intellectual, and spiritual aspects of life.

Underlying this structure of knowledge and understanding is one immutable, incontestable fact: Time and again, over the span of the last 700 years, it has been proved that those who know our way of life place upon one thing greater value than upon any other—and that priceless thing is individual liberty. This requires a system of self-government, which recognizes that every person possesses certain inalienable rights and that rules and regulation for the common good may be imposed only by the ultimate authority of the citizens themselves. 13:00

This individual freedom is not the product of accident. To gain and retain it our forefathers have sacrificed material wealth, have undergone suffering, indeed have given life itself. So it is with us today.

But it is not enough merely to realize how freedom has been won. Essential also is it that we be ever alert to all threats to that freedom. Easy to recognize is the threat from without. Easy too is it to see the threat of those who advocate its destruction from within. Less easy is it to see the dangers that arise from our own failure to analyze and understand the implications of various economic, social, and political movements among ourselves.

30

9:35
10:05

Thus, one danger arises from too great a concentration of power in the hands of any individual or group: The power of concentrated finance, the power of selfish pressure groups, the power of any class organized in opposition to the whole—anyone of these, when allowed to dominate is fully capable of destroying individual freedom as is power concentrated in the political head of the state.

The concentration of too much power in centralized government need not be the result of violent revolution or great upheaval. A paternalistic government can gradually destroy, by suffocation in the immediate advantage of subsidy, the will of a people to maintain a high degree of individual responsibility. And the abdication of individual responsibility is inevitably followed by further concentration of power in the state. Government ownership or control of property is not to be decried principally because of the historic inefficiency of governmental management of productive enterprises; its real threat rests in the fact that, if carried to the logical extreme, the final concentration of ownership in the hands of government gives to it, in all practical effects, absolute power over our lives. 15:30

There are internal dangers that require eternal vigilance if they are to be avoided. If we permit extremes of wealth for a few and enduring poverty for many, we shall create social explosiveness and a demand for revolutionary change. If we do not eliminate selfish abuse of power by any one group, we can be certain that equally selfish retaliation by other groups will ensue. Never must we forget that ready cooperation in the solution of human problems is the only sure way to avoid forced governmental intervention.

All our cherished rights—the right of free speech, free worship, ownership of property, equality before the law—all these are mutually dependent for their existence. Thus, when shallow critics denounce the profit motive inherent in our system of private enterprise, they ignore the fact that it is an economic support of every human right we possess and that without it, all rights would soon disappear. Demagoguery, unless combatted by truth, can become as great a danger to freedom as exists in any other threat. 17:00

It was loss of unity through demagogic appeals to class selfishness, greed, and hate that Macaulay, the English historian, feared would lead to the extinction of our democratic form of government. More than ninety years ago he wrote of these fears to the American historian, H. S. Randall. In a letter of May 23, 1857 he said, ".... when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the Twentieth Century as the Roman Empire was in the Fifth;—with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions." 17:45 18:00

That day shall never come if in our educational system we help our students gain a true understanding of our society, of the need for balance between individual desires and the general welfare, and of the imperative requirement

that every citizen participate intelligently and effectively in democratic affairs. The broadest possible citizen understanding and responsibility is as necessary in our complex society as was mere literacy before the industrial revolution.

It follows, then, that every institution built by free men, including great universities, must be first of all concerned with the preservation and further development of human freedom—despite any contrary philosophy, or force that may be pitted against it.

At all levels of education, we must be constantly watchful that our schools do not become so engrossed in techniques, great varieties of fractionalized courses, highly specialized knowledge, and the size of their physical plant as to forget the principal purpose of education itself—to prepare the student for an effective personal and social life in a free society. From the school at the crossroads to a university as great as Columbia, general education for citizenship must be the common and first purpose of them all.

I do not suggest less emphasis on pure research or on vocational or professional training; nor am I by any means suggesting that curricula should be reduced to the classical education of the nineteenth century. But I deeply believe that all of us must demand of our schools more emphasis on those fundamentals that make our free society what it is and that assure it boundless increase in the future if we comprehend and apply them.

Love of freedom, confidence in the efficacy of cooperative effort, optimism for the future, invincible conviction that the American way of life yields the greatest human values—to help the student build these attitudes not out of indoctrination but out of genuine understanding, may seem to some to be education in the obvious.

Of course, the reverse is true. There is a growing doubt among our people that democracy is able to cope with the social and economic trials that lie ahead. Among some is a stark fear that our way of life may succumb to the combined effects of creeping paralysis from within and aggressive assault from without.

Fear of the future with a concomitant sense of insecurity and doubt of the validity of fundamental principles is a terrible development in American life—almost incredible in the immediate aftermath of America's most magnificent physical and spiritual triumphs. Only by education in the apparently obvious can doubt and fear be resolved.

Here lies a heavy obligation on Columbia University and all her sister schools; unless such fear is banished from our thinking, the sequel will be either the heavy curse of tyrannical regimentation or the collapse of our democratic civilization in social anarchy.

Love of freedom, confidence in cooperative effort, optimism, faith in the American way will live so long as our schools loyally devote themselves to truly liberal education. To assign the university the mission of ever strengthening the foundations of our culture is to ennoble the institution and confirm the vital importance of its service.

Historical failures in the application of democratic principles must be as earnestly studied as the most brilliant of democracy's triumphs. But underlying all must be the clear conviction that the principles themselves have timeless validity. Dependence by the country upon the schools for this vital service implies no infringement of academic freedom.

Indeed, academic freedom is nothing more than specific application of the freedoms inherent in the American way of life. It follows that to protect academic freedom, the teacher must support the sum total of the principles which, among other things, guarantees freedom for all. The teacher's obligation to seek and speak the truth is further safeguarded by university custom and commitment.

There will be no administrative suppression or distortion of any subject that merits a place in this University's curricula. The facts of communism, for instance, shall be taught here—its ideological development, its political methods, its economic effects, its probable course in the future. The truth about communism is, today, an indispensable requirement if the true values of our democratic system are to be properly assessed. Ignorance of communism, fascism, or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease.

Who among us can doubt the choice of future Americans, as between statism and freedom, if the truth concerning each be constantly held before their eyes? But if we, as adults, attempt to hide from the young the facts in this world struggle, not only will we be making a futile attempt to establish an intellectual "iron curtain," but we will arouse the lively suspicion that statism possesses virtues whose persuasive effect we fear.

The truth is what we need—the full truth. Except for those few who may be using the doctrine of communism as a vehicle to personal power, the people who, in our country, accept communism's propaganda for truth are those most ignorant of its aims and practices. Enlightenment is not only a defender of our institutions, it is an aggressive force for the defeat of false ideologies.

America was born in rebellion, and rebellion against wrong and injustice is imbedded in the American temper. But whatever change our rebels of the

American past may have sought, they were quick to proclaim it openly and fearlessly, preaching it from the house-tops. We need their sort, and here at Columbia we shall strive to develop them—informed, intelligent rebels against ignorance and imperfection and prejudice. But because they have sought the truth and know it, they will be loyal to the American way, to the democracy within which we live. They will never tire of seeking its advancement, however viciously they may be attacked by those content with the status quo. Their loyalty will be enhanced by each day they spend at Columbia.

The American university does not operate in an unreal world of its own, concerned solely with the abstract, secluded from the worrisome problems of workaday living, insulated against contact with those other institutions which constitute our national structure. Just as the preservation of the American way demands a working partnership among all 146 million Americans, its continued development demands a working partnership between universities and all other free institutions.

The school, for example, that enjoys a partnership with the manufacturing industries and labor unions and mercantile establishments of its community is a better and more productive school in consequence of its non-academic associations. Its influence permeates the entire community and is multiplied many times over while the school itself, energized by the challenges and dynamism of community life, grows and broadens with each problem it helps surmount.

Together, the university and the community—the entire record of human experience at their call, able to apply academic, technical and practical knowledge to the problem, joined in voluntary cooperative effort—together they can analyze and evaluate and plan. By such partnership, it is not too much to hope that the university—losing none of its own freedom, but rather extending its academic horizons—will in time help develop a new freedom for America—freedom from industrial strife.

Partnership is the proof and product of unity. But in a free democracy unity is possible only through intelligent and unswerving adherence to fundamental principles. Columbia shall teach them. More than that, Columbia shall demonstrate, in every way possible, their practical application.

To build a stouter unity among our people is the most worthy of goals. For a unified America is the greatest temporal power yet seen upon the earth—a power dedicated to the betterment and happiness of all mankind. Columbia shares in that dedication.

Columbia University, like so many others, has been established and is voluntarily maintained and supported by free people. In no other environment could it in the space of two centuries have attained an international stature as a home of learning and research.

Columbia University, consequently, an independent gift-supported institution, free from political and sectarian obligation, will forever be bound by its loyalty to truth and the basic concepts of democratic freedom. It shall follow, then, that Columbia will always be characterized by: First, an undergraduate body of men and women, schooled in the broad expanse of human knowledge and humble in their heritage—resolute that they shall pass both on with some increase. From among them will come scholars, executives, statesmen. But Columbia shall count it failure, whatever their success, if they are not all their lives a leaven of better citizenship.

Second, Columbia will be characterized by: a graduate body of men and women who, each in his own field, shall advance frontiers of knowledge and use the techniques of science in the service of humanity. From among them will come skilled surgeons, engineers, lawyers and administrators, great leaders in every profession and science. But again, we shall count it failure, if they, by specialization, become blinded to human values and so ignore their fundamental duty as citizens.

Third, Columbia University will be: a dynamic institution as a whole, dedicated to learning and research and to effective cooperation with all other free institutions which will aid in the preservation and strengthening of human dignity and happiness. Our way of life and our university are the flowering of centuries of effort and thought. Men of the ancient world—in Jerusalem and Athens and Rome; men of all epochs, all regions, and all faiths have contributed to the ideals and ideas that animate our thinking. Columbia University is, and shall continue, both heir of that past and a pioneer in its future increase.

My personal dedication is in the manner of my illustrious predecessors—who in late years have included—Seth Low, Nicholas Murray Butler, Frank Fackenthal—to devote my energies to the support of Columbia's able and distinguished faculty, in the service of America, in the service of all humanity.

S/N Eisenhower

Good

Pres personal

copy Sm

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
21, RUE DE BERRI - PARIS - VIIIe
ÉLYSÉES 18-47

DAVID SCHOENBRUN
PARIS CORRESPONDENT

April 8, 1952

Dear Ed and Fred,

Someone ought to tell Ike the facts of public life. Those eminent chowder-heads, Buck Lanham and Cabot Lodge, either don't know or are afraid. The latest story about Lanham around here is that he isn't really a yes-man for Ike. Any time Ike says no, Lanham says no too. And that's most of the time.

I fought myself out with Lanham and had one medium-sized bout with Ike himself about the NATO report. I pleaded with him to set a decent release time and predicted that his 0001 time would in any case be violated, as it was. I also tried to get him to do a radio recording separately from the TV spot, but Ike was stubborn as a Kansas mule. He hates both radio and TV and suffers from the delusion that he can virtually do without them. He has the strange complex about TV particularly, that it is purely a publicity medium for publicity-seekers, and it offends his sense of propriety to stand before a camera. I asked him what the difference was, publicity-seeking-wise, between a press conference without cameras and one with cameras and he couldn't honestly explain the moral principle involved. He just doesn't like it.

I am now engaged in a fight with Lanham about calling a news conference, with cameras, as soon as the announcement is official that Ike has requested relief from duty. Our association has made such a request and I'm again the pool man on it. That jerk Lanham says Ike's letter will speak for itself. He insists there will be no more appearances by Ike for us until the day he leaves at a big farewell press conference. And he refuses to discuss the possibility of Ike making any TV or radio addresses on some special trip home, for one of the three occasions mentioned in a previous report of mine. That's up to Ike, says Lanham, and just pushes the papers through to Ike's aide and you never hear about it again.

I think it would be a good idea for Ed to get in touch with Paul Hoffman about this. It is the only way I know to line up Ike futurely. And he is certainly going to need a radio-TV campaign manager, with some authority, or he'll make some bad enemies in our media. God help the man who takes the job. Ike will be very tough to handle, I think.

I'm sorry about the Notre Dame Easter spot. I pulled every possible string to get permission. Philippe Barrès, whose father was one of France's greatest Catholic writers, and the Count de Leusse, of the Quai d'Orsay, a socialite Catholic leader, both called the Archbishop of Paris himself to back up my request. Through them I got to talk to him about it, and he was extremely pleasant. Monseigneur Feltin, the Archbishop, told me the request came too late to be granted. That is, it came just before the beginning of Holy Week, with special services and conferences of the French bishops in Paris all week long. He told me that he would however grant us special permission to make a film inside Notre Dame, with him and the choir, the organ, the bells, processions, almost anything we liked, after Holy Week. I have an appointment with his film director, Father Pichard, next week to discuss this. I think we ought to make a Notre Dame film, perhaps the Easter Service and the Christmas Eve Service, that is, the highlights of each, for future use. I don't think we ought to use Feltin himself, however, for that could date the film should something happen to him.

I would also like to start working with McClure on a Paris tailpiece spot for SIN, a dateless feature piece that we could work on in between other assignments. I am working on a suggested script now which I'll send to you in a few days - a sort of working outline of the project.

Enclosed, you will find two letters to Buck Lanham in which I requested some material for a spot on Ike's resignation. Lanham has already told me it's very unlikely that he can put it through, but I'm going over his head and behind his back on it as discretely as possible, hoping to get something on it. I also have requests pending for exclusive statements (about 30 seconds each) from Foreign Minister Schuman and Defense Minister Pleven on what Ike's resignation means to France. Ditto a plan with Pierre Lazareff to film the extra edition of his paper France Soir (biggest in the country), that he intends to

bring out when the news breaks. We can get a short shot of the paper coming off the presses, the front-page headline in French over Ike's picture, and a news-vendor running out of the building hawking the story on the boulevards.

Some one of these ideas ought to come through for us, I hope.

Meanwhile, best regards to you all from all of us.

David

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

DFS/pd
Encs. 2

April 8, 1952

Dear General Lanham,

We would like to make a suggestion to General Eisenhower which we believe would be of considerable public and historic interest.

The suggestion is that the General dictate his letter of resignation on a dictaphone machine, rather than to a shorthand typist.

In that way, we would have a permanent voice recording of this extremely important occasion. It could become, perhaps even to the General himself, a very precious souvenir.

For the American public, it would certainly be of the greatest human interest to hear the General's own voice dictating his letter.

The Columbia Broadcasting System would like to use such a recording in a special documentary report which we are preparing on the occasion of the Supreme Commander's resignation.

Naturally, we understand that any such material would be given to us only after the official announcement of General Eisenhower's request for relief has been made.

It is also understood that this request is in line with your official policy that exclusives may be given when the report requested originates with a correspondent and is unique, which, I believe is the case with this suggestion.

We urge you to give this matter your most serious consideration, and would appreciate your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

April 8, 1952

Dear General Lanham,

C.B.S. is planning to do a special television report on the occasion of General Eisenhower's request for relief from duty as Supreme Commander, if and when the General does so decide.

There are certain personal and material elements that we need for this report and for which we would greatly appreciate your assistance.

We would like to have short statements, recorded on film at SHAPE, from the following personalities:

1) General Alfred M. Gruenther
2) Field Marshal Montgomery
3) General Juin
4) Admiral Caponi

As you see, we would like to get the international flavor in the comments. If any of these officers are not available, could the comment be forthcoming from some other high ranking American, French, British and Italian officer.

We also want very much to interview the person who actually has typed Eisenhower's request for resignation, such as, for example, Warrant Officer Good or Wave Helen Weaver.

We want also to interview you on the way the news broke over here, including such items of interest as transatlantic telephone calls, telegrams, etc. In that respect, do you or can you make recordings of transatlantic calls that are coming to you on this subject, which we could use for our own radio show which we are planning to do on the same topic.

On the material side, we need certain props for the television show:

1) the pen which Eisenhower uses to sign the letter.

2) an exact carbon copy of the letter itself.

3) the typewriter on which the letter was written. We would like to have Mr. Good or Miss Weaver re-enact the scene at the typewriter, filming over the typist's shoulder the letter as it is being typed.

We intend, of course, to stay within your restrictions on politics at SHAPE, limiting SHAPE's participation in the show strictly to the question of what it means to have the Supreme Commander leave.

We would greatly appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

General Charles T. Lanham
Director
Public Information Office
S.H.A.P.E.
Paris

DFS/pd

Eisenhower, Mamie

November 14, 1952

Dear Mamie,

Sometime, somewhere, in your mass of mail you may come across this. I thought you might like to have the pictures taken in your mother's backyard before the long trek began. Since I didn't take the pictures I can say that one of the two of the President-elect is as good as any I have seen.

I have a couple of chunks of film from the television show; one I have titled "The Eisenhower Battle of Harlem", the other is a rather moving sequence we shot in Abilene election night and the morning after. It includes a fair number of the General's old friends and teachers--and quite a lot of "old friends" you have both acquired since last week. Be glad to bring or send the film up if you care to look at it some evening.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower
60 Morningside Heights
New York, New York

Conf-Gen

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Rebe Holder

President Eisenhower must be
refering to the kinescope
of Benson PERSON TO PERSON
sent to him.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1954.

Dear Ed:

To my chagrin I find I never acknowledged the pictures you sent me back in September. I hope you will forgive my bad manners, and know that I was truly appreciative of your thoughtfulness.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Personal

DDE

THE WHITE HOUSE

April 21, 1955

Dear Ed:

I wonder if it would be convenient for you to come to an informal stag dinner on the evening of Monday, May sixteenth. I hope to gather together a small group, and I should like very much for you to attend if it is possible for you to do so.

Because of the informality of the occasion, I suggest that we meet at the White House about half past seven, have a reasonably early dinner, and devote the evening to a general chat. While I am hopeful that you can attend, I realize that you already may have engagements which would interfere. If so, I assure you of my complete understanding.

I shall probably wear a black tie, but business suit will be entirely appropriate.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

P.S. As a personal favor to me, would you keep this reasonably confidential until after the event?

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Corp.

April 27, 1955

Dear Mr. President:

As my British friends would say, "It is not without considerable pleasure and appreciation that I accept your gracious invitation to dine at the White House at half past seven on Monday, May sixteenth."

Sincerely yours,

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D.C.

rh

January 8th, 1963

Mr. Edward Murrow
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

My dear Ed:

For your eyes alone a letter I have sent to Arthur Schlesinger on Katanga. There is also enclosed a copy of a letter which I wrote to Tom Dodd.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE dm
ENCS.

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December 8, 1962

Dear Morris,

Many thanks for yours of December 4. I am not sure when I shall be in New York again. It would be a great pleasure to see you here. Do let me know when you are coming down again. I don't think I could be seduced but there is no profit in prophecy.

As ever,

Yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

ERM/rlp 12/8/62

rec'd 12/10 RCP

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR
JOHN A. WIENER
FREDERIC S. NATHAN
RICHARD M. ADER
ALAN U. SCHWARTZ

PLATT V. KETCHAM
JULIA PERLES
ROGER BRYANT HUNTING
NANCY F. WECHSLER
MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
IRWIN JAY ROBINSON
EDWARD S. SCHLESINGER
JOSEPH ERDMAN
MARTIN E. SILFEN
ROBERT A. JACOBS
DAVID N. ELLENHORN

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

HERBERT A. WOLFF
COUNSEL

CABLE ADDRESSES
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

Personal and
Confidential

December 4th, 1962

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
Director U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

My dear Ed:

You will no doubt recall a conversation you had with Jim Armsey, of Ford, and the paper you wrote for him. I have had discussions on the project under consideration and I am in a position to organize from the moneybag a campaign to seduce you to be uninhibited editor-in-chief of a great network.

Are you coming to New York? I want a hearing before you throw me out of your garden. Assuming the millions appear to be adequate and the commitment is firm for a substantial number of years, I want you to let me play with the project because you shouldn't and probably couldn't carry on the diplomacy even if you think the next five or ten years might be exciting if dwelt in this enterprise. I am so excited that I told my friends that if you would have me as an office boy part time, it's one of the few careers which would tempt me to retire from the Bar, of which I will have been a member for a half century in April, 1963.

Give me a ring. I may be in Washington on Telstar and other matters in the next fortnight and could arrange to see you on a Saturday.

Best.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:dm

Morris Ernst

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

BURN BEFORE READING

December 2, 1960

Burn Before Reading

My dear Ed:

You may recall ages ago that I indicated the illegality and cruelty of CBS, viz-a-viz, a lawyer on my staff in the Galindez matter.

I am advised today that CBS and not its insurance company paid a handsome sum of money running into thousands of dollars rather than run the risk of a trial for libel.

If my skin were not utterly thick, I should have sued in my behalf and retired on the proceeds. I still don't know what I could have retired into!!

I write you this note because there is an agreement between the parties that the resolution of the libelous article and the law suit derived therefrom should receive no publicity. I have no objection to such gentle tactics in our culture. I was not personally involved. But I do suggest that if we had a courageous and vigilant press, radio and tv, private parties would not be allowed to put to sleep the termination of a law suit which was propelled by an utterance on a mass media and which obtained some publicity at the time of the instigation of the litigation.

Tuck this all in the back of your all too over-busy mind.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:LK

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Ernest Moore

For your eyes alone

March 6, 1959

My dear Harry:

I have not seen the famous quote of Time magazine in regard to Bolivia. You may recall our talk at lunch on this very subject but in relation to a difference in cultural attitudes toward reporting in other folkways of the East.

I write you at this time only to suggest that I trust that even if an error has been made in your gazette that it will not go chicken. I have been deeply involved in matters concerning South American countries. The communist advances have become unbelieveably great in the last two years. Couldn't some special Time correspondent for the United States do an objective job using the Bolivian incident as a springboard? How many copies of Time got into Bolivia, or were there any copies in the villages in which disturbances were created. I would hate to see your paper conclude, because of an error, if any, that it would have to lean backwards in exposing the communist infiltration.

I am not a regular reader of Time but I wonder if you have discerned the new strategy of the communists to avoid the stigma of "nationalization" by take-over of management without buying out the investors.

Recently, while talking with high officials of the CIA, I suggested that within five years Russia will have a beachhead in South America. The response I received was: why so optimistic; it will be less than five years.

If I can be of any help, let me know.

Best,

Yours,

Ernest R. Moore

Mr. Henry R. Luce
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

Cy? I do not feel free to send you letters from here to me — HST.

See you soon —

Cy?

For your eyes alone

March 11, 1959

My dear Harry:

I read this week's story on Bolivia. It made me low in spirit because the press not only distorted the image of Time but deluded the American public with respect to the episode. Unless I am mistaken, not a single New York newspaper indicated that the copies were delivered or, if you please seized, by the Bolivian government and the diffusion of the story was obviously controlled by the government.

Far more serious news distortion is occurring every day in relation to the take-over in Cuba, for example, of the telephone company, television station, etc., without the use of the dirty word "nationalism". The communists who have infiltrated the Castro government have devised the most devilish trick in order to avoid the stigma of the word "nationalism". As you know, the present communist tactic, in South America particularly, is to instal an interventor to run a private business. Thus all of the effects of government take-over exist without the stigma which might attach to the concept of "nationalism". The investors are left impotent even as to a claim they might make in the event of condemnation by the government.

I have just re-examined, as I told Jack Jessup, the great strides made by Russia during the period of the last Berlin airlift episode. At that time advances were made in Czechoslovakia, China, Yugoslavia, Guatemala, etc. I will bet you a good lunch in Berlin that while Russia uses the Berlin crisis mood, on this occasion it hopes to divert our attention from the South American program under way in many countries for communist infiltration or take-over of governments. I am not misled by the distinction between Trotskyite and Stalinist forces but I am worried that as a result of the McCarthy era the people of our Republic seem reluctant to point fingers at communist advances to the South of us for fear of being called red baiters or McCarthyites.

I hope to hear from Jack after he had his braintrust examine the innumerable advances which I find made by Russia during the '47-'48

Berlin crisis which evaporated with a frightening graciousness after Russia had used the period from the Yangtze River, to the capture of Benes, to Guatamala.

Don't bother to acknowldge receipt. If you want anyone from your office to see me to get elaboration of my hunch, don't hesitate to do so.

Incidentally, I have alerted Fulbright and others to the need of reviewing the previous Berlin crisis historical evidence of communist advances.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Henry R. Luce
9 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

Fulbright

Confidential

March 9, 1959

My dear Bill:

During all of my recent conversations with officials in government agencies in Washington and more particularly in the State Department, I find a kind of hypnosis in existence. Not a crevice of the government mind is open for contemplation of any problem other than Berlin.

This brought my mind back to the previous Berlin airlift crisis days. I write you now because I have a hunch that an examination of the great Soviet advances during the previous Berlin crisis may point to the possibility of a duplication of the pattern as a diversionary tactic on the part of Russia. If you have not already done so, might it not advantage you and our Republic to take a look at what happened in Mongolia, Guatamala, Czechoslovakia, Formosa, etc., during the period o f the airlift and the period just preceding it and just following it.

I have been in constant touch for some months, except during my journey to Pakistan, with the Castro situation. I will bet you a very good lunch in Berlin, although you should give me odds of a bottle of wine at least, that this Berlin crisis will evaporate as did the last one and that the shift from the May deadline set by Mr. K. will be proven to be due to the fact that the communists in Central and South America are slow in their consolidation of position so that the original date of April 7th for Caribbean and South American invasions had to be postponed for a short period. I don't know if either you or Mike Mansfield can take a look at the files of the CIA; that secret empire must of course be inefficient as are all human beings who report to no one but themselves. The crescendo of trouble to the South of us is certainly not fortuitous and we may find that the present strategy of Russia is successful in that it has led to what is left of our State Department to fall asleep as to South America just as we failed to realize that the previous Berlin airlift period resulted in substantial advances by the communists far removed from Berlin.

I hope you don't mind my dropping you this line as to a hunch that

might warrant you in putting a member of your staff to the task of preparing for you the real story of the period during the previous Berlin crisis.

If by some chance I am right, I suggest that the matter is too important to be discussed before the American public in premature terms.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Hon. William Fulbright
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

P.S. Have you ever thought of the psychotic condition of Moscow if our Foreign Office should be silent for two weeks and make no comment despite the demands of our vulgar press not for news, but for bad news?

June 1, 1962

Personal

My dear Ed:

I don't like to bother you but I think this letter may save you some nuisances.

Edward S. Silver, District Attorney of Kings County, wanted to retain me with respect to a grievance he holds against CBS based on "A Real Case of Murder: The People vs. Peter Mancerl". I did not examine his claims from a strictly law point of view. I assume this is a show which you merely read from a script. I am quite persuaded that Mr. Silver is rightly offended and that his speech at the American Bar Association in August, 1961 may well concern Mr. Stanton and CBS should litigation ensue. I told Ed that professional and other more important devoted relations with you precluded me from entering into the case.

I write only to suggest that if you hear from your former Boss you can bear in mind that I maybe of some slight help to you personally in view of the fact that Ed Silver views me with good will.

Come on up to Nantucket.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Hon. Edward R. Murrow, Director
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

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May 15, 1962

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
United States Information Agency
Washington D.C.

Re: PORGY AND BESS
CARMEN JONES
& EDWARD R. MURROW.

My dear Ed:

Enclosed find copy of letter from Leonard S. Field, no doubt known to you. He has a good record for PORGY AND BESS for eleven weeks in the Middle East.

Can you let me know if you or any part of our mammoth government is interested in a repeat performance? I should think a Latin American tour would be opportune.

Best.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

hf
encl.

March 30, 1962

Personal

My dear Ed:

I don't want to butt in on either you or the First Lady or both but I thought you might want to be a part of the Grandma Moses exhibits which will take place in Paris, Zagreb and other Capitals. For your eyes alone, I am sending you a copy of a letter from Otto Kallir whom you may have met.

Give me a ring. If I can advantage you and your Agency on this or any other level, let me know.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

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November 21, 1961

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Director
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

My dear Ed:

1. Pass a note to Robert Beers to get in touch with Mort Goldberg at this office in December.

2. Have one of your brain trusts refer me to what you call your "charter". It's quite clear that I can find a way out of what you think is a restrictive mandate in regard to informing our public on post office walls.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:EW

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November 2, 1961

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
Director, United States Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ed:

You wrote me October 27th that you would like to have further observations from Mort Goldberg who addressed some of your braintrust. Enclosed find a letter he has written to you.

I suggest that you have the appropriate members of your staff send for Mr. Goldberg who will be happy to come down for a lengthy lunch. My guess is little can be accomplished by burdening the mails but much can be accomplished by matching of wits at such a lunch. I am sending you a copy of letter received by Mr. Goldberg from the American Book Publishers Council.

Writing further on your tv performance in your new role, I send you herewith copy of letter which I wrote to the White House. Why shouldn't 30,000 post offices which are the meeting places for the people of our Republic have placed on the walls information in regard to your operation? Surely our mass media is disinterested not merely because the main interest of press and radio and tv are only in bad news but your operations do not contain enough knives, guns or diseased extended breasts of females in our culture. These happen to have the highest prestige value at this moment of history in the United States.

Yours,

MLE:LK
Enc.

Morris L. Ernst

October 30, 1961

Dear Ed:

Good! Meaning you are exceptional in your new role. I have many suggestions some of which may have value. I wish there had been advice to the audience to send to you, if anyone wants, a brochure of the work of your organization, next time possibly have a chart in back of you giving the high spots of your operation, what of 400 million people on the planet who have no written language, and a billion who are illiterate. Etc. Etc.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
Director, United States
Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

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October 3, 1961

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My dear Ed:

Mort Goldberg of this office, as you know, gave some wisdom to the score of your employees, in one of the lectures carried on by the Book Publishers Council. I don't want to burden you but you may like to have from each of the lecturers a brief report as to their observations as to the audience and the types of questions asked.

My spies tell me you are having a gay time. And gay for you means full of troubles.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Hon. Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

May 8, 1961

My dear Ed:

I am having dinner on Friday, the 12th, in Washington at Young's Restuarant at 7 p.m. with Tedson Meyers. This is a result of previous meetings I had with Minow. If you are free do you want to join us.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

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(6)

March 23, 1961

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

My dear Ed:

Point No. 3 in the enclosed copy of letter which I wrote to Howard K. Smith may ring a bell and suggest some method by which the idea can be used for your purposes.

The great problem of the next century will be the colored problem. I suggest it is the destiny of our Republic to be the leader in the bridge between the uncolored and the colored. If England and other European nations lick the problem, they will still not be able to supply leadership because the number of colored people in those cultures is negligible. If we lick it as we are, good -- we can really lead because here millions of colored people reside.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:EW

Enc.

February 28, 1961

My dear Ed:

Enclosed find copy of letter I have written to Howard K. Smith. This program could be followed by one discussing your Agency which up to now has remained anonymous as has UNESCO. We expect to hear from you and we will follow up.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

Enc

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January 31, 1961

My dear Ed:

What a challenge you have! I have lived through so much with Elmer Davis' experience that I hope you can iron out the basic infirmity of the job, namely -- its relation to policy-making.

Let me know if I can help you at any time.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

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January 19, 1961

My dear Ed:

Harry Ransom, Chancellor of the University of Texas, will be in New York sometime between now and March first. Will you be around town? I find Ransom the most exciting man I have met in years in educational circles and he indicates he would like to chat with you sometime.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

P.S. Are you mad at me? Did I speak out of turn?

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December 20, 1960

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Personal

Dear Ed:

You stay in my mind. I am a loyal fool and it is not easy for me to cut out or cut down affections. Don't tell me you are not lonely — and I mean lonely in its real sense.

I don't want to press my way into your problems but this note I wanted to write to let you know that you should not avoid me because you think I may not understand what life is doing to you.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

BURN BEFORE READING

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December 2, 1960

My dear Ed:

You may recall ages ago that I indicated the illegality and cruelty of CBS, viz-a-viz, a lawyer on my staff in the Galindez matter.

I am advised today that CBS and not its insurance company paid a handsome sum of money running into thousands of dollars rather than run the risk of a trial for libel.

If my skin were not utterly thick, I should have sued in my behalf and retired on the proceeds. I still don't know what I could have retired into.

I write you this note because there is an agreement between the parties that the resolution of the libelous article and the law suit derived therefrom should receive no publicity. I have no objection to such gentle tactics in our culture. I was not personally involved. But I do suggest that if we had a courageous and vigilant press, radio and tv, private parties would not be allowed to put to sleep the termination of a law suit which was propelled by an utterance on a mass media and which obtained some publicity at the time of the instigation of the litigation.

Tuck this all in the back of your all too over-busy mind.

Yours,

MLE:LK

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Morris Ernst

October 20, 1960

Dear Morris:

First things first; I agree entirely with your letter on the miscalled debates.

On the other matter, I feel I've finally had you. It would have been quite impossible to suggest why it was unwise for the candidates to discuss Quemoy and Matsu without giving the listener the background on what has in fact happened and been said about those two miserable pieces of real estate. I am attaching a copy of the script and suspect that maybe for once you "listened too quick."

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

EHM:gw
encl

LAWRENCE S GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR.
JOHN A. WIENER
CHARLES E. HEMING
FREDERIC S. NATHAN

PLATT V. KETCHAM
JULIA PERLES
RICHARD M. ADER
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MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
ALAN U. SCHWARTZ
NORMAN W. ARNHEIM
NORMAN S. POSER
IRWIN J. ROBINSON
MARK J. KRONMAN
KARL HONEYSTEIN

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

HERBERT A. WOLFF
COUNSEL

CABLE ADDRESSES
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

MALCOLM A. HOFFMANN

October 18, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Ed:

Impertinent out of affection. Last Sunday after making the great point about the danger of talking detailed strategy in the campaign, which may be of possible lethal significance, you then fell into the trap of discussing the problem on the merits; thus, in my judgment, losing the ability to persuade the public on your main point.

You might be amused at the letter I have written to the next President of the United States. Incidentally, I have some indications that I may be called upon as a possible intermediary in the plan.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:LK
Enc.

October 17,1960

My dear Mr. President
or
Dear Jack and Dick:

I am disturbed for the sake of our Republic at the subtle but dangerous shift from political discussion into a format of a Quiz Show. I wonder if you could not agree on a joint statement that goes to all future questions of basic diplomacy with the arch enemy of our society -- Communist Colonialism.

When the Constitution of the United States was drafted in 1787 the second resolution adopted provided that all discussions shall be secret so that the delegates could more readily change their minds. In fact there would have been no constitution agreed upon if our 100 weekly gazettes had had access to the debates. As you know, Ben Franklin was accompanied by younger delegates to his tavern every night so as to make certain that he would not blab the day's proceedings.

Even between people in tender love there must be some areas of reserve; no spouse dares tell the other all of his or her thoughts. All the more reason why, with people we do not trust, it seems to me perilous to have the present game proceed so that the public will get some temporary pleasure in watching the matching of wits rather than permit our nation and the next president to use uncommitted and undisclosed moves of diplomacy. Whether we give up certain islands or not is remote from the issue I am writing to you about. My concern is that the matter should not be discussed in terms of strategy in a public debate. Neither of you would ask for a plebiscite on such a matter, which may involve a strategy always subjected to other considerations raised by history at the moment when a decision is called for.

I must be frank in saying that the questions from the reporters at your debates are bound to disturb the next president. None of the questions go to philosophy of government or the destiny of our Republic. In the main they are the usual dirty quiz or panel questions, not to get truth but to catch one or the other of you in an inconsistency.

I understand the pressure that made both of you submit to this inadequate exhibition. Might you not now issue a joint formal statement that makes clear that there are areas which should not be divulged or exposed in advance to the general public, much less to our opponents, and at most should be addressed to allies who can be trusted? I am fearful that

that the American public is engaged in a game to discover who can best needle the other, who is best at repartee and who has many arts -- none of which necessarily go to the question of stature for the Chief Magistrate of our nation.

With non-partisan good will I address this letter. Our Republic is in dire trouble. If I can help in the direction of such a joint declaration of statesmanship do not hesitate to call on me.

Yours,

Hon. Richard M. Nixon
Vice President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Hon. John F. Kennedy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Ernst, Morris L.

August 17, 1960

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Morris:

Many thanks for your note of August 10 and for sending me a copy of your memorandum. I have found the whole thing most absorbing and much appreciate your thought in letting me see it.

As ever yours,

CL

LAWRENCE S GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
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HERBERT A. WOLFF
COUNSEL

CABLE ADDRESSES
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

MALCOLM A. HOFFMANN

August 10, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Ed:

Now that you have become a philosopher of the news you might be interested in a memo I have prepared which people in Washington tell me is getting some real consideration as a possible matrix of a portion of our foreign policy.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

rsp
Enc.

May, 1960

Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

In collaboration with Alfred Tella and Herman Roseman.

THE OVERVIEW

Everyone knows that a great gulf divides the rich and poor countries of the world. But few are aware that this gulf will inevitably widen for at least the rest of the 20th Century. Fewer still have realized the full implications of this grim fact of growing inequality. Yet future world politics and America's position in the world will hinge on the directions the underdeveloped countries, goaded by economic inferiority, take in the next 40 years.

The widening income gap is inevitable because of the already existing disparities among rich and poor nations, and will persist even though the poor nations grow at record speed. A giant walking at a leisurely pace will cover more ground than a midget running at top speed. Likewise, the economic gains of even a slowly growing economic giant will be greater than those of a rapidly expanding, but currently meager economy.

It follows from the very size of the gap to be bridged that income will have to grow so rapidly that the so-called "population explosion" will become of relatively minor importance. However, a worldwide "economic explosion", as it solves the problems of overpopulation and poverty, may seriously drain the earth's natural resources, creating the need for still another "explosion" in science and technology.

More important, as the economic aspirations of the underdeveloped countries rise, the increasing income gap will be increasingly resented. Their psychological reaction can briefly be described as "inferiority complex" with symptoms of extreme nationalism and over-compensation. Satisfied with nothing less than full parity with the more advanced countries, they will seek the authoritarian forms of government best suited for a forced and speedy march out of poverty. Extreme national pride will generally preclude subservience to world Communism, although friendly relations with Russia may not be uncommon. On the other hand, the United States and its Western allies are in for a long spell of hostility and abuse, and relations between them and the less advanced countries will be strained for many years to come.

For the American people, this state of affairs may be disheartening, as the underdeveloped countries turn to unfriendly, undemocratic ways. Therefore, we must trim our expectations and count our actions as successes or failures according to the more limited criteria of staving off Communism and aiding economic development. More specifically, this means a willingness on our part to continue economic aid almost for its own sake, and an aware appreciation and tolerance of the extreme nationalistic temper of the newly emerging nations. Eventually, patience will have its reward; but a lack of it will, even in the short run, carry the penalties of spreading Communism and threatening world peace.

THE YEAR 2000

I The Inexorable Income Gap

II The Politics Of Frustration

III The Odds Against Communism

IV Population and Income: Tortoise and Hare?

V How To Lose Friends and Influence History

VI The Year 2000 and Beyond

The Inexorable Income Gap

Everyone knows that while the U. S. and some of its western allies now enjoy unprecedentedly high standards of living, much of the world's population is living in conditions of relative poverty. The reasons for this harsh contrast in ways of life are widely understood--it stems primarily from the West's accumulations of knowledge and the mechanical tools to apply it. It is felt, therefore, that economic well-being is possible for all people, and that in the fairly immediate future many currently underdeveloped countries will embark upon programs of rapid economic growth. Since the contrast in living standards of rich and poor countries is a major source of world tensions, this expected assault on poverty is viewed most hopefully and many responsible persons advocate that the western nations massively assist in this effort so that inequality among men may soon wane.

Unhappily, however, even if this economic growth proceeds with the greatest possible rapidity, the gap between the rich and poor nations will inevitably widen, and it may be generations before it even begins to narrow. It certainly will not occur in this century. By the year 2000, the gap will be wider than ever. For example, if the U. S. continues along its present growth path and India goes twice as fast, India will still not begin to catch up until the year 2035, at which time the difference between our incomes and theirs will be 5 times what it is now.

This conclusion rests upon relatively slender assumptions. It assumes only that standards of living in the West will go on improving as they have in the past century. It also assumes that the underdeveloped countries will not expand at rates greatly in excess of those historically achieved by such countries as Russia and Japan. The presumed percentage rates of growth for the underdeveloped countries are much higher than for the U. S. Nevertheless, the gap will widen. Thus if the U. S. - India gap is even to begin to narrow by the year 2000, the Indian economy will have to grow at a rate unprecedented in world history.

Why the gap must widen for a long time to come can be simply illustrated as follows: a one percent increase in the income of a millionaire is equivalent to a doubling of income of a $10,000-a-year man. The U. S. is so far ahead of the backward countries that even a leisurly rate of growth adds more to its income than the fastest rate of growth can add to that of the backward countries.

The Politics of Frustration

In recent years the long existant gap between rich and poor countries has, thanks to the spread of western ideas, become a major source of world tension. The underdeveloped countries, with a rising level of aspirations, feel increasingly frustrated. Their complex emotional reaction to the disparity between aspiration and achievement leads to rage, self-hatred, envy, xenophobia, rationalization, and over-compensation. Broadly speaking, two patterns of behavior emerge: hostility to the more successful, imitation of the more successful.

Envy and rationalization lead to antagonism toward advanced "imperialistic" nations. Thus nationalistic politicians, whether in power or out, have a natural advantage in underdeveloped countries.

But a polity built on xenophobia alone cannot win lasting success. National pride demands that the country build up its industry in addition to thumbing its nose at the US. Thus regimes which do not show economic achievement are eventually cast off. Soon or late, the nation finds leaders ready to command a forced march into the modern world.

So great is the gap between rich and poor nations that the poor cannot be satisfied with modest rates of growth. But the extremely rapid rates demanded are hardly possible to a democratic system, since they require deprivation and social dislocation on a large scale. Consequently, an authoritarian regime is resorted to. Such a regime gains power and keeps it on the basis of its appeal to strong nationalist sentiments. The psychological dynamic behind the development program also comes from this national pride. But given the greatest enthusiasm, a forced march has little chance of success without the severest discipline.

As the gap grows between rich and poor nations, a parallel gap may well develop <u>within</u> the poor countries as the ruling elites there try to keep up with the more rapidly advancing standards in the west. The better educated elites have more westernized tastes; they also have or conspire to gain the power to satisfy these tastes. But as inequality grows <u>within</u> the nation, it becomes more difficult to demand sacrifice from the masses and increased repression becomes necessary. Moreover, imports of foreign luxury goods weaken foreign exchange reserves and reduce the amount of resources the country can put in economic growth. Therefore, not to cripple economic development it may be necessary either to have a "circulation of elites" by successive revolutions, or to suppress the elite as Stalin did. In either event extreme political tension may be the expected norm.

The Odds Against Communism

The threat of Communism in underdeveloped countries is easily exaggerated. Nationalist movements are commonly innocent of left-right ideologies and often mix the two in strange amalgams. Their mood is pragmatic because their needs are pressing and practical.

Anti-western feeling is naturally accompanied by a specious sort of pro-Soviet emotion arising out of the cold war situation. But this does not necessarily mean any leaning toward communism. At the very moment Soviet dignitaries are being greeted with flowers, local communist agitators may be languishing in dungeons.

Nationalist leaders follow this policy because, while the communists can give them significant help in the international sphere, they are not much help in domestic politics. Even if a politican is desirous of the support of a local communist party, he need only appear friendly to Russia to get it. But to hand his country over to communism implies a willingness to subordinate himself and his nations pride to Russian dictatorship -- not a very likely transaction.

In general, the weakness of communist movements in underdeveloped countries stems from their relatively limited appeal. For significant elements of the population--small businessmen, civil servants, army officers--the communists are simply not attractive. Communistic nationalistic leaders gain but an uninfluential following, while pure nationalist leaders are able to rally all elements of the population to their support.

Because communism is not palatable to the poor countries does not mean that free enterprise is. True, to many the Russian method of rapid economic growth is appealing. But there is no attraction in being a satellite. Nor is there attraction in the rigidities of Marxist dogma. The underdeveloped nations, then, are likely to choose those elements of the Soviet system that they find most useful while rejecting the system as such.

Population and Income: Tortoise and Hare?

The population is of great significance only where the economy is not growing much more rapidly than the population. But the obvious natural limits to population growth prevent it from outrunning a quickly expanding economy. Suppose, for example, that population and income are growing at 3% a year. If population growth were then cut in half (to roughly the US rate) living standards would only increase by only one-and-a-half percent per year, a modest rate. Compare this to the possible gains that can be achieved by boosting economic growth rates to 6, 7, or even 8 per cent. Clearly, the road out of poverty is traversed by economic measures rather than demographic.

When a nation's industry is growing rapidly, the demand for workers is very great. Recruiting for factories can become a major problem. If too many farmers are brought to the city there is a danger of reducing agricultural production. Nor can farmers be readily replaced by machinery in a country whose economic growth is limited primarily by the amount of machinery it can lay its hands on. The problem is greatly simplified if the population is growing rapidly. For then there are plenty of young workers who can be drawn into the city without disrupting agricultural production. These are always the most mobile and easily trained elements in the labor force. If they are present in sufficient numbers, then a serious slowup in production may be averted.

Of course, a rising population creates a food problem. But agricultural methods in underdeveloped countries are generally so primitive that concerted attention to this problem can lead to astounding increases in food production in a relatively short space of time. Improved seeds, pest control, fertilizers, can achieve this with little cost. They require no difficult reorganization of agriculture and present no special problems in education. Their introduction requires primarily the support of the farming population for the government.

In the short run, there are apparent advantages from lowering the birth rate since it tends to reduce the number of unproductive persons in the economy, who must be supported by the working population. Thus the average level of living is adversely affected. But in the long run, when unborn babies could be supplying a vital labor force need, it may well be a disadvantage. Cutting the birth rate in half means that in about fifteen years the number of new workers entering the economy will be halved. After two decades of rapid economic growth this could be an unwonted bottleneck barring further growth.

HOW TO LOSE FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE HISTORY

America is facing a long period when, do what it will, it will only face hostility from the nations of the world who are behind it in the economic race. This hostility is unjustifiable since--whatever our sins--we did not create poverty. Nevertheless, it is something we must come to expect and even to tolerate. We must even be prepared to recognize its constructive aspects: the power of hate to unify whole peoples and give them great purpose and drive. And above all, we must recognize that there is no way that we can fundamentally alter the political and economic conditions giving rise to this situation.

But this is no counsel to despair or inaction. The common cold, which is incurable and unavoidable, causes much distress and discomfort; but its inevitability in no way means that we should ignore possible sources of relief or fail to guard against the threat of pneumonia. Similarly, the US in the next generation or two will have to find ways of preventing friction in its international relations from leading to war, the spread of communism, or the complete isolation of this country.

Much of this is a matter of tactics, but there is also a question of aims. The desire to be well-liked, not an especially noble motive, is vain in any case and should be supplanted by more substantive goals. Of these, three particularly recommend themselves. First, we must try to prevent the sphere of communist power from spreading. Second, we should endeavor to speed up and ease the process of economic growth in less developed countries for the sake of world peace and prosperity as well as to remove the prime conditions for communism's spread. Third, we should try to promote in as great a degree as possible the democratic liberties of people everywhere, taking care neither to impose rigid standards nor to relax in a double standard. Tactically, we should remember that a soft word turneth away wrath and that Rome wasn't built in a day.

American foreign policy is conducted in part by the State Department and in part by the American people. Whatever the formalities of treaties and diplomatic exchange, it is the attitudes of the people that sets the tone of the policy. A calm, patient and tolerant public that understands the long term aims of our foreign policy and does not, like a Newtonian body, react to every emotion with an equal and opposite emotion, will give our international relations a spirit that will do much to temper the inevitable hostilities and avoid the dangers of war and the isolation of America in a sea of communist power.

The Year 2000 and Beyond

In the year 2000 things will have a different feel about them. Conceive, if you will, a world in which billions of people, despite differences in their incomes, live at standards experienced heretofore only in the US. This would be a world consuming perhaps ten times its current output of meat, fifteen times its current output of electric power, twenty times its currect output of copper. How long would our minerals last being gorged at such a rate?

The answer is obvious. Its implication is that by the year 2000 man will have to find totally new ways of making things. In order for such a vast world economy to exist for even a day there would have to be virtually inexhaustible supplies of energy. We will have to make all materials synthetically when the reserves of iron, copper, wood, coal, aluminum, etc., run out. Thus material abundance demands a new era of scientific achievement.

Abundance will exhaust the world's material resources. But it can liberate man's great spiritual resources--if he so chooses. In today's society of scarcity, conspicuous consumption is the means of achieving social recognition. But as abundance grows, eventually materialistic emulation becomes pointless. To gain the good opinion of our fellows, something else is needed. This may well be personal excellence. The field of "competition" becomes quality of person rather than quantity of possession. Artistic creation, intellectual accomplishment, the art of love--these become the new badges of status.

Culture presumes leisure, which comes only with abundance. Not everyone will enter the groves of abundance at once. We in the US will enter, are entering, first. As other nations follow in our path they adopt many of the ways we have pioneered. Culturally we can see this today in an England vying for America's standard of living. Its culture is becoming Americanized. From this side of the water it is not a pleasant sight to watch.

We are thus reminded of our great responsibility in the days to come. We will first explore the groves of abundance and others will follow the trails we blaze. For good or ill, the choices we make in the coming years will profoundly influence how millions yet unborn will bend their minds and utilize their leisure.

The foregoing outline presents a body of hypotheses which, while derived from empirical observations, need more rigorous and scholarly testing. A few avenues of indicated research are:

1. Forecasting of world income by countries and regions. Extension of existing population projections.

2. Computation and analysis of the capital, foreign aid, labor force, and production growth requirements of underdeveloped areas for the income gap to begin to narrow by the year 2000.

3. Detailed examination and comparative analysis of recent political and economic history of underdeveloped countries to test hypotheses of psychological and political forces operative in them.

4. Research into the present, likely future, and necessary future state of science, technology and resources.

5. Examination of the early history of Japan, Russia and Germany to determine the degree of similarity with presently underdeveloped countries re nationalist psychology and levels of preindustrial wealth.

Morris Ernst

December 17, 1959

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 15th inviting Mr. Murrow to attend the Twelfth Night Party on January 6th in honor of Morris Ernst.

As you may know, Mr. Murrow is on a year's leave of absence and since he will be traveling abroad for the next six months, it unfortunately will not be possible for him to attend. Thank you again for your note.

Very sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary

Mr. Alan U. Schwartz
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

December 15, 1959

My dear Ed:

The Bar Association must be getting soft. It has finally decided to honor its lifetime enfant terrible. As you can see from the enclosed, the honor may be somewhat questionable but it certainly will be fun.

Since this will be a big party for Morris, I have arranged with the Bar Association that a block of seats be set aside for close friends. If you are able to come please fill in the enclosed coupon and return it with your check directly to the Bar Association. They have your name and will be sure to take care of you when they receive your order. Of course both ladies and gentlemen are invited.

Morris is presently in Europe and does not know about these special invitations. I think he will enjoy this surprise and I know he will be warmed by your presence.

I certainly hope you can come.

Sincerely yours,

Alan U. Schwartz

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Enc

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Admission $3.75, Including Refreshments

MEMBERS MAY BRING SPOUSES AND GUESTS. HOWEVER, MEMBERS ARE REMINDED THAT THE LIMITED SEATING CAPACITY MAY BE OVERTAXED BY THE DEMAND FOR SPACE FROM MR. ERNST'S FAMILY. ACCORDINGLY, EARLY RESERVATIONS ARE SUGGESTED.

All Reserved Seats Which Will Be Assigned in Order of Receipt of Reservations

---

Mr. Gerald T. MacDonagh, *Administrative Manager*
42 West 44th Street, New York 36, New York

January 6, 1960

Enclosed is my check payable to *Dean K. Worcester, Treasurer,* to cover ..... reservations* at $3.75 each for the TWELFTH NIGHT PARTY to be held at the House of the Association, 42 West 44th Street, on Wednesday, January 6, 1960 from 8.15 P.M. onward.

NAME OF MEMBER .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

All reservations must be made no later than January 4, inasmuch as the available space is limited. Tickets will be held at the door.

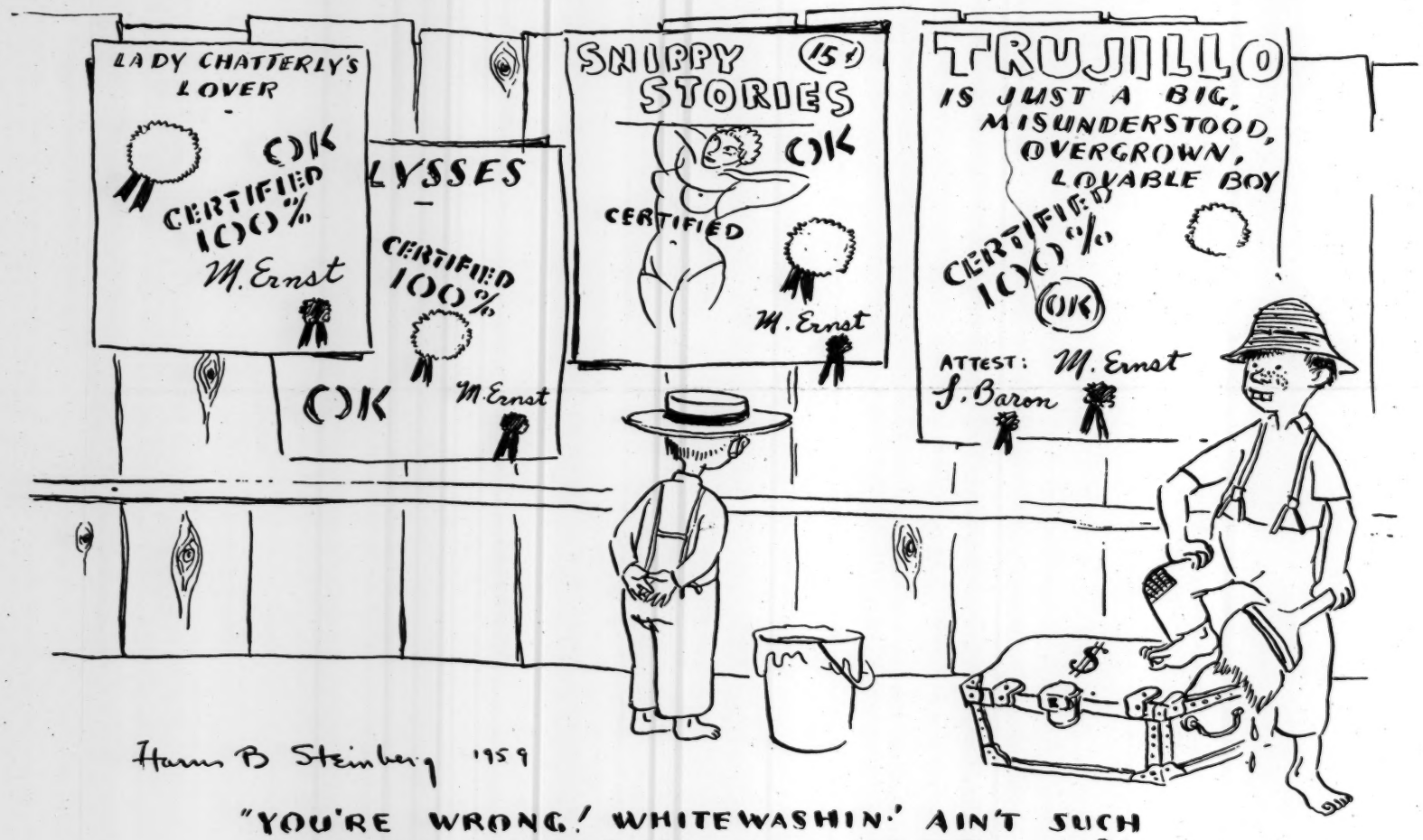
* Each member may invite guests who need not be lawyers.

THE COMMITTEE ON ENTERTAINMENT OF

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PRESENTS ITS ANNUAL

TWELFTH NIGHT PARTY



"YOU'RE WRONG! WHITEWASHIN' AIN'T SUCH A CHORE. WOULD YOU LIKE TO TRY IT?"

TO BE HELD AT THE HOUSE OF THE ASSOCIATION

AT 42 WEST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1960 AT 8:15 P.M.

AN UNHURRIED VIEW OF

MORRIS L. ERNST, ESQ.

November 13, 1959

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My dear Ed:

We don't arrive until the 20th of this month and you may have left before then. You may recall that sometime ago I suggested that I would like to raise, in dollar bills from the American people, sufficient funds to erect a statue to Winston Churchill in Grosvenor Square to face F. D. R. I got turned down by Brendan Bracken years ago and Brendan told me that it would not be fitting to have a statue erected during a man's life time.

I made another pitch after that horror of an oil painting was made of Sir Winston for the Commons. Only recently I wrote again since the shift in the mores as evidenced by the statue erected at Woodford. I received a letter from Sir Winston's secretary, of which I am enclosing a copy.

Can you do me a favor? If this letter reaches you before you leave London, make a pitch with the secretary, whom you no doubt know. If you have left London, do whatever you can.

I imagine that the letter of November 6th, of which I enclose a copy arises from an ineptness on my part. I did not want any initiative on the part of Sir Winston. I merely wanted to be sure that he would not slap me down if I got the project under way.

One other point must be covered while I am in London, namely: some kind of a green light from the Park Board which controls the erection of statuary on Grosvenor Square. Please do what you can and get some kind of a message to me at the Hotel Berkeley, where I arrive on the night of the 20th.

Let me know where you can be reached. I will be in Zurich at the Baur au Lac on the 25th of this month for a few days and then back to London. I may have to go down to see some clients near Nice. I will bring over some memos which I have prepared for various officials in Washington pointing to various courses which we might pursue with respect to the television mess.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Hotel Connaught
Carlos Place
London, England

Enc

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MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM
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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

MALCOLM A. HOFFMANN

November 9, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
The Connaught Hotel
Carlos Place
London, W. 1, England

My Dear Ed:

Margaret and I will arrive at the Berkeley on November 20th. I do hope we can have some time before the 25th when I must go to Zurich on what is called law business.

Best to Janet.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

eb

November 2, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Connaught Hotel
London, England

My dear Ed:

I'll be in London in December. Will you still be there? What is your itinerary?

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

bd

August 7, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

My dear Ed:

Tried to reach you and understand you are in California. If you are on the confidential matter which we discussed at the Voisin, remember my deep interest in it.

If you aren't out on that project, you might recall that you and Janet should come to Nantucket for a few days, where we can solve the world. If you want me to hold your little fortress for you on any level while you are away, don't hesitate to call.

Yours,

e

Morris L. Ernst

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

MALCOLM A. HOFFMANN

June 19, 1959

Dear Ed:

There is a lot of talk and testimony about equal time on the air. Does Everybody refuse to know about the Farmers Union case argued in the Supreme Court months ago -- no decision yet -- which may give the answer. If equal time is compulsory to a station, what do we do about censorship and libel? The enclosed brief goes to the essential point. We have much more material. Call up Alan Schwartz if you want to see the brief filed by the Radio station, etc.

Please return the enclosed as they are our only office copies.

Yours,

Morris L. E.

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Encs

P. S. Mr. Ernst telephoned from Nantucket and dictated this letter.

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

May 21, 1959

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed: My calendar shows today. In any event you owe me a debt for giving you half hour relaxed contemplation of the commodity of which you are in shortest supply. Holding open today same time same place, or dinner, or evening, or any time after five.

Morris L. Ernst

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

April 7, 1959

My dear Ed:

Since there is a conspiracy in favor of silence as to libel matters, I thought you might be interested to learn from me that the court has held in the suit of Richter vs. CBS that the statement uttered by CBS was libelous per se. I no longer hope that over networks the truth catches up with error.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

April 6, 1959

Dear Morris:

Sometime, somehow, I will write out the pieces you request in your letter of March 24, but right now I simply cannot do it. There aren't enough hours in the day or enough days in the week. Believe me, I am trying to hang on till the first of July, and between now and then it just cannot be done. Sorry.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

March 24, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Ed:

I do not think I have ever asked a favor. I would appreciate it greatly if you would write out in some detail the two stories you told me about your two important teachers - the crippled teacher of English and the page of Marcus Aurelius, and the teacher of Surveying - while you remember them; what they did for you; did you ever thank them; number in classroom;- you know, the works.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:L

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

March 25, 1959

WO

My dear Ed:

By any chance are you free on April 7th. Father Gardiner and Bernard Berelson of Columbia, and I will lunch at the Lotus Club at one o'clock. The Ford Foundation referred us to Prof. Berelson who is their choice for an exploration along the lines we discussed at my home at various dinner parties. I hate to bother you and would not do so if I did not think that your presence would provide a real contribution to get my little project off the ground.

And as you know, you are always free to nuisance me.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

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March 19, 1959

F

My dear Ed:

In all the comments on equal time on radio and television, I have seen no word mentioning the fact that next Monday a case will be argued in the United States Supreme Court.

I am sending you a copy of our brief in behalf of the Farmers Union which was libeled by one of the candidates running for Congress. The important issue goes beyond equal time, for if there be a compulsion for equal time, it is now urged that the stations be immunized in libel suits.

Howard Smith may want to be alerted.

I am off to Washington. Call Eddie Greenbaum if you want more information and he will tell you about the brief filed by NAB and by our opponents in court next Monday.

Did you see that Mike hit the front page in the New York Times with his new publishing house? I think it is the first time that that dirty word "book" has been on the front page in the Times, which in itself might have been worthy of comment on radio.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Enc
Del

IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

October Term, 1958

No. 248

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA, NORTH DAKOTA DIVISION, a Corporation,
Petitioner,

v.

WDAY, INC., a Corporation.

On Writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of North Dakota

BRIEF FOR PETITIONER

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IN THE

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No. 248

FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA, NORTH DAKOTA DIVISION, a Corporation,

Petitioner,

v.

WDAY, INC., a Corporation.

On Writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of North Dakota

BRIEF FOR PETITIONER

Opinion Below

The District Court handed down no opinion. The opinion of the Supreme Court of North Dakota handed down April 3, 1958 (R 30) is reported at 89 N. W. (2) 102, but has not yet been officially reported.

Jurisdiction

The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked under 28 U. S. C. 1257 (3) in that the cause involves an assertion of immunity under a statute of the United States (Section

315 of the Communications Act of 1934, c. 652, 48 Stat. 1088, as amended, c. 229, 66 Stat. 717, 47 U. S. C. 315) and in that the cause involves the validity of the statute, as construed below, under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Judgment on remittitur was entered May 8, 1958 (R 51).

The petition for a writ of certiorari was filed on August 2, 1958, after entry of an order of June 12, 1958, by Mr. Justice Whittaker granting an extension of time (R 53).

The petition was granted by order of this Court on October 13, 1958 (R 53), reported at 3 L. ed. (2) 54.

Statutes and Constitutional Provision Involved

(1) Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934, c. 652, 48 Stat. 1088, as amended, c. 879, 66 Stat. 717, 47 U. S. C. 315:

> "(a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station: *Provided,* That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.
>
> "(b) The charges made for the use of any broadcasting station for any of the purposes set forth in this section shall not exceed the charges made for comparable use of such station for other purposes.
>
> "(c) The Commission shall prescribe appropriate rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this section."*

---

* For predecessor statutes see Appendix A.

(2) Section 326 of the Communications Act of 1934, c. 652, 48 Stat. 1091, as amended, c. 645, 62 Stat. 862, 47 U. S. C. 326:

> "Nothing in this chapter shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication."

(3) Section 414 of the Communications Act of 1934, c. 652, 48 Stat. 1099, 47 U. S. C. 414:

> "Nothing in this chapter contained shall in any way abridge or alter the remedies now existing at common law or by statute, but the provisions of this chapter are in addition to such remedies."

(4) The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States:

> "No person shall * * * be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law * * *"

Questions Presented

The questions presented are:

1. Whether Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 required the respondent, licensee of a radio and television station, to broadcast admittedly libelous statements made by a candidate for public office;

2. If so, whether Section 315 relieves the respondent from liability for broadcasting such libelous statements;

3. If so, whether such immunity from liability extends to admittedly libelous statements defaming a third party not a competing candidate for office;

4. Whether, in enacting Section 315, Congress intended to abrogate state law as to the liability of a radio and television station for broadcasting such defamatory matter;

5. Whether Section 315, as applied, deprives petitioner of liberty and property, including its reputation, without due process of law in violation of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Statement of the Case

On October 29, 1956 respondent, WDAY, Inc., a North Dakota corporation engaged in broadcasting radio and television programs under a license issued by the Federal Communications Commission (R 16) broadcast a televised speech by one A. C. Townley, which contained *inter alia* the following statements about petitioner:

> "To: North Dakota Republicans, Farmers, Bankers and Businessmen
>
> "The Farmers Union program fully carried out as planned not as it is planned by the farmer members, but as it is planned by the Farmers Union Dictators, would establish a Communist Farmers Union Soviet right here in North Dakota.
>
> "This Farmers Union is now rapidly developing on your main street right here under your nose. This Farmers Union has already taken over vast business enterprise and threatens every businessman in North Dakota.
>
> "For ten years, Senator Young has used the power and prestige of the high office that he holds to serve this Farmers Union. He has not raised his voice or hand to stay the communist viper gnawing at your private ownership and liberty. On the contrary, Young says everything and does everything the Farmers union tell him to do or say—Democrat Alex Lind, Democrat Glenn Talbott, and Democrat Bill Thatcher —tell him what to say and how to vote on every matter that concerns the Farmers Union.

"In a letter to the voters dated October 10, 1956, Milton Young says, 'The Congressional Record will show that I have led the fight for 90% parity and I have letters from M. W. Thatcher thanking me.'

"Milton Young has no letter from President Eisenhower thanking him for supporting the Republican farm program because the bogus Republican, Milton Young, supports bogus Democrat farm program and gets his orders from the Democrat Farmers Union. Young is Republican in name only. His works are Communist, Democrat, Farmers Union works.

"Young and Burdick both support the Democrat Farmer program. Both men take orders from Communist controlled Democrat Farmers Union and now this amazing fact—Communist infiltration and power has gone so far in North Dakota that the Democratic Party supports 100% the Democratic Farmers Union candidate and the Republican Party supports 90% the Democratic Farmers Union candidate. The communists can't lose unless the Americans wake up and wake up fast.

"Mr. Republican farmer, Republican banker, Republican businessman, do you vote and work Republican with Eisenhower for the Republican farm program and against the Farmers Union soviet or do you now still walk hand in hand with communist Farmers Union dictators—communist Democrat Glenn Talbott, Democrat Bill Thatcher and their willing servant, Milton Young, to build this deadly tyranny.

"If you do, then the jig is up and the communist Farmer Union soviet is here for sure. I will talk over KFYR at 7:30 and KFGO at 8:30 every night this week. Also, Monday night before you vote. Please get your friends to listen." (R 18, 19)

These statements were recorded, and the speaker's image was photographed by agents and employees of the respondent, prior to the publication of the televised speech over the air waves (R 17, 18). The speech was televised over Channel No. 6, from Fargo, North Dakota, to thou-

sands of listeners and viewers in North Dakota, South Dakota and Minnesota (R 3).

It is conceded that the quoted statements so broadcast by respondent referred to petitioner, and that these statements were defamatory *per se* (R 36).

Before October 29, 1956 Townley had submitted to respondent a script containing the libelous statements above referred to. Respondent advised Townley that the script contained statements which it believed to be false and libelous. Respondent further advised Townley that it would broadcast the script only if Townley so demanded under the mandate of Section 315 of the Communications Act. After Townley made such a demand, respondent then made its facilities available to Townley and proceeded to photograph, publish, reproduce and film the speech, including the defamatory statements concerning petitioner (R 17).

At the time of the telecast of October 29, 1956, Townley was a legally qualified candidate for the United States Senate (R 16). There were also two other legally qualified candidates for that office, Milton R. Young and Quentin N. Burdick (R 16, 17). Prior to October 29, 1956, respondent had telecast speeches of Young and Burdick, and had participated in the mechanical preparation of those speeches (R 17). Neither Young nor Burdick, in their respective speeches telecast by respondent had referred to Townley or to petitioner (R 17).

Petitioner, on January 14, 1957, filed a complaint in the District Court of Cass County, North Dakota, against respondent and Townley, claiming general, special and exemplary damages on account of the preparation, publication and telecast of the libel in the amount of $150,000 (R 1). Both defendants were served (R 7, 33) and both answered (R 8, 33).

Respondent's answer asserted two defenses to both of which petitioner demurred (R 11).

Respondent's first defense asserted that Section 14-0209 of the 1953 Supplement to the North Dakota Revised Code of 1943, which purported to immunize the licensee of a broadcasting station from liability for "any defamatory statement published or uttered in or as part of a visual or sound radio broadcast by anyone other than [the] owner, licensee or operator or agent or employee thereof," absolved it from liability for its part in preparing, publishing and televising Townley's speech (R 8). The District Court of Cass County sustained petitioner's demurrer to this defense, on the ground that the North Dakota immunity statute was unconstitutional under both the United States and the North Dakota Constitutions, and also on the ground that Congress had occupied the field and had not legislated immunity[1] (R 20, 22). This ruling was not appealed to the North Dakota Supreme Court (R 35).

Respondent's second defense asserted that the speech was broadcast under the mandate of Section 315, as interpreted by the Federal Communications Commission, that Section 315 as so interpreted in *Matter of WDSU Broadcasting Company,* 7 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 769 (1951), required respondent to broadcast Townley's speech, and that respondent was implicitly absolved of liability to petitioner (R 9-11). Petitioner demurred to respondent's second defense on the grounds that Section 315 was in-

---

[1] In the Conclusions of Law of the District Court, the North Dakota statute was held unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment and under three provisions of the State Constitution: that "every man may freely write, speak and publish his opinions on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of this privilege" (§9); that "every man for any injury done him in his lands, goods, person or reputation shall have remedy by due process of law (§22); and that all laws of a general nature shall have uniform operation (§11), the District Court finding being that this statute "unreasonably favors radio and television stations, over other forms of communication media." (Conclusions of Law on Demurrer to First Defense (R. 21, 22).)

applicable, that if applicable it did not grant respondent immunity from actions for defamation, and that if construed as granting immunity it would be unconstitutional as depriving the petitioner of its liberty and property and a substantive right to protect its property, including its reputation, without due process of law (R 13, 14). Petitioner's demurrer to this defense was overruled by the District Court, whose conclusions of law stated that the publication was privileged, that Section 315 granted respondent immunity and that Section 315, as so construed, was constitutional (R 22, 23).

No opinion was written by the District Court.

Neither petitioner nor respondent elected to plead further (R 24). Respondent moved for judgment in its favor for dismissal of the action (R 24). The motion was granted, and the District Court made Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law (R 15, 24) and ordered judgment for the respondent (R 24).

Petitioner appealed from this judgment to the Supreme Court of North Dakota (R 26). Its Assignments and Specifications of Errors, in addition to including general Assignments to the effect that the District Court had erred in overruling the demurrer and that the Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, Order for Judgment and Judgment were all contrary to law (R 27, 28), specifically urged that the District Court had erred in failing to find: that Section 315 was inapplicable to this case (R 28); that Section 315 did not grant immunity to the respondent (R 28); that if it did grant such immunity, Section 315 was unconstitutional in depriving petitioner of its liberty and property and a substantive right to protect its property, including its reputation, without due process of law (R 28); that Section 315 did not compel or authorize the respondent to broadcast the defamatory speech in question (R 29), and did not protect or shield the respondent from liability to petitioner (R 29).

The Supreme Court of North Dakota, in a 4-1 decision (R 30) affirmed the decision of the District Court with respect to respondent's second defense. Noting that the Townley speech was conceded to be libelous *per se,* the Court relied on the opinion of the Federal Communications Commission in *Matter of Port Huron Broadcasting Co.,* 4 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 1 (1948), to the effect that the prohibition against censorship in Section 315 was "absolute" (R 36, 37) although the Court also quoted, with apparent approval, the statement in that opinion that the prohibition did not extend to speech in violation of the Communications Act or other federal law (R 37). Following the opinion of the Federal Communications Commission, the Court found that the prohibition of Section 315 precluded deletion of libel by respondent. The Court held that Congress had "taken full control of interstate radio and television communication" (R 39) and that Section 315 extended to respondent a privilege to broadcast the defamatory statements (R 39, 41). The result, the Court concluded, is to confer immunity on respondent, on the ground that it was not the intent of Congress to compel a station to broadcast libel and at the same time subject it to the risk of defending actions for damages (R 41). The Court also held that this result did not violate the Fifth Amendment, in view, it said, of the importance of dissemination of information as to the character and qualifications of candidates for public office (R 42, 43).

The minority opinion (R 43) asserted that the prohibition against "censorship" in Section 315 could not be taken as absolute, as witness the recognized exceptions of obscenity and blasphemy (R 44); that whatever the rule as to defamation of opposing candidates, who may be deemed to submit to a limited privilege of comment as to their fitness for office, Congress could never have intended to

forbid deletion by licensees of remarks defamatory of a non-candidate or to deny to such a person recourse against the broadcasting station disseminating the libel (R 46, 47).

The order of affirmance of the State Supreme Court directed that the case be "remanded to the District Court for further proceedings according to law" (R 47, 48).

On remand the District Court on May 8, 1958 entered judgment in favor of respondent, taxing costs against the petitioner (R 49).

Summary of Argument

The Court below has held that petitioner has no cause of action for libel against respondent for broadcasting concededly libelous statements about petitioner over a multi-state area. This result was said to derive from the fact that the utterer of the libelous remarks was a political candidate, it being the Court's opinion that Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act relieves licensees from all liability for defamation spoken by political candidates including defamation of third persons like petitioner who are not candidates.

I

Petitioner maintains that the Court below incorrectly construed Section 315. The section does not compel radio and television stations to broadcast libel. It provides "equal opportunities" for political candidates and denies to stations the "power of censorship" over such candidates' speeches. The Supreme Court of North Dakota held that this no "censorship" provision means that the stations may not delete libel—in other words that it is a license to stations to defame not only political candidates but also third persons.

It is our contention that this holding does violence to the "equal opportunities" purpose of the section and that in no event can deletion of libel be considered "censorship" within the meaning of the section. Defamation is not within the constitutionally protected area of freedom of expression; hence it is no more "censorship" for a station to delete libel from the speech of a political candidate than it is censorship for the Federal Communications Commission to consider a station's record with respect to defamation in connection with the granting or renewal of that station's license.

The Court below rested its decision that no "censorship" means no deletion for libel on recent rulings of the Federal Communications Commission to that effect.

However, the no "censorship" proviso of Section 315 does not justify a licensee's failure to fulfill its obligation to operate in the public interest. Licensees may not broadcast obscenity, profanity, speech advocating forcible overthrow of the government, disaffection in the armed forces, and the like. Nor may they permit political candidates to violate the criminal laws of the states which forbid threats of violence, incitements to mob action, or comparable offenses. Libelous speech falls into the same category. Libel like obscenity, profanity, and other types of unlawful speech, inflicts injury by its very utterance and since it is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech, it is not "censorship" when a licensee deletes it.

II

The holding below that respondent is immune from liability for libel under state law, conflicts with the intent of Congress and ignores the clear legislative history of Section 315. Congress has consistently refused to enact any

law immunizing licensees from liability for defamation. Nor is there any sound basis for the view of the Court below that immunity must be implied from federal "preemption" of the field of radio and television. Congress has not preempted the field of defamation, and there is no warrant in either Section 315 or elsewhere in the Act to imply Congressional intention to displace state law of libel with respect to political candidates. On the contrary, Section 414 of the Act specifically states that the Act does not "in any way abridge or alter the remedies now existing at common law or by statute". Under applicable decisions of this Court, state libel law should not be held to have been displaced in the absence of an explicit expression of that purpose by Congress.

Congress, by specifically rejecting all proposals to immunize broadcasters, intended that state law should govern. Insofar as a political speech is defamatory under state law, the broadcaster who broadcast the libel, rather than the non-candidate victim of the libel, must bear the loss.

III

The result below transforms Section 315 from a statute designed to give political candidates equal rights on the air into a statute which stimulates dissemination of reckless and irresponsible attacks on non-candidates who have no right of reply. Congress did not intend that radio and television should become a medium for inflicting such injury on persons who are not candidates. The decision below leads to inequality not equality (since Section 315 applies only to answering speakers) and to competitive political defamation rather than competition of political ideas and opinion. Thus the salutary "equal opportunities" objective of Congress is distorted to debase, rather than foster, democratic processes.

IV

The construction of Section 315 adopted by the North Dakota Court would render the statute invalid under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. It would deprive petitioner of redress for interference with a basic right which the North Dakota Constitution protects from impairment by the state legislature. The destruction of this remedy is not supported by any valid federal objective. To subject petitioner, and other non-candidates, to such irreparable injury is so remote from the objective of equalizing opportunities among political candidates, that the result must be deemed arbitrary and capricious, and a denial of due process of law in violation of the Fifth Amendment.

ARGUMENT

POINT I

Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act does not compel radio and television stations to broadcast defamation.

In 1927 when the broadcasting industry was in its infancy, Congress provided that if any licensee permits any candidate for public office to use its facilities it must afford "equal opportunities" to all other candidates for the same office. (Sec. 18 of the Radio Act of 1927.) At the same time and in the same section, Congress also provided that licensees "shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section." Today these provisions appear as Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (c. 652, 48 Stat. 1064, as amended, c. 879, 66 Stat. 717, 47 U. S. C. 315).

The purpose of this statute was to assure that every candidate be given the opportunity to answer his opponents, on the same terms granted to them. The no "censorship" proviso was wisely included to assure that the answering candidate should not be prevented by the station from expressing his views on political matters. The statutory purpose makes it clear that the no "censorship" proviso is in implementation of the right of reply; its sole aim is to prevent the answering candidate from being put at a disadvantage. Its purpose is not to grant a privilege of libeling which is not accorded to the first speaker. And clearly it is not the purpose of this section to authorize defamation of third persons who are not candidates at all and who have no right to reply.

(a) Deletion of libel is not "censorship."

Censorship may well be defined as the deletion of something which one has a legal right to say.

In 1932 a Nebraska radio station in defending a libel suit claimed that Section 315 compelled it to broadcast libelous statements about the plaintiff, a candidate for public office. The Supreme Court of Nebraska rejected this argument. It said that the "power of censorship" provision referred only to "censoring the words as to their political or partisan trend but does not give a licensee any privilege to join and assist in the publication of a libel nor grant any immunity from the consequences of such action." *Sorenson* v. *Wood,* 123 Neb. 348 (1932) at page 354. This Court dismissed an appeal from a subsequent ruling in this case *sub nom. KFAB Broadcasting Co.* v. *Sorenson,* 290 U. S. 599 (1933). In 1954 a New Hampshire court expressed the same view in *Daniell* v. *Voice of New Hampshire,* 10 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 2045 (Superior Court of N. H., Merrimack County 1954).

The year after this Court dismissed the *Sorenson* appeal, and apparently in an effort to overcome the effect of that case, an attempt was made to amend the law so as to immunize broadcasters from liability for libel actions based on speeches made by political candidates. (Hearings before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on S. 2910, 73d Cong. 2nd Sess. pp. 63-64, 66-67.) This was defeated and Section 315 of the Act of 1934 was adopted, using language identical to its predecessor. A similar effort to include an immunity provision had been defeated when the original bill was enacted in 1927. (H. Rep. 1886, 69th Cong. 2nd Sess. 68 Cong. Rec. 2557, 2563.)

Although the law which is now Section 315 was passed in 1927, it was not until 1948—21 years later—that the Federal Communications Commission took the view that the no "censorship" provision precluded broadcasting licensees from deleting "possibly libelous matter". This view was expressed as dictum in a license renewal proceeding in which the license was renewed. *Matter of Port Huron Broadcasting Co.,* 4 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 1. It is on the *dicta* in this proceeding that the Court below relies for its decision in the instant case (R 36-7). In *Port Huron* the Commission also gratuitously implied that the licensee would be immune from liability to an opposing candidate who had been libelled. A dissenting Commissioner called these remarks "not only unnecessary to a proper decision" of the case but also "extremely dangerous" (p. 6).

A broadcaster sought to have *Port Huron* reviewed in *Houston Post Co.* v. *United States,* 79 F. Supp. 199 (S. D. Tex. 1948) and a three-judge court held on August 3, 1948 that *Port Huron* was not a reviewable order, as its threatening language was mere dictum and could not be deemed to be a regulation of the Commission. Speaking for the Court, Judge Hutcheson clearly stated the view that *Port Huron* was unauthorized and erroneous:

> "There is no body of judicial opinion interpreting [Section 315] as the Commission has done, but such opinion as there is is directly to the contrary." (*id.*, p. 203)

and added that

> "It appears from the consistent legislative history of the Communications Act not that Congress has, but that it has not, given any clear indication that in using the word 'censorship' in Sec. 315, it intended to give it the meaning and effect accorded to it by the Commission's interpretation." (*id.*, p. 204)

In neither *Port Huron* nor *Houston Post* was the question of libel of a non-candidate considered.

Following the decision in these cases, the question of the rights and responsibility of broadcasters regarding libel in campaign speeches was a principal subject matter of Hearings before a Special Committee to investigate the Federal Communications Commission, pursuant to H. Rep. 691, 80th Cong. 2nd Sess. At these hearings, in August of 1948, three days after the *Houston Post* case was decided, the Chairman of the Commission assured the Committee that for the time being no refusals to renew licenses would be based upon the action of a station in deleting libelous remarks (Hearings, p. 27).

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The Chairman of the Committee indicated that the Committee expected the Commission not to penalize a licensee who deleted "obviously slanderous and libelous matter" and said:

> "We expect you to enforce the law as laid down by Congress in protecting the right of political candidates to express their views. But on the other hand, we are a little bit concerned, and I might say deeply concerned, in the light of this Port Huron decision, that some broadcasters may fear the loss of their licenses if they deny a candidate the right to make

what anyone would construe as libelous or slanderous statements."

He asked for assurance that

> "For the time being, at least, until the matter is settled, the honest and conscientious broadcaster who uses ordinary common sense in trying to prevent obscene or slanderous or libelous statements from going over the air need not fear any action?"

To which the Chairman of the Commission replied:

> "Any capricious action; that is right."

In *Maryland Drydock Co.* v. *NLRB,* 183 F(2) 538 (C. A. 4 1950) the Labor Board argued that it was censorship in violation of Sec. 8(c) of the National Labor Relations Act for an employer to forbid circulation on plant premises of "scurrilous and defamatory" literature published by the union. In commenting on this argument the Court, through Chief Judge Parker, said:

> "We regard this contention as so lacking in merit as hardly to warrant consideration. Freedom of speech nowhere means freedom to publish libelous and defamatory matter." (at p. 541)

He also pointed out that:

> "no censorship is involved in holding that the employer may forbid distribution on his premises of statements which are defamatory and insulting and which tend to disrupt discipline." (at p. 542)

However, in 1951, in *Matter of WDSU Broadcasting Company,* 7 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 769, 773, the Commission, although renewing the license of a licensee who had "in good faith" deleted libel from a candidate's

script, repeated its threat to act against licensees and declared that in the future it would

> "consider that there is no open question with respect to censorship on the part of the licensee of material broadcast under Sec. 315, and licensees will be expected to abide strictly by the provisions of that section."

This threat in the *WDSU* case is specifically pleaded as the basis of respondent's defense in this case (R 10-11) and was included by the District Court in North Dakota as a Finding of Fact (R 19-20) to support its decision in the present case. Although there was no mention of libelous statements about third persons in *WDSU* the Court below extended the Commission's doctrine and held that respondent "was under compulsion to publish the speech" (R 42).

The Court below, instead of construing the no "censorship" provision as a wholesome measure to prevent a station from censoring the political views of a candidate, as it was intended, has held it to be a command to the station to broadcast material that is concededly libelous per se (R 36) about petitioner, who is not a candidate. Nothing in the statute, the cases, nor in the Commission's rulings warrants this holding.[2]

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[2] In two state proceedings courts have suggested that because licensees have "no power of censorship" under Section 315, they may not insist upon the deletion of libel, but in neither case was this the operative ground of decision. Thus, in *Charles Parker Co.* v. *Silver City Crystal Co.,* 142 Conn. 605 (1955) while adverting to the no "censorship" clause, the Connecticut court refused the plaintiff relief on the ground that the alleged libel was privileged as a matter of state law and that the speaker's privilege extended to the radio station. In *Josephson* v. *Knickerbocker Broadcasting Co., Inc.,* 38 N. Y. S. (2) 985 (Sup. Ct. N. Y. 1942) the New York Court found a defense based on Sec. 315 legally sufficient, but held further that in any event under state law the radio station could not be liable

(b) The licensee's duty to operate in the public interest cannot be avoided by claiming deletion of objectionable matter is "censorship."

A radio or television broadcaster is the gratuitous recipient of a highly valuable license. Only a limited number of them can be granted. It is a condition of the grant that the licensee operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity. (See, *e.g.,* Sections 307, 312, and 316 of the Communications Act.)

It has never been held that the no "censorship" provision of Section 315 requires a licensee to transmit everything a candidate wishes to say. Even the Federal Communications Commission in the *Port Huron* case has stated that Section 315 does not relieve the broadcasters of their duty "to prevent the broadcast of statements or utterances in violation of the provisions of the Communications Act or any other federal law" (at p. 7). This language from the *Port Huron* opinion was quoted with approval by the Court below (R 37).

Thus neither the Commission nor the Court below consider that all deletions from the broadcasts of political candidates are "censorship." The necessity for some "censorship" is recognized by the Commission rule that a broadcaster may require an advance script of a candidate's speech without violating Section 315. (Use of Broadcast Facilities by Candidates for Public Office, Oct. 1, 1958, F. C. C. 58-936, Public Notice 63585, Q. A. No. 48.)

Clearly it cannot be considered "censorship" for a licensee to fulfill its duty not to broadcast "obscene, in-

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for a libel extemporaneously inserted after the script had been examined by the station. Cf. *Felix* v. *Westinghouse,* 89 F. S. 740 (E. D. Pa. 1950) reversed 186 F. (2) 1 (C. A. 3 1950) cert. den. 341 U. S. 909 (1951).

The decision of the North Dakota Court in this case was followed, after the Petition for Certiorari was filed herein, by the District Court for the Middle District of Tennessee, in *Lamb* v. *Sutton,* 164 F. S. 928 (1958).

decent or profane" language (18 U. S. C. §1463). This was recognized by the Court below (R 41) when it quoted from this Court's opinion in *Beauharnais* v. *Illinois,* 343 U. S. 250 (1952) at page 257:

> "Such utterances * * * are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality."

Cf. KFKB Broadcasting Assn. Inc. v. *Federal Radio Commission,* 47 F. (2) 670 (App. D. C. 1931); *Trinity Methodist Church* v. *Federal Radio Commission,* 62 F. (2) 850 (App. D. C. 1933).

Nor can it be considered "censorship" to refuse to broadcast a speech advocating the overthrow of "any government in the United States by force or violence" (18 U. S. C. §2385) or counselling "insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States" (18 U. S. C. §2387) or speech violating related provisions of federal law.[3]

Section 871 of the Criminal Code (18 U. S. C. §871), makes it a crime to threaten the President. This has been

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[3] *E.g.,* statements which: obstruct justice (18 U. S. C. §1501); solicit money under false pretenses by representing it is being solicited for the use of the United States (18 U. S. C. §663); communicate or transmit defense information to a foreign government or its representative (18 U. S. C. §794); threaten an officer of the court, a juror, or a witness to a Federal criminal proceeding (18 U. S. C. §1503); threaten physical violence to persons or property in furtherance of a plan to obstruct commerce (18 U. S. C. §1951); attempt to cause insubordination in the armed forces in time of war (18 U. S. C. §2388); or statements which are false and are intended to interfere with the operation of the armed forces of the United States (*Ibid.*).

Cf. Backun v. *United States,* 112 F. (2) 635 (C. A. 4 1940) as to liability for furnishing facilities knowing that they will be used to violate a criminal statute.

held to include oral threats. (*United States* v. *Reid,* 49 F. Supp. 313 (W. D. La. 1943) aff'd 136 F. (2) 476 (C. A. 5, 1943), cert. den. 320 U. S. 775 (1943).) Obviously a candidate for office would not be permitted to broadcast a promise that, if elected, he will thrash the President.

These are some examples of speech prohibited by federal law whose excision is obviously not "censorship" within the meaning of Section 315 of the Communications Act. Clearly, the licensee has a duty to prevent broadcasts, even by political candidates, falling within any of these categories. (*Cf. Federal Communications Commission* v. *American Broadcasting Co.,* 347 U. S. 284 (1954).)

The licensee's duty to prevent unlawful speech must also extend to speech which is forbidden by state law. Thus it cannot be claimed that a licensee is required by Section 315 to broadcast speeches which the states make criminal, such as incitements to violence, or threats against persons or property, or defamatory charges against racial or religious groups (*Cf. Beauharnais* v. *Illinois, supra*).

And there is no valid basis for distinguishing criminal from civil libel for the purposes of Section 315. In most, if not all instances, the same words are the foundation for both civil and criminal liability.[4]

The line of demarcation in determining what speech a station may not broadcast and what speech is free from "censorship" must be the line adverted to by Judge Hutcheson in *Houston Post, supra,* when he said that:

> "Prohibitions against censorship have been uniformly held not to prevent the control of language which is beyond the scope of guarantees of free speech." (at p. 203)

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[4] Developments in the Law of Defamation, 69 Harv. L. Rev. 875, 945 (1956); 53 C. J. S. Libel and Slander §283.

This accords with this Court's statement in *Chaplinsky* v. *New Hampshire,* 315 U. S. 568, 571, 572 (1942), that "There are certain well defined and narrowly limited classes of speech, the prevention and punishment of which has never been thought to raise any constitutional problem. These include the lewd and obscene, the profane, the libelous and the insulting or fighting words—those which by their very utterance inflict injury * * *" Or as this Court put it on another occasion, obscene statements and libelous statements are "in the same class" (*Beauharnais* v. *Illinois, supra,* at p. 266). Quoting from its opinion in *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut,* 310 U. S. 296 (1940) this Court reiterated in *Chaplinsky* that:

> "Resort to epithets or personal abuse is not in any sense communication of information or opinion safeguarded by the Constitution, and its punishment as a criminal act would raise no question under that instrument." (at p. 572)

It has been established that libelous utterances are not "within the area of constitutionally protected speech" *Beauharnais* v. *Illinois, supra* (at p. 266). The deletion of such utterances cannot therefore be regarded as "censorship."

See also *Roth* v. *United States,* 354 U. S. 476 (1957); *Alberts* v. *California,* 354 U. S. 476 (1957); *Kingsley Books* v. *Brown,* 354 U. S. 436 (1957); *Near* v. *Minnesota,* 283 U. S. 697, 715 (1931); *U. S. ex rel. MSD Pub. Co.* v. *Burleson,* 255 U. S. 407, 430 (1921) (Dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis).

The Court below construed Section 315 as a command to the stations to broadcast material prohibited by law. But, clearly, the prohibition against "censorship" does not mean that licensees may avoid their duty to operate in the public interest. What the prohibition does is to pre-

vent them from controlling the political content of material which they broadcast. Section 315 does not mean that the licensees must do something that they otherwise are not permitted to do—i.e., broadcast defamation or other unlawful matter.

(c) The Commission does not exercise the "power of censorship" in violation of Section 326 of the Federal Communications Act when it refuses to license a station which has a record of defamation.

The Commission is required to consider the qualifications of an applicant to obtain or retain a license. In doing so it is the Commission's duty to examine the applicant's record and to refuse a license to applicants who do not meet accepted standards. The station's record in broadcasting defamatory or other objectionable matter is carefully considered. This is not "censorship," and does not violate the provisions of Section 326 of the Act which states:

> "Nothing in this chapter shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship. * * *"

The Commission has never construed this section to prevent it from taking into account whether a licensee is guilty of defamation. It has correctly interpreted the denial of "the power of censorship" to mean no interference on its part with constitutionally protected speech—the interpretation which we contend must apply equally to Section 315.

Thus, in the *Matter of WBNX Broadcasting Co. Inc.*, 4 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 242, 250 (1948), the Commission said:

> "Decided cases make it clear that censorship, within the meaning of the First Amendment, consists in suppressing opinions in advance of publication * * * or in deterring expression of opinion entitled to protection of the First Amendment by threat of subsequent punishment."

From the beginning of federal control over broadcasting, the regulatory agencies have conditioned licenses on the fulfillment of the duty to prevent the facilities from being used to spread personal abuse or defamation. It has never been held that such conditioning can be regarded as "censorship". The Federal Radio Commission early enunciated this requirement, and enforced it in the *WCOT* case (*Federal Radio Commission,* Second Annual Report (1928) p. 152).

In justifying its action to prevent licensees from using their facilities for purposes of abuse and airing private disputes, the Federal Radio Commission said that no "censorship" was involved, and that:

> "* * * the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech applies to the expression of political and religious opinions, to discussions, fair comments, and criticisms on matters of general public interest, or candidates, of men holding public office, and of political, social and economical (sic) issues." (Federal Radio Commission, Second Annual Report (1928) pp. 159, 160.)

In this instance, the Commission put a station on 30 day probation "to permit the station to continue on the air temporarily, so that it may have an opportunity to demonstrate that it is capable of a better showing."

Denial of a license renewal because defamation had been broadcast was specifically approved by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in *Trinity Methodist Church* v. *Federal Radio Comm., supra.* In that case—

which has been subsequently relied on by the FCC—the Court ruled that it was not "censorship" to deny a licensee "the continued use of an instrument of commerce for such purposes" (at p. 853). On the contrary, the Court held, denial of the air waves to a licensee disseminating defamation is required in the public interest, since otherwise "this great science, instead of a boon, will become a scourge, and the nation a theater for the display of individual passions, and the collision of personal interests." Free speech (or conversely, no "power of censorship") said the Court

> "does not mean that the government * * * may not refuse a renewal of license to one who has abused it to broadcast defamatory and untrue matter." (at p. 851)

Similarly in *Independent Broadcasting Co.* v. *Federal Communications Commission,* 193 F. (2) 900 (App. D. C. 1951) the Court of Appeals sustained the denial of a license to an applicant who "was an expert in vituperation and vilification" and had been found by the Commission to have:

> "used intemperate language in his writings, sermons and broadcasts; * * * he had a constant habit of attacking the honesty and sincerity of those individuals and groups who did not agree with him * * *" (at p. 902)

There is no basis for holding that the word "censorship" as used in Section 315 of the Communications Act means something different from the word "censorship" as used in Section 326 of the same act. In the case of Section 326 the Commission, and in the case of Section 315, the licensee, may not exercise the "power of censorship". It is no more "censorship" for the Commission to

deny a license to a station because it has permitted the broadcasting of defamation than it is for the licensee to delete defamatory matter—particularly when it is directed against a third person who is not a candidate. In both cases the purpose is to assure that the station is being operated in the public interest.

POINT II

Section 315 of Federal Communications Act gives no immunity to a licensee for broadcasting a candidate's defamatory statements.

Even if it is held that the prohibition of "censorship" in Section 315 means that libelous matter may not be excised by a licensee, this is a long way from holding that Congress intended to confer on broadcasters an immunity from liability to victims of defamation.

Section 315 does not say that stations may broadcast defamatory matter without liability to the person defamed. As we have seen, Congress struck such a provision from the original Act and Congress has consistently refused to include an immunity provision (*supra,* p. 15; see also *infra,* p. 27ff). Yet the Court below has read such language into the statute and has gone to the length of giving the respondent immunity from liability for the injury that a third person, not a candidate, has sustained from the broadcast of defamatory matter that it taped, recorded, filmed and broadcast over its facilities (R 17, 18). This conclusion, the North Dakota court felt, resulted from its holding that Section 315 compelled the station to broadcast the libelous statements. The Court said "We cannot believe that it was the intent of Congress to compel a station to broadcast libelous statements and at the same

time subject it to the risk of defending actions for damages" (R 41). Instead of considering this as a reason for doubting the correctness of its holding that Section 315 compelled the broadcast of defamation, the Court chose to read into the statute the immunity provision that Congress rejected.

Thus the Court below has held that Section 315 gives a station immunity for broadcasting libelous statements about a person who is not a candidate and who has no opportunity, equal or otherwise, to reply. It construes the statute to immunize broadcasters from liability, and takes away a valuable right protected by the Constitution of North Dakota—a right which it was held in this very case could not be destroyed under state law (R 20-22). It does so in spite of the provisions of Section 414 of the Communications Act, which says:

> "Nothing in this chapter contained shall in any way abridge or alter the remedies now existing at common law or by statute, but the provisions of this chapter are in addition to such remedies."

(a) Congress has consistently refused to grant immunity.

Congress did not provide immunity in the language of Section 315 and did not intend that the broadcasters be immunized from libel claims. Congress has repeatedly declined to do exactly what the North Dakota Court says it has done. A resume of the legislative history appears in the Petition for a Writ of Certiorari (pp. 17-22).[5] It refutes the reasoning adopted by the North Dakota Court.

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[5] See also S. 1437, 85 Cong. 1st Sess. §401, which was referred to Committee in 1957 and not reported out:

> "No action, either civil or criminal, shall be maintained by any person in any court against any licensee * * * because of any defamatory statement made by a legally qualified candidate for public office in a broadcast made under the provisions of this section" unless licensee wilfully participates with intent to defame.

Section 18 of the Radio Act of 1927 contained no immunity provision. Such a provision had been passed by the Senate (H. R. 9971, 69 Cong. 1st Sess. §4; 67 Cong. Rec. 12,505) but was stricken out in conference (*supra*, p. 15).

This action, and the subsequent action of Congress in 1934, in reenacting Section 18 as Section 315 without change, negatives the idea that immunity was conferred by silence. For in the interval the Supreme Court of Nebraska had rejected in the *Sorensen* case an immunity claim based on Section 315. This case had been specifically called to the attention of Congress. (Hearings before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on S. 2910, 73rd Cong., 2d Sess. pp. 63-64, 66-67). Although the industry asked Congress to extend immunity when Congress made an overall revision and enacted the Communications Act in 1934, Congress took no action to overrule *Sorenson* and reenacted, as Section 315, the exact language of Section 18. [Hearings before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on H. R. 7716, 72d Cong., 2d Sess. pp. 9-11; Hearings before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on S. 2910, 73rd Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 63-64, 66-67.]

It must be concluded, therefore, that Congress felt that Section 18 had been correctly interpreted by the Nebraska Court. There is no warrant for assuming that when it enacted Section 315 in the Communications Act in 1934 Congress intended to confer an immunity which it had rejected in 1927 and which *Sorenson* said did not exist.

Ever since 1934 Congress has adhered to this position. Frequent efforts to immunize stations from defamation claims based on broadcasts by political candidates under Section 315 have failed. Congress has repeatedly said "No" to each plan for immunization.

Until the Commission made its ruling in *Port Huron* in 1948 it apparently believed that no immunity had been

granted by Congress. Thus in 1940 the Commission avoided the issue and in *Matter of Bellingham Broadcasting Co.,* 8 F. C. C. 159, (1940) said that "determination of the question of censorship involves consideration of whether the material was libelous as a matter of law * * * and whether, if libelous, a licensee possesses the legal right to expunge from a proposed broadcast a libelous statement." (p. 172)

Thereafter the Commission apparently decided that adoption of an immunity provision would be desirable. It accordingly proposed such legislation to Congress in 1943. (Hearings before Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce on S. 814, 78th Cong. 1st Sess., p. 945; *id.* at pp. 63-65, 162, 950-51.) It did not announce, as it subsequently did in 1948 in *Port Huron,* that Section 315 conferred immunity by inference. Congress turned this proposal down, and the Commission's amendment died in committee. In 1947 another immunity proposal failed to pass the Senate. (Sen. Rep. 156, 80th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 13) and a companion bill died in committee in the House (H. R. 3595, 80th Cong., 1st Sess.).

After these failures the Commission, in *Port Huron,* in 1948, changed its position and claimed that immunity was implicit in Section 315. But Congress did not accept this view. It continued to reject immunity proposals, not on the ground that Section 315 had granted immunity, as claimed by the Commission in its *Port Huron* doctrine, but because Congress disapproved of this doctrine.

Very soon after the *Port Huron* doctrine was announced, the Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate the Federal Communications Commission, pursuant to H. R. Res. 691, 80th Congress, 2d Session, took the Commission to task for the position it had espoused in *Port Huron.* As a result the Commission withdrew from its *Port Huron* theory, and its Chairman, as we have seen,

assured the Committee that the Commission would not penalize licensees "capriciously" for deleting libel (see p. 17, *supra*).

Three years later, in 1951, the House passed an amendment to Section 315 to confer immunity, thereby indicating clearly its belief that immunity had not been granted by the statute. But the amendment was again rejected in conference (H. Rep. 2426, 82d Cong., 2d Sess., p. 21).

This action of the Conference Committee in 1951 refutes the basis for the *Port Huron* doctrine and, of course, was the opposite of acquiescence in it. Since 1951 there have been further immunity proposals;[6] none of them has been reported favorably by any committee of Congress.

The Commission in the *WDSU* case, *supra,* also in 1951, significantly omitted any assertion that Section 315 extends immunity to broadcasters. And in the Regulations promulgated by it prior to the decision of the instant case the Commission stated that "This is a matter which in the absence of any amendment to the law will have to be definitely decided by the courts." (19 Fed. Reg. 5951) In light of this legislative history there can be only one conclusion. Congress has not immunized broadcasters from liability for defamation uttered by political candidates.

(b) The respondent is not immunized against the petitioner's libel claim by any Congressional "preemption" of the field of broadcasting.

The holding below that Section 315 of the Communications Act confers immunity on stations for carrying defamation by political candidates and supersedes state law was based on the premise that Congress had "preempted the field" of communications regulation (R 38-40).

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[6] See Petition for Certiorari, pp. 20, 21; footnote 5, *supra.*

Such an argument begs the question. It assumes that Congress did intend to grant immunity from state libel laws to broadcasters. Had that been Congress' intention, it is fair to assume that it would have said so. As Mr. Justice Frankfurter said in *Bethlehem Steel Co.* v. *New York Labor Relations Board,* 330 U. S. 767 (1947): "Congress can speak with drastic clarity whenever it chooses to assure full federal authority, completely displacing the states". Accordingly, he pointed out, "Congress needs no help from generous judicial implication to achieve the supersession of state authority * * * any indulgence in construction shall be in favor of the states." (at p. 780)

Concededly federal regulation supersedes state law where the two are inconsistent. For example, when a state sought to regulate the content of television programs by requiring the prior approval of state administrative officials to the telecasting of films, the state regulation was invalid. *Allen B. Dumont Laboratories Inc.* v. *Carroll,* 184 F. (2) 153 (C. A. 3d, 1950) cert. den. 340 U. S. 929 (1950).

But Congress in Section 315 did not choose to confer immunity on licensees for broadcasting libel. As seen above (p. 27ff) it has consistently refused to do so. And the Communications Act itself (48 Stat. 1099, 47 U. S. C. Section 414) specifically states:

> "Nothing in this chapter contained shall in any way abridge or alter the remedies now existing at common law or by statute, but the provisions of this chapter are in addition to such remedies."

The "chapter" referred to is the entire Communications Act.

This section was copied verbatim from the Interstate Commerce Act. Its purpose there was to make it plain that, by giving shippers rights against carriers under fed-

eral law, Congress had not "withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the state courts * * * the whole subject of liability of carriers to shippers in interstate commerce * * * and * * * deprive(d) the state courts of their general and concurrent jurisdiction." *Pennsylvania Railroad Co.* v. *Puritan Coal Mining Co.,* 237 U. S. 121, 130 (1915). It is equally obvious that Congress did not in enacting the Federal Communications Act intend to abrogate state libel laws.

In a case interpreting Section 414, *Curran* v. *Mackay Radio and Telephone Co.,* 123 F. Supp. 83 (S. D. N. Y. 1954), it was held that an employee of a common carrier does not have a cause of action *under the Communications Act* for injuries caused by defective equipment, the use of which was a violation of the Act by the carrier. But in *dicta,* the court went on to say that Congress did not by the Communications Act intend to preempt the field of tort liability of a common carrier, so as to bar a suit by an employee of a carrier for personal injuries.

The North Dakota Supreme Court in the instant case appears to carry the occupation of the field doctrine so far as to suggest that by enacting the Communications Act Congress has preempted the entire field of liability for defamatory broadcasts. This is clearly not so. For speakers not broadcasting under Section 315, state law applies. And when the issue is narrowed to Section 315, both the legislative history and previous decisions of this Court lead to the conclusion that Congress did not, by enacting that section, intend to displace state libel law. This Court has held that state law continues in effect, despite close inter-relationship with federal regulation of communications. In *Radio Station WOW, Inc.* v. *Johnson,* 326 U. S. 120 (1945), a state court adjudication of fraud in the transfer of an FCC license was upheld. And in *Regents of the*

University System of Georgia v. *Carroll,* 338 U. S. 586 (1950) a state court judgment was upheld awarding damages for breach of a contract to operate a radio station, which contract the Commission had directed the licensee to abrogate as a condition of retaining its license. Certainly who retains a license to broadcast, and who actually operates a radio station, are questions far more intimately connected with the federal scheme of regulation of the airwaves than is the question whether a defamed third person may recover damages from a broadcasting station disseminating defamation by a political candidate.

Two recent cases decided by this Court are also relevant: *International Assn. of Machinists* v. *Gonzales,* 356 U. S. 617 (1958), and *International Union, UAW* v. *Russell,* 356 U. S. 634 (1958) both of which involved the Taft-Hartley Act, which certainly provides a comprehensive scheme of regulation of labor relations [*Weber* v. *Anheuser-Busch, Inc.,* 348 U. S. 468, 489-91, 499-500 (1955)]. Yet in the *Gonzales* case this Court held that a state court may entertain a breach of contract action by a union member against the union, despite the fact that the conduct complained of was also an unfair labor practice for which specific remedies are provided under the federal statute. And the *Russell* case involved a tort action against a union for malicious interference with an employment contract, which also gave rise to a Taft-Hartley Act unfair labor practice. The Taft-Hartley Act specifically deals with the very wrongs which were the subject matter of the *Gonzales* and *Russell* actions, while in the instant case there is no provision in the Communications Act of any remedy for the tort of defamation here involved. In both *Gonzales* and *Russell* this Court emphasized that federal preemption should not be implied where the result would

be to prevent the plaintiff from securing full redress. As the Court said in *Russell* (at p. 646):

> "An employee's right to recover in the state courts, all damages caused him by this kind of tortious conduct cannot fairly be said to be pre-empted without a clearer declaration of Congressional policy than we find here".[7]

Apart from the cases, such as those discussed above, involving the validity of general rules of state law which do not purport to regulate the industry covered by federal regulation—of which the state law of libel is an example—there is also the line of cases involving direct state regulation, under the police power, of matters also subject to federal regulation. The possibilities of conflict are of course much stronger in this situation; yet under the standards applied by this Court in such cases the state rule of law survives. See, *e.g.*, *Reid* v. *Colorado*, 187 U. S. 137, 148 (1902); *Kelly* v. *Washington*, 302 U. S. 1, 10 (1937); *cf.* the standards for determining whether state action is precluded by a federal regulatory scheme set forth in *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson*, 350 U. S. 497, 502, 504, 505 (1956).

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[7] It has been suggested (Note, *The Supreme Court*, 1957 *Term*, 72 *Harv. L. Rev.* 77, 144 (1958)) that the touchstone of *Russell* and *Gonzales* was that the causes of action arose "under a state law of general application based upon an evaluation of interests not confined to labor relations." This rationale would apply even more clearly to the instant case, where the state law was the common law of libel, not confined in its application to broadcast defamation. See also Cox, *Federalism in the Law of Labor Relations*, 67 *Harv. L. Rev.* 1297, 1321-2 (1954): "If an employer were to call a union organizer a 'foreign-born Communist,' his speech would not be an unfair labor practice nor should a state be permitted to punish him for interfering with employee organization. A state court should be free nevertheless to entertain an action for damages based upon the general law of defamation."

The instant case involves a question similar to that examined in the police power cases, since the decision of the court below, if upheld, would not only prevent civil suits for libel but would also invalidate state criminal libel statutes wherever they are applicable to the broadcasting stations. As for the universality of state criminal libel laws, see *Beauharnais* v. *Illinois, supra,* at p. 255 n. 5.

As Chief Justice Marshall held in *Cohens* v. *Virginia,* 6 Wheat. 264, 443 (1821), for Congress to override state penal law "is a very serious measure, which Congress cannot be supposed to adopt lightly." Accordingly, he ruled, the Court would not find such overruling unless the Congressional intention was "clearly and unequivocally expressed" (*ibid.*).

Certainly no such intention, "clearly and unequivocally expressed" to invalidate state criminal libel laws, much less state rules of tort liability, appears in the Communications Act.

Not only has Congress specifically refused to provide immunity to the broadcasting stations under Section 315; it is equally clear that the regulatory scheme provided by Congress will not in any way be frustrated if there is no such immunity. State law has not been superseded. It must govern the instant case.

Under the relevant state law, it is clear that the respondent is liable for the defamation here involved. In this case the District Court in North Dakota held unconstitutional a state statute enacted in 1953, which purported to immunize the licensee of a broadcasting station from liability for "any defamatory statement published or uttered in or as a part of a visual or sound radio broadcast by one other than (the) owner, licensee or operator, or agent or employee thereof." (NDRC §14-0209) (R 21, 22). The Court held that the application of this state-created immunity to the case at bar would deprive

the petitioner of its rights under the North Dakota Constitution.[8] Thus, were it not for the immunity supposedly conferred on the respondent by Section 315 on the theory that it has "preempted" the field, the petitioner would have under North Dakota law a cause of action for defamation against the respondent. We submit that Section 315 has not "preempted" this field so as to supersede the North Dakota law of defamation, which accordingly governs the rights of the parties in this case.

(c) In enacting Section 315 Congress did not abrogate state law, but left to the states the determination of the broadcaster's liability for defamation.

Congressional refusal to grant immunity to stations for broadcasting libelous statements of political candidates, leaves the question of their legal responsibility to applicable state law. In so doing, Congress recognized that this is properly a subject for local determination. The law of defamation, like the law of obscenity, is "preeminently a matter of state concern." *Alberts* v. *State of California,* 354 U. S. 476 (1957), concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Harlan at p. 502.

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[8] The North Dakota Constitution in its Declaration of Rights makes protection of reputation a fundamental right, on a plane with protection of life and liberty, as follows:

(a) Article I, Sec. 1:

"All men * * * have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting property and reputation, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness."

(b) Article I, Sec. 9:

"Every man may freely write, speak and publish his opinions, being responsible for the abuse of that privilege."

(c) Article I, Sec. 22:

"All courts shall be open, and every man in his lands, goods, person or reputation shall have remedy by due process of law * * *"

The subject of freedom of discussion in political campaigns is not a new one. Members of Congress, from their own experience, have first-hand familiarity with it. Had they intended to enact a basically new concept when they passed the Radio Act of 1927, they would have so stated. Instead, they refused to confer immunity, thereby indicating that they intended to leave the question of liability to the gradual process of determination by the states, a process which can continue to take into account the needs and desires of state policy. This enables decisions to be made in specific cases, in light of the facts, including the actual role played by the licensee; whether, for example, as in this case, the licensee participated in the recording of the script as well as in the broadcasting of the libel. Another pertinent fact would be whether the victim was afforded the opportunity to reply or whether the victim was a candidate or, as in this case, a non-candidate with no right to reply to concededly libelous matter which the station had broadcast.

Section 315 specifically states that a station is under no obligation to accept the speeches of political candidates. As we have seen, it nowhere states that a station is exempt from its common law liability for damages inflicted by the libel that it broadcasts. Even if it be held that a station is compelled to broadcast a candidate's libelous statement, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Congress intended that the station which broadcasts the libel, rather than those libelled, should bear the loss. Campaign broadcasts are a lucrative source of income to such licensees. The brief *amicus* filed below by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, estimated broadcasters' revenue from the 1956 federal election as $10,000,000.

The station can, as a practical matter, take out insurance against such loss (*Cf. Coffey* v. *Midland Broadcasting Co.,* 8 F. Supp. 889 (W. D. Mo. 1934)) or adjust its

charges to advertisers and other consumers to spread the risk [*Cf.* Vold, *Defamatory Interpolations in Radio Broadcasts,* 88 U. Pa. L. Rev. 249 (1940)] or obtain a suitable indemnity agreement from the speaker or his sponsor.[9]

Yet the Court below assumed that Congress could not have intended to deny the right to delete libel without providing immunity. It apparently overlooked the fact that liability without fault has in many situations become part of the fabric of the law.[10] This has long been the case in the field of defamation. Newspapers, for example, have traditionally been held liable for defamatory statements regardless of fault. In *Peck* v. *Tribune Co.,* 214 U. S. 185, 189 (1909), Mr. Justice Holmes said:

> "If the publication was libelous, the defendant took the risk. As was said of such matters by Lord Mansfield, 'whatever a man publishes, he publishes at his peril' * * *"

See also 3 Restatement of Torts, §§564, 579, 580; Harper and James, *The Law of Torts* (1956) §5.5.

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[9] Donnelly, The Right of Reply, 34 Va. L. Rev. 867 (1934); Radio, Political Speeches and The Law of Libel, 11 Fed. Bar Assoc. J. 156 (1951); Pedrick, Senator McCarthy and The Law of Libel, 48 Nw. U. L. Rev. 135 (1953).

In 1956, the National Association of Radio & Television Broadcasters published "A Political Broadcast Catechism" containing, for the guidance of broadcasters, an "Agreement Form for Political Broadcasts" which included the following language:

> "I further agree to indemnify and hold harmless the station for any damages or liability that may ensue from the performance of said broadcast."

[10] Mr. Justice Brandeis, dissenting, in *Crowell* v. *Benson,* 285 U. S. 22, 82 (1932); Pound, *The End of the Law as Developed in Legal Rules and Doctrines,* 27 Harv. L. Rev. 195, 233 (1914); Vold, *The Basis for Liability for Defamation by Radio,* 19 Minn. L. Rev. 611, 626-31 (1935); Vold, *Defamatory Interpolations in Radio Broadcasts,* 88 U. Pa. L. Rev. 249, 251-52, 281-89 (1940). Desirable social purposes may be achieved by passing the risk of loss from the innocent victim directly or indirectly to the consumers or beneficiaries of the activity which generates the loss.

Congressional determination not to destroy state remedies for defamation is consistent with historic common law protection of the reputation of the individual. It is also consistent with Congress' own declaration, specifically stated in Section 414, that nothing in the Act "shall in any way abridge or alter the remedies now existing at common law or by statute."

POINT III

The holding below, particularly in its effect upon persons who are not candidates, subverts the purpose of Section 315 and the policy of the Federal Communications Act.

Petitioner is not a "candidate for any public office". Section 315 gives it no opportunity to reply. The Court below has found that respondent broadcast a speech believed by respondent to contain false and libelous statements about petitioner (R 17) and used its equipment and facilities in photographing, filming and reproducing the speech (R 17). Nevertheless the Court below held that petitioner has no redress against respondent, although it is conceded that the language in the speech was libelous *per se* (R 36). This harsh result is based upon the Court's decision that Section 315 compelled respondent to give the broadcast (R 42) and rendered it immune from liability for defamation (R 43).

This decision requiring broadcast of libels on persons who are not candidates and who have no right to reply, in no way carries out the congressional purpose to equalize opportunities among candidates. Instead, it permits serious injury to the reputation of any person whom a candidate chooses to attack. The category of potential

victims is unlimited. There is no basis, we submit, for attributing to Congress a purpose to subject persons who are not candidates to such abuse. We submit that the dissenting opinion was clearly correct in stating:

> "It does not appear that the public interest would be served by making the reputations of innocent third parties subject to destruction without recourse to the disseminator by an irresponsible candidate for public office broadcasting (fol. 56) under the aegis of Section 315 or that Congress intended licensees to be rendered powerless to prevent such a result." (R. 46)

Moreover the effect of the decision is to create inequality, not equality, among political candidates. Instead of giving rival candidates a right equal to that given to the original speaker, it gives them greater rights. For they can require stations to broadcast defamation about their opponents or anyone else. This the first speaker cannot do.[11]

If the station is compelled to allow the broadcast of such libelous material, the entire statutory structure is distorted. Not only is there no equality but the door is opened to compel stations to participate in a gutter campaign against anybody and anything.

There is no reason to assume that Congress intended to stimulate deterioration of the mores of political debate when it sought to equalize opportunities among candidates. The public interest standard, which is the heart of the Act, has been consistently construed to require responsible and orderly administration of the air waves by the licensees and to forbid their dissemination of defamation.

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[11] *Weiss* v. *Los Angeles Broadcasting Co.,* 163 F. (2d) 313, (C. A. 9 1947) cert. den. 333 U. S. 876 (1948); *Daniell* v. *Voice of New Hampshire,* 10 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 2045 (Superior Court N. H., Merrimack Co. 1954).

It is fundamentally inconsistent with this standard to decide that, where political contests are involved, the air should be dedicated to dissemination of speech which flouts the laws of libel. This, however, is an inevitable result of the decision below.

As the Memorandum for the United States as *amicus curiae* submitted in support of the petition for certiorari aptly said, under the construction of the statute given by the court below "third persons as well as opposing candidates will suffer" and "In such cases, the licensee would be powerless to prevent the very widespread dissemination of patently defamatory statements, which might significantly affect the outcome of the particular election" (p. 3.) Unrestrained dissemination of libel in a political campaign does not contribute to reasoned results in elections. On the contrary, it tends to sow distrust, and to weaken the fibre of the body politic.

As this Court said in *Chaplinsky* v. *New Hampshire, supra,* at page 572.

> "It has been well observed that such utterances are no essential part of any exposition of ideas, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality."

This was quoted with approval by the Court below (R. 41).

The result of the holding that a candidate can compel a station to broadcast libel gives him the opportunity to use his broadcast time for any purpose he wishes. The FCC has stated (*Matter of WMCA,* 7 Pike & Fischer Radio Reg. 1132 (1952)) that a "use" under Section 315 need not directly aid his candidacy, nor relate to his own qualifications for office. Thus, irresponsible candidates, under the decision, can compel broadcast licensees to disseminate any kind of irrelevant, malicious abuse,

to take out any sort of grudge against any person, candidate or not.

It is true that in the "Syllabus by the Court," the Court below stated that "The inhibition against censorship imposed by Section 315" applies to statements which "are germane to the political issues discussed by such candidates" (R 31). However, the opinion is not so limited and such a view is clearly inconsistent with the spirit of the Commission's ruling in the *WMCA* case, *supra*. In any event, a test of "germaneness" would vest the stations with a real "censorship" power directly in conflict with Section 315. There are no standards available to judge what is or is not "germane". On the other hand, deletion of libel is, as we have shown, not censorship and there is an existing body of law as to what is and is not libelous. This is the type of question with which the licensees must deal every day in order to avoid liability for defamation on the one hand and to assure that they are operating in the public interest on the other.

Moreover, the decision below in no way inhibits the repetition of libel by an irresponsible candidate who may harass his victim by repeating the libel. Indeed, this is precisely what the speaker in this case has done.[12] No matter how false and foul the libel, no matter how often it is repeated, there is, under the holding, no liability of the broadcasting station. Nor is the remedy against the speaker necessarily adequate to prevent such abuse. The dissenting opinion below well said that "defamation acquires its devastating effect through dissemination rather than authorship and that under the law of libel damages are awarded not for the utterance but for the effect" (R 47).

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[12] See *National Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America* v. *Townley and Northern States Broadcasting,* U. S. District Court for District of North Dakota, Civil Action No. 140. Complaint filed on August 28, 1958, and based on speech made by Townley on June 18, 1958. In the broadcast complained of in the instant case Mr. Townley announced that he "will talk over KFYR at 7:30 and KFGO at 8:30 every night this week" (R 19).

A defamatory broadcast may be disseminated across the country, while the speaker, even if financially responsible, may not be within the jurisdiction where the libeled person is located and presumably has suffered the greatest injury, and the speaker may not be amenable to process.

The significance of the danger is indicated by the number of persons who can avail themselves of this use (or mis-use) of broadcasting facilities under this construction of Section 315 and by the magnitude of the broadcasting arena. According to a year-end report of the FCC the nation has more radio and television sets than it has people. There are now 150,000,000 radios and 50,000,000 T. V. receivers in the United States (N. Y. Times, January 1, 1959).

Section 315 covers all elections throughout the country at every level of government. There are over 116,000 units of government including national, state and local. (THE MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK—1956, Chicago: The International City Managers Association, p. 13.) Many of these hold primaries as well as elections for the more than 1,000,000 candidates that are elected annually in the United States. (BAILEY, SAMUEL, AND BALDWIN, GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA, p. 241.) Many elections include not only the candidates of the two major parties but, as in the election here involved, at least one more candidate.

It is equally important to note the ease with which one may become a candidate. In North Dakota, for example, an independent candidate for the United States Senate needs only 300 signatures to qualify (Election Law Guidebook of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, 85th Cong., 2d Sess. 111-125 (1958)).[13] And in

[13] In Tennessee, a person can run for state office by filing a petition with 15 signatures. In 13 other states, the requirement is between 50 and 800 signatures. (Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Nebraska, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia and Wyoming.) *Ibid.*, see also Comment, 57 Yale L. J. 1292 (1948).

states where write-in candidates are permitted, a person can "legally qualify" so as to invoke Section 315 merely by publicly announcing his candidacy (Hearings on Communications Act Amendments before Subcommittee of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 84th Cong., 2d Sess. 261).

The number of elective offices throughout the country and the ease with which one may become a candidate is a tribute to our democracy. But it also indicates the huge number of candidates who are given equal opportunity rights under Section 315.

Those who are not candidates will suffer most if the interpretation of the court below is allowed to stand. As between the candidates not only is there the right of reply, but a wide latitude is permitted under state libel law. Under state law, by running for office a candidate necessarily becomes a legitimate subject of free discussion, and "public property" as this Court has put it (*Beauharnais* v. *Illinois, supra,* at p. 263, n. 18). See also 3 Restatement of Torts, Sections 606, 607 and *Abell* v. *Cornwall Industrial Corp.,* 241 N. Y. 327 (1925). Members of Congress are well aware of the importance of broadcasting in political campaigns. Their awareness of its importance was evidenced by their concern after the *Port Huron* decision was rendered (*supra,* pp. 16-17). The language of Section 315 and Congress' refusal to amend it lead to the inevitable conclusion that Section 315 was not intended to, and does not, compel the broadcast of libel against a third person, nor give immunity to a station which not only circulates but participates in producing such a libel. That no such result was intended is borne out by the fact that in none of the discussions and debates was any suggestion made that the statute would license defamation of non-candidates.

Opening the airways to unrestricted defamation gives a speaker access to facilities for reaching the greatest audience that has ever been addressed. It has been estimated that sixty-five million people heard President Eisenhower's talk on February 29, 1956. (N. Y. Herald Tribune, March 1, 1956.) If a candidate chooses to use television as a forum for defamation, the damage inflicted is immeasurable. It can never be undone. Many irresponsible persons can become "candidates" and, under the construction of Section 315 adopted by the North Dakota Court, use radio and television to spread defamation which could not be otherwise published in any other media of communication.

The same considerations which make it against the public interest to publish libel in newspapers apply with equal—or even greater—force with regard to broadcasts over radio and television. Presumably, newspapers and other media, would be liable for the publication of the identical defamatory statements that licensees of broadcasting stations could make with impunity under the decision of the Court below. Yet the result of the decision of the Court below is that libel by radio and television, which does the most damage, must be broadcast. The decision below compels the broadcaster to commit an act which in all other contexts is illegal. When Congress forbade "censorship" of campaign speeches it did not intend to accomplish such bizarre results.[14]

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[14] Moreover, the decision below leaves unanswered such questions as whether the network under whose auspices a candidate's speech is broadcast but which is not itself licensed by the FCC is liable for the defamation even though the individual stations comprising the network are not; whether to the extent newspapers become "published" via the airwaves by the facsimile process, they too will be immune to claims of defamation by candidates and third persons.

We submit that the holding that licensees must broadcast libelous statements, particularly about persons who are not candidates, subverts the purpose of Section 315 and the policy of the Communications Act.

POINT IV

As construed below and applied to Petitioner Section 315 violates the Fifth Amendment.

Instead of construing Section 315 so as to "adopt that reasonable interpretation which removes it furthest from constitutional infirmity" (*Kovacs* v. *Cooper,* 336 U. S. 77, 84 (1949); *United States* v. *Witkowitz,* 353 U. S. 194 (1957)), the Court below held that it sanctioned the publication of libel against a person not a candidate for public office. We submit that if this holding of the North Dakota Supreme Court correctly construes Section 315, then as applied to petitioner in this case that section violates the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court of Nebraska said in *Sorenson* v. *Wood, supra* (p. 354):

> "We do not think congress intended by this language in the radio act to authorize or sanction the publication of libel, and thus to raise an issue with the Federal constitutional provisions prohibiting the taking of property without due process of law or without payment of just compensation. Constitution, Fifth Amendment."

It is not disputed that under North Dakota law, petitioner has a cause of action for libel against respondent. Indeed it has been held in the present case that a North Dakota statute purporting to immunize respondent from liability for broadcasting libel violates provisions of the

North Dakota Constitution, which guarantees protection of "reputation" "by due process of law" (*supra,* p. 36). Yet the Court below has denied the injured party the relief guaranteed to it under the North Dakota Constitution and given the respondent the immunity attempted to be given in a state statute that was held to violate the state Constitution. This strange result not only was unauthorized by the provisions of Section 315 but is contrary to the intent of Congress, which repeatedly has refused to enact the language (*supra,* p. 27ff) which the North Dakota Court has now read into the statute.

Other states whose constitutions protect the right of reputation "equally with the right to the enjoyment of life, liberty and property" (*Marion* v. *Davis,* 217 Ala. 16 (1927)) have similarly held that state laws attempting to deprive libel victims of adequate remedy are invalid. Thus, in Michigan it has been held that

> "There is no room for holding in a constitutional system that private reputation is any more subject to be removed by statute from full legal protection than life, liberty, or property. It is one of those rights, necessary to human society that underlie the whole scheme of civilization" *Park* v. *Detroit Free Press Co.* 72 Mich. 560, 566 (1888).

Likewise, in New Jersey it has been held that

> " * * * the people of this State, who ordained the Constitution, have not empowered the legislative body to authorize a newspaper publisher or any other citizen to unjustly injure his neighbor's reputation without making compensation for that injury". (*Neafie* v. *Hoboken Printing & Publishing Co.,* 75 N. J. L. 564 (1907).

To the same effect are *Byers* v. *Meridian Printing Co.,* 84 Ohio State Reports 408 (1911); *Harrison* v. *Krehbiel,*

68 Kan. 670 (1904). *McGee* v. *Baumgartner,* 121 Mich. 287 (1899). See also *Marion* v. *Davis, supra; Kennedy* v. *Item Co.,* 213 La. 347 (1948).

To permit a broadcaster to publish libel by a candidate against a third person who is not a candidate, free of liability to the victim, is arbitrary and capricious, and, we submit, deprives the victim of property without due process of law.

The effect of Section 315 as applied by the Court below is to deprive the victim of redress against respondent, the primary disseminator of the libel. But for the act of dissemination on radio and television, the libel may inflict little damage. As the court said in *Coffey, supra,* but for what the broadcaster "has done, the victim of the defamation would not have been hurt" (p. 890). Since redress against the speaker may well prove inadequate (*supra,* pp. 42, 43) the petitioner is deprived of any remedy. The effect of publication by radio and television is enormous. The magnitude of the impact is so great that the damage is far beyond that caused by publication through any other medium. This is not only because the audience is so vast, but because the libel is dramatized by the immediacy of the voice and image of the speaker and this dramatic effect may be heightened by use of the manifold techniques of visual propaganda.

The statute, intended to give a candidate the equal opportunity to answer his opponent, has now been held to be a weapon to compel the station to broadcast, with immunity, libelous statements, not about the candidate, but about a third person who is not a candidate. Such a holding with its devastating consequences, we maintain, if construed to be authorized by Section 315 deprives the petitioner of its property without due process of law. It makes lawful an unlawful act. This is forbidden by the

doctrine of *Truax* v. *Corrigan,* 257 U. S. 312 (1921) and *Brinkerhoff-Faris Trust and Saving Co.* v. *Hill,* 281 U. S. 673 (1930). Section 315 as thus construed destroys petitioner's right to protection against injury to its fundamental property right by another who has "no special relation" to it. *Truax* v. *Corrigan, supra,* at 329.

There is no "permissible legislative objective" (*Silver* v. *Silver,* 280 U. S. 117, 122 (1929)) for putting a third person in the position of a helpless target. Whatever basis there might be to compel libel to be broadcast by a candidate against his opponent, there is none that can justify such action against persons who are not candidates. Nor is there rational basis for the assumption, which necessarily underlies Section 315 as construed, that safeguarding equal opportunity precludes a remedy for deliberate defamation of third persons. Such extreme measures are not necessary to insure equality on the air.

It is submitted that the action of the Court below in applying Section 315 to petitioner is capricious and subjects its reputation to injury without adequate redress. The statute, as thus applied, deprives the petitioner of property with due process of law in violation of the Fifth Amendment.

Conclusion

The judgment below should be reversed.

Respectfully submitted,

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APPENDIX A

Predecessor Statutes

The Radio Act of 1927, Sec. 18, 44 Stat. 1170:

Sec. 18. If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and the licensing authority shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect: *Provided,* That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the authority of this paragraph. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.

The Federal Communications Act of 1934, 48 Stat. 1088:

Sec. 15. If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and the Commission shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect: *Provided,* That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the authority of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.

re Communist
infiltration in Cuba

March 13, 1959

My dear Ed:

Enclosed find copy of letter from Bill Fulbright. If you intend to do anything about my hunch you can feel free to call up Bill. If my hunch is right you might find in the idea some way of using this fact to arouse the people of our Republic.

Should I close up my shop until you leave on your sabbatical and move into your office as an office boy?

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

Enc

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Ernst, Morris

February 20, 1959

Morris Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
NYC

DEAR MORRIS I AM OFF FOR A WEEK IN FLORIDA AND FRED WILL CALL YOU ABOUT THE PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN ON MONDAY STOP THANKS AGAIN

Ed Murrow

51-70
News

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

February 19, 1959

My dear Ed:

I did speak to the President of Pakistan, as you suggested, and hence do feel that the matter ought not to be allowed to go into limbo. What about a conversation between Fulbright and the President of Pakistan?

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Ernst, Morris

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR.
JOHN A. WIENER
CHARLES E. HEMING

CASSRELL GREENBERG
PLATT V. KETCHAM
JULIA PERLES
FREDERIC S. NATHAN
BARRY LEE COHEN
RICHARD M. ADER
MARY MOERS WENIG
NANCY F. WECHSLER
MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
ALAN U. SCHWARTZ
NORMAN W. ARNHEIM

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

January 15, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

My dear Ed:

The "Harold Gardiner Satelites" have been in orbit since our last dinner meeting November 11, 1958. Some interesting work papers have been sent in by members of the group. I have discussed projects in general terms with Prof. Bernard Berelson, as suggested by Paul Ylvisaker, and with Prof. Siepmann, as suggested by Ed Murrow.

From various responses I think we are making some progress and at least have cleared away much of the underbruch for the next stage of the discussions. I had hoped to set up another meeting before I leave for London and the East tomorrow. I figured it would be well to center the next meeting around Prof. Berelson. His shift from the University of Chicago to New York made his attendance impossible at this time.

I will be away for about a month but in the meanwhile if anyone of you has a proposal, communicate with Alan Schwartz at this office and he will round-robin the idea. Alan will have the use of my apartment if it will advantage the group for dinner. At the next meeting it might be well to invite one or two additional people, as suggested by Phil Scharper.

Happy New Year!

Yours,

MLE:DR

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. If you get a chance to look at the debate in the British Parliament of December 16, 1958, on the new censorship law, you will find it illuminating and gratifying since their search for knowledge treats with the problems we have discussed -- and as stated by T. S. Eliot and others -- somewhat parallels our conversations.

Ernst, Morris L.

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

December 29, 1958

Dear Ed:

Can't make Tuesday lunch. Note the following as to television Round Up:

1. What happens to Spain when Franco dies.

2. Why only one slanting reference to race between population and food.

3. Did I miss a reference to the deterioration of the mystery with respect to Popes due to television at last inauguration.

4. When do your boys stop living in a dream world by failing to refer to absence of literacy and communication -- more than necessary tools for man to elect his own rulers in an area bigger than a village. I dare you to ask your braintrust their guesses as to literacy in most of the world.

I would love to fire questions at them.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Deliver

Ernst, Morris L.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

December 19, 1958

c c ed mirror

My dear Bernard Bereison:

I know you will be head over heels when you move to New York on January first. Might I ask a favor to which I am not entitled: Could you set aside one evening to have dinner at my home before January 14th with the group that is considering new approaches to influence the effects of distribution by mass media in the spheres of pornography and sadism?

I make this request because I must leave on the 15th of January for London and the East for about three weeks. Set a date and I will try to get as many of the gang as possible to meet with you.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Prof. Bernard Bereison
Haskell Hall
University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Ernst, Morris
F

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

Ignore -

December 12, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear ~~Murrow:~~ Ed

I understand that you have read a copy of The Ugly American by Lederer and Burdick. I invite you and others on the enclosed list to join in transmitting a copy of this book to every Member of the U. S. Senate.

Please wire me collect if I can use your name as a signatory to a letter enclosed herewith, addressed to each Senator. I have already arranged for the financing of the purchase of the books.

Sincerely,

Morris Ernst

Dear Senator :

With this letter we send you a copy of a book which the undersigned feel to be of importance to the nation. It is titled THE UGLY AMERICAN and is by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick. It is concerned with the Americans who go overseas for the various governmental agencies, their activities abroad, and the policies they are entrusted to carry out.

The book is written in the form of fiction--a device by which the authors have reached a very large popular audience--but it is based squarely on fact. It seems to us beyond question that the authors know their facts. We feel their message to be so important that we urge you, in the strongest terms, to read THE UGLY AMERICAN.

It may be of interest to note that according to Columbia Broadcasting Company News, THE UGLY AMERICAN has been read by the President and was largely responsible for the creation of the Draper Committee.

Sincerely

James Reston
Admiral Arthur William Radford
Adlai Stevenson
Vice President Richard M. Nixon
Senator Hubert Humphrey
Senator John Kennedy
J. Edgar Hoover
Senator Michael Joseph Mansfield
Senator Jacob Javits
Senator Herbert Lehman
The Right Reverend James A. Pike
Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge
Senator Albert Gore
The Honorable Clair Engel
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Senator Kenneth B. Keating
Senator Leverett Saltonstall
Walter Reuther
John J. McCloy
Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo
Senator Hugh Scott
Harry S. Truman
Herbert Hoover
General James M. Gavin
Harold Stern
George F. Kennan
Bernard Baruch
George Meany
Whitney Debevoise
Henry R. Luce
Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Edward R. Murrow

Ernst

November 7, 1958

Dear Morris:

I would love to have a look at Sheik Abdullah's trial but there isn't a chance in the world of my doing so. It's nice to think about, anyway.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

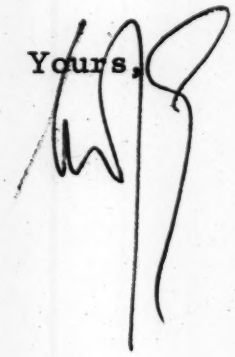
October 29, 1958

My dear Ed:

The Sheikh Abdullah trial will come up shortly. I enclose a statement of the facts. I cannot vouch for the detailed correctness thereof.

Why don't you and Janet, and Margaret and I go over for the trial for a few days? The reporting of this event may well be the determining factor in the resolution of the Kashmir dispute particularly if I am right in my hunch that the secret issue is whether or not there be a plebiscite.

Yours,



Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Enc

SHEIKH ABDULLAH was the leader of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, the political party in Kashmir which worked in close collaboration with the Indian National Congress. The Congress was the well-known political organization of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Nehru.

When the Maharajah (the hereditary feudal ruler) of Kashmir acceded to India on October 27, 1947, the Government of India declared that they had accepted this accession because it was supported by Sheikh Abdullah, the most popular leader of Kashmir. The actual words in India's official communication to the Security Council, made on January 1, 1948, are:

> "An appeal for help was also simultaneously received by the Government of India from the largest political organization in Kashmir, the National Conference, headed by Sheikh Abdullah. The Conference further strongly supported the request for the State's accession to the Indian Dominion. The Government of India were thus approached, not only officially by the State authorities, but also on behalf of the people of Kashmir, both for military aid and for accession of the State to India."

This assertion was repeated time and again. The Indian Representative stated at the meeting of the Security Council on January 23, 1948, that Kashmir's offer of accession to India was accepted because it came "not only from the ruler" but also from "the popular leader". He added that, even so, this offer had been accepted "only on the condition" that it would be referred to the people through a plebiscite as soon as the emergency had passed and peace and order had been restored.

Sheikh Abdullah's leadership and the promise of plebiscite were thus the two elements which India cited consistently to justify her acceptance of the Maharajah's accession.

On his part, Sheikh Abdullah explained that he had supported the accession to India on the explicit understanding that the people of Kashmir would be enabled, by means of a free vote in a plebiscite, either to confirm it or to denounce it and accede to Pakistan.

This was the understanding between Sheikh Abdullah and the Indian Government. Sheikh Abdullah accordingly headed the administration of India-held Kashmir. Between October, 1947, and August, 1952---the period during which the United Nations was active in negotiations about Kashmir---he appeared to take for granted that the understanding would be honored. However, as these negotiations started to flounder, he began

to evince impatience and disillusionment. From August, 1952, he became increasingly emphatic in his demand that the promised plebiscite be held forthwith and that, pending the plebiscite, Kashmir be allowed to enjoy the largest autonomy. He expressed this demand in his public speeches as well as in his numerous meetings with prominent persons from abroad, notably Mr. Adlai Stevenson whom he met in June, 1953.

The result was a straining of the relations between Sheikh Abdullah and the authorities in Delhi. The situation came to a head in August, 1953. In that month, the two Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan resumed direct negotiations about all Indo-Pakistan problems, including Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah took this opportunity publicly to demand that the pledge of plebiscite which both India and Pakistan had given to the people of Kashmir be fulfilled immediately.

The consequences were dramatic. Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed from his position as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and arrested on August 9, 1953. He was accused unofficially of conspiring with a "foreign power" to make Kashmir independent of both India and Pakistan. As proof of the accusation, his meeting with Mr. Stevenson was freely mentioned. No formal charge, however, was brought against him and no trial was held.

Sheikh Abdullah remained in jail between August 9, 1953, and January 8, 1958.

He was freed on January 8, 1958. Immediately after, he made public speeches asking again for a free and impartial plebiscite, under the auspices of the United Nations, to determine Kashmir's future. He repeated this demand in press interviews given to foreign correspondents of prominent newspapers in the United States and Britain. An exhaustive press statement, explaining the demand, was issued by him to the Indian Press on February 18, 1958.

On February 21, the Kashmir Government banned all public meetings in the Vale and confined Sheikh Abdullah's activities to his own residence. He made only one speech after that date, which was on April 21, the Muslim holy day of Id. As reported in the British and American press, it was a non-political speech, being a religious address for the occasion. "Sheikh Abdullah has preferred to lie low", the Chief Minister of the Kashmir Government told the correspondent of The Times, London, on April 25.

However, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested on April 30 and again put in jail. The official statement said that his liberty was "hazardous to the security of the State". There

was no violence in the protests against his rearrest. "It seems to show that Sheikh Abdullah was a latent rather than an actual menace. But a menace he was," Kashmir's Chief Minister told the correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, London, on May 1.

No formal charge was made against Sheikh Abdullah between May and October. On October 24, however, he was included in the list of accused persons in what is known as the Kashmir Conspiracy case. The defendants in this case are charged with conspiracy to foment "hatred, contempt and disaffection" against the Kashmir Government and to overthrow it "by criminal force", with the aim of "facilitating the wrongful annexation of the territory of the State" by Pakistan.

Sheikh Abdullah's co-defendants include Mirza Afzal Beg, former Revenue Minister of Kashmir, Maulana Saeed Masoodi, former Secretary General of the National Conference and member of the Indian Parliament, and officials of the Kashmir Plebiscite Front, the political party in Kashmir which demands that the United Nations Resolutions about Kashmir be implemented by India.

October 31, 1958

Dear Morris:

Thanks for your letter of October 27th.

I have just received a copy of the report from the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, but being up to my ears with the election stuff, I haven't yet had a chance to look at it. Shall do so shortly.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

mcc

October 31, 1958

My dear Morris:

You are quite right. In fact, you are a rather perceptive guy. I was looking for a change of pace, following Bernard Shaw's admonition that "to become predictable is to starve". Have a look next Sunday, if you can stand it.

As ever yours,

KRM:akh

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

October 28, 1958

My dear Ed:

I hope you don't mind a report from the Ernsts anti-Trendex Company.

I think your Small World may get into trouble. The show last Sunday, -- for better or worse I don't know, -- was totally different than the prior shows. All it had in common was the mechanical techniques. I suggest that the last show looked as if you picked people rather than subjects for discussion.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

October 14, 1958

My dear Ed:

Good show. I will talk to you further about it when we get together. I think your own personality was quite different than ever heretofore -- more relaxed, less smoking, you seemed nearly as contemplative as Nehru, not as stiff as Dewey and less bewildered than Aldous.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

October 27, 1958

My dear Ed:

As you may know, I have long been nibbling at the program of emptying the Arab Camps in the Near East. People live by symbols and as long as the camps are there, there can be no enduring peace. I have long felt that the camps could be emptied if our government would pursue secret diplomacy rather than public headlines.

I am asking the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs to send you a copy of their illuminating report, If you want to speak to Richard R. Salzmann, Director, don't hesitate to get in touch with him. You may not agree with every detail of the report but it comprises a real contribution to what I hold to be the right direction.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

Ernst

October 22, 1958

My dear Ed:

Harold Gardiner and I have arranged for the next dinner censorship talks at my apartment, 2 - 5th Avenue, Tuesday November 11th, around 7:30, informal. The following have already agreed to come:

Murrow
Mahoney
Gardner
Scharper
Armsey
Ernst

This letter is going out also to the following:

Father Sullivan
Hersey
Brown
Yhisaker, of Ford

I am sending to those who have not previously received same, copies of three discussions papers which I trust all may not only consider but revamp to meet their own prejudices. It has been suggested that this small group might lay plans for macadam, if not concrete steps that might be taken.

Cordially,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

I have a trifold interest in the problem of what is broadly called censorship: I am interested as an editor, as a father of young children and as a citizen.

As a result of this triple interest I have taken advantage of almost every opportunity offered to me to participate in dialogues among men of good will. In almost every case the dialogue immediately proceeded to the stage where everyone agreed to disagree, and then the men of good will had nothing more to say. Assertion replaced argument, and cliche clanged against cliche.

Take first the question of whether or not children are harmed by the cult of violence, horror and suggestiveness in our contemporary films, TV shows and lesser newspapers.

The AMA, the American Bar Association, the National Association for Better Radio and Television and numerous other groups and responsible individuals have asserted there is probably a direct link between the rise of juvenile delinquency and the increase of brutality and sadism on the mass media.

Testimony on the other side is not lacking: reputable psychologists have asserted that far from hurting the young, such fare actually helps them by providing a psychic catharsis analogous to that which Aristotle spoke of in connection with Attic tragedy.

As a father of young children, I am concerned as to which side of the argument enjoys the greater credibility; unfortunately, there seems no way to find out, as neither

side can offer much beyond grand and largely gratuitous assertions.

Closely connected with the question of the effect of violence, horror and suggestiveness upon the young is the question of what effect these same dominant themes of the image industries may have upon the adult population.

Here it is, perhaps, less a moral consideration than a cultural one -- less a question of whether the viewer is incited to action than of whether he is moved to adopt attitudes inimical to the type and level of culture which should be the fruit of our distinctly American political principles and social ethos.

If the majority, or even a sizeable segment of our population should become so blunted that they can, like Macbeth, "sup full of horror" but unlike him keep coming back for more, then millions of dollars and thousands of man hours are being wasted in our national educational effort.

In a rather typical week 223 killings were portrayed on television, along with numerous other acts of violence. Can the citizen exposed to the avalanche of such images retain that reverence for life and that sense of human dignity which we think are the hallmark of our American society, or will these values go up in Gunsmoke, Mike Hammer and Have Gun, Will Travel.

Will such a citizen suffer a withering of sensibility, until he can no longer hear the smaller noises of conscience, the more delicate nuances of wit and reason? Two otherwise

disparate critics such as T. S. Eliot and John Crosby have answered "Yes" to the question. As a citizen I would fear for that minimal maturity which our democracy demands from at least a majority of its citizens if Mr. Eliot and Mr. Crosby were right. But I am not sure they are right: I am not sure, with T. S. Eliot, that "literature represents an invasion of the reader's personality, for good or evil." I am not sure, with Mr. Crosby, that "every televised shooting dulls our sensibilities just a little bit." Neither would either of these men confess themselves absolutely sure of their positions if hard pressed; they could not prove themselves right; no antagonist could prove them wrong.

And yet it is vitally important that we know whether T. S. Eliot, John Crosby and others of like views are right or wrong. As a citizen I must feel a concern for any indication of a general cultural decay, for such a decay usually presages and even prepares political malaise. But who can even give an educated guess as to whether or not the image industries are contributing to a cultural decay; the industry spokesmen simply assert that they are giving the public what it wants, and there is no hard evidence to indicate whether what the public wants is palliative or poison.

Closely connected with the question of the effect of the images of horror, violence and suggestiveness upon the audience is the question of the effect this prevailing situation has upon the serious artist, -- writer, director, producer.

If the serious artist in the mass media feels that he must conform and therefore expend his energies largely upon the question of how best to make the bodies fall or how best to get the sniggering response to sex, obviously we are frittering away much of the real talent in the entertainment arts, and are keeping some talent from entering it at all.

How does the prevailing climate of movies, TV and publishing affect the serious artist? Does it affect him at all? These are big questions but there are no big answers forthcoming. No one has asked the artists, systematically and scientifically, whether they feel, qua artists, free to contribute to our society or whether they feel that the price they must pay to enter the mass media of our society is patience, prostitution or penury.

We have, then, two authentic questions of overriding importance; we have no authoritative answers. These answers can come only from carefully conducted research. Until the results of such research are forthcoming, men of good will can carry on their dialogues with the expectation of little beyond the rehearsing of their own already well-rehearsed positions, and the exercise of civility as they regard the already familiar positions of those with whom they disagree.

Philip Scharper

August 12, 1958

Very Rough Notes

I often thought of doing a piece on the relationship of climate to the advances of civilization. I know that the highest cultures have existed in the 72° isotherm. I now find that men of deep concern and good will are most active only in bad weather. All of which is a preamble to the following, which I am sending to those present at the meeting in America. If it does not represent anyone's point of view, it might nevertheless serve as a whipping' boy for further considerations.

---

1. We are concerned with the lowering of the standards of taste in our culture. Although it is normal for man to feel that changing standards always mean lower standards, there is some evidence to indicate that the fiber of our culture is depreciating. The highest prestige on television goes to Jayne Mansfield's breasts, and the stories of a gun. In much of the daily press there is either the daily reporting of an orgy or the story of a boy cutting a girl's throat, and any adolescent who reads one of these tabloids will grow up to believe that it is normal to cut a throat.

2. Whenever the law sets limits it must create standards - particularly in fields of the material that goes to the mind and the emotion of man. A standard may seem clear to one person but to his neighbor concern areas as wide as the world. Moreover, the law only sets the outside limits of behavior. This group is concerned with cultural patterns and attitudes usually quite remote from criminal definitions. We are concerned with the effects on the personality of men and women.

3. We are of course in favor of a wide open market place for persuasion as to what people should read, see or hear. In the main, too much of the persuasion is in negative terms and we should imagine that our society would be benefitted if the accent were removed from the negative and the prohibited to the affirmative and recommended. We suggest that a movement in our culture in the affirmative direction should be directed toward all media - books, screen, television, radio and newspapers. The accent should be on the child and not on the adult. Hence, societal advice should flow to the parent, the teacher and others, for use with young people; and that the campaign should not be

directed toward the literary, screen, television and newspaper diet of the adults themselves.

4. We believe that a movement along the above lines need not and should not be based on religious grounds and that all people of religion or no religion might well join in such a campaign of education.

5. We make no comment at this time as to the limits of persuasion and just when persuasion turns into disturbing anti-social action, whether called boycott, economic pressure or political pressure. If the societal approach is one of recommending the good rather than attacking the evil, prestige will attach to the recommended items, and the serious and dangerous impacts that often arise when attacking the evil will be removed from the campaign. Recommendation of the good has been attempted in the dissemination of ideas. See movies. We might as a group try to get a Foundation to make a study to show why such affirmative attempts have been substantially fruitless.

6. Various suggestions have been made which might appeal to several Foundations, to finance studies by social scientists. These studies could be conducted without publicity in the hope that science can make a contribution in various segments of the problem.

A. What proof if any exists as to causal relationship between pornography and human behavior. See studies of Rockefeller, Yahoda, Gluck, Wertham, Bender, etc.

B. What relationship exists, i f any, between pictorial or verbal sadism and human behavior.

C. What difference is any exists in the above areas as to the impact on men as distinguished from the impact on women.

D. What difference if any is there in the impact of fiction as compared to non-fiction, on the minds and personalities particularly of young people of either sex.

E. What are the available media of communication for the development of an affirmative program concerned primarily with adolescence in line with the above affirmative approach.

Morris L. Ernst

Nothing dramatizes so well the confusion in the matter of obscene or suggestive reading material and its effect -- or lack of effect -- especially on young people, than two items in the news recently. The August 1958 "Censorship Bulletin" of the American Book Publishers Council contains a long report by Brown University psychologists Drs. Nissim Levy, Lewis Lipsitt and Judy F. Rosenblith. Its general conclusions are that "there is no reliable evidence that reading or other fantasy activities lead to anti-social behavior."

Almost the same day, a news item stated that toward the end of October, some sociologists and psychologists, headed by Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin, will meet in Cleveland to study the effects of the same type of reading. Since the Cincinnati Citizens for Decent Literature will sponsor the meeting, it is to be thought that this group does think that such reading is harmful, again especially to the young.

The brutal truth of the matter, as I see it, is that no one really knows. As a citizen and especially a priest, I do have knowledge that harm is done by this kind of "literature." But what <u>is</u> the harm, precisely -- and what is its extent. Professional psychologists and sociologists disagree. Some of them going so far as to

claim that reading of suggestive material is actually a social boon, since it siphons off what might otherwise have resulted in anti-social action.

The first problem, then, that needs cryingly a comprehensive study, is the extent of external anti-social action that can be traced to this type of reading matter. To my knowledge, such a survey has never been made. We have limited studies -- to which the "Censorship Bulletin" piece refers, but there does not seem ever to have been a study that considered a good cross-section of the young people of this country.

This type of study, I feel, would be fairly simple and clear cut. But there is another at least possible effect of the reading of obscene or suggestive material, which must be suspected to exist but which will be much harder to ferret out. It is this: what happens to the mental attitudes, the thinking of young people who live on a diet of the sensational press, the lurid (if not positively obscene) magazine, pocket-size book and comic book. Is their thinking about sex, marriage and the family, respect for authority and a dozen other things warped by such a literary fare? Do marriages go on the rocks, let us say by example, because practically all that a young couple had ever read on the subject was contained in accounts of wife-beating, infidelity, drunkenness and other petty pictures drawn day after day in our tabloids? Do we <u>know</u>? Is there any <u>evidence</u> that mental attitudes are or not so shaped? It would seem a priori that a young man who is steeped in such

presentations of marriage and the general relationship between the sexes must think it is quite the thing -- or at least quite normal -- to consider women as things to be used, not as persons with equal dignity. If I may digress a bit, I feel that this was one of the unfortunate effects of the famous Kinsey reports; the constant emphasis was: this is what a lot of people do, therefore it is normal. This is to prostitute the idea of a norm, which is a standard of judgment, not a quantitative tabulation.

At any rate, here is the problem as it appears to be. A two-fold study cries to be made: 1) a comprehensive examination of the possible overt anti-social acts that may be reasonably traced to this type of reading; 2) an equally wide survey of the mental attitudes, especially of the young and impressionable, and the responsibility of this type of literature for fostering these attitudes (the survey might well give some thought to considering the role of the other mass-media, -- TV, radio, etc., in arousing such attitudes.

What sort of a team of experts, under whose patronage, the techniques of the suggested surveys are all tricky matters; but as to the desirability of such ground work, I have no doubt. This is the project that I would respectfully but urgently submit to the consideration of some Foundation.

Harold C. Gardiner, S. J.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York · PLaza 5-2000

DANIEL T. O'SHEA
Vice President

Thank you for your recent letter to Mr. Stanton with respect to our program "Danger." We very much appreciate the frank expression of your views and we hope you will continue to give them to us from time to time.

The casting and staffing of the program "Danger" is the sole responsibility of the CBS Television division and not that of the sponsor, the Block Drug Company. Accordingly, your letter properly has been sent to us.

Here is how we feel about the question you have raised:

Our Management individually and our Company as such are strongly and actively opposed to communism and communists and, in fact, to any philosophy not coincident with the best interests of the United States of America, its institutions and citizens.

We will not voluntarily and with knowledge give aid, encouragement or employment to individuals or groups who espouse such causes.

We constantly are alert to the problem and, moreover, we ceaselessly are at work in our attempts to meet and solve it. We are sure you realize and agree that it is a difficult one. We think we are making progress. We know that we do not have all the answers and realize not only that mistakes have been made in the past, but, unfortunately, due to the inevitable margin of human error, some others may be made. However, no such mistake has or will originate in malice or be occasioned by carelessness.

During the course of a year the Radio and Television divisions of CBS have dealings with upwards of 250,000 artists, directors, writers and producers on network and local shows. Some of these people are employed for one performance, others for multiple performances. As you can imagine, the handling of so many people is a big and complex job.

As has been said above, we think we are making progress, in fact we are sure of it, but it would not be wise or even practical here to discuss or describe it in detail.

Quite frankly, so far as the artists in question are concerned, we do not know whether the allegations are true or not. We are giving the matter our immediate and serious attention and investigation. You can be sure we will take whatever action is dictated by the results of such investigation. Surely, no one would wish to criticize us for not taking drastic action against innocent individuals.

If you are regularly or occasionally in the CBS Television or CBS Radio audiences, you will agree, I am sure, that the programs we offer are in no sense subversive and in no sense contain subversive propaganda. This is true of the program "Danger" as it is of all of our other programs.

Be assured that we are as sincerely and deeply interested in this problem and its solution as you are.

Very truly yours,

DTO'S-rr

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

October 7, 1958

My dear Ed:

On the problem of privileged communication to reporters, a process I favor, keep in mind the relation of the recent court decision to Reston and the Yalta papers, the Gaither leak and the Drew Pearson original tip-off on the Adams - Goldfine mess. I am fearful that before a Congressional committee, such reporters would go to jail for contempt. I really don't care if they go to jail or not but I believe that the issue should be resolved in favor of privilege because on a risk for risk basis, the market place of reporting will be substantially cut down if the privilege is abolished.

Incidentally, take a look at Drew Pearson's new book. Irrespective of anything else he has ever done, this volume seems to me to be an important contribution which for other reasons might get short shrift in the market place of radio - television reporting.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

September 30, 1958

My dear Ed:

I made no notes of my talk at Hartford. I am sending you three documents: a memo I prepared after the dinner parties at my home, a memo by Gardiner and a memo by Scharper. I am waiting to hear from Dyke Brown of Ford Foundation. You will see from the two Catholic papers that I am over my most important hurdle.

1. Anything new on the Teacher Program on Channel 11?

2. Do not wait until a year from now to invent a new structure for home rule in your future life.

3. Lunch, drinks, dinner -- when?

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Encs (3)

Is there a program for you on this Catholic discussion.

August 12, 1958

Very Rough Notes

I often thought of doing a piece on the relationship of climate to the advances of civilization. I know that the highest cultures have existed in the 72° isotherm. I now find that men of deep concern and good will are most active only in bad weather. All of which is a preamble to the following, which I am sending to those present at the meeting in America. If it does not represent anyone's point of view, it might nevertheless serve as a whipping boy for further considerations.

---

1. We are concerned with the lowering of the standards of taste in our culture. Although it is normal for man to feel that changing standards always mean lower standards, there is some evidence to indicate that the fiber of our culture is depreciating. The highest prestige on television goes to Jane Mansfield's breasts, and the stories of a gun. In much of the daily press there is either the daily reporting of an orgy or the story of a boy cutting a girl's throat, and any adolescent who reads one of these tabloids will grow up to believe that it is normal to cut a throat.

2. Whenever the law sets limits it must create standards - particularly in fields of the material that goes to the mind and the emotion of man. A standard may seem clear to one person but to his neighbor concern areas as wide as the world. Moreover the law only sets the outside limits of behavior. This group is concerned with cultural patterns and attitudes usually quite remote from criminal definitions. We are concerned with the effects on the personality of men and women.

3. We are of course in favor of a wide open market place for persuasion as to what people should read, see or hear. In the main, too much of the persuasion is in negative terms and we should imagine that our society would be benefited if the accent were removed from the negative and the prohibited to the affirmative and recommended. We suggest that a movement in our culture in the affirmative direction should be directed toward all media - books, screen, television, radio and newspapers. The accent should be on the child and not on the adult. Hence societal advice should flow to the parent, the teacher and others, for use with young people; and that the campaign should not be

directed toward the literary, screen, television and newspaper diet of the adults themselves.

4. We believe that a movement along the above lines need not and should not be based on religious grounds and that all people of religion or no religion might well join in such a campaign of education.

5. We make no comment at this time as to the limits of persuasion and just when persuasion turns into disturbing anti-social action, whether called boycott, economic pressure or political pressure. If the societal approach is one of recommending the good rather than attacking the evil, prestige will attach to the recommended items, and the serious and dangerous impacts that often arise when attacking the evil will be removed from the campaign. Recommendation of the good has been attempted in the dissemination of ideas. See movies. We might as a group try to get a Foundation to make a study to show why such affirmative attempts have been substantially fruitless.

6. Various suggestions have been made which might appeal to several Foundations, to finance studies by social scientists. These studies could be conducted without publicity in the hope that science can make a contribution in various segments of the problem.

A. What proof if any exists as to causal relationship between pornography and human behavior. See studies of Rockefeller, Yahoda, Gluck, Wertham, Bender, etc.

B. What relationship exists, if any, between pictorial or verbal sadism and human behavior.

C. What difference if any exists in the above areas as to the impact on men as distinguished from the impact of women.

D. What difference if any is there in the impact of fiction as compared to non-fiction, on the minds and personalities particularly of young people of either sex.

E. What are the available media of communication for the development of an affirmative program concerned primarily with adolescence in line with the above affirmative approach.

Morris L. Ernst

Nothing dramatizes so well the confusion in the matter of obscene or suggestive reading material and its effect -- or lack of effect -- especially on young people, than two items in the news recently. The August 1958 "Censorship Bulletin" of the American Book Publishers Council contains a long report by Brown University psychologists Drs. Nissim Levy, Lewis Lipsitt and Judy F. Rosenblith. Its general conclusions are that "there is no reliable evidence that reading or other fantasy activities lead to anti-social behavior."

Almost the same day, a news item stated that toward the end of October, some sociologists and psychologists, headed by Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin, will meet in Cleveland to study the effects of the same type of reading. Since the Cincinnati Citizens for Decent Literature will sponsor the meeting, it is to be thought that this group does think that such reading is harmful, again especially to the young.

The brutal truth of the matter, as I see it, is that no one really knows. As a citizen and especially a priest, I do have knowledge that harm is done by this kind of "literature." But what <u>is</u> the harm, precisely -- and what is its extent. Professional psychologists and sociologists disagree. Some of them going so far as to

claim that reading of suggestive material is actually a social boon, since it siphons off what might otherwise have resulted in anti-social action.

The first problem, then, that needs cryingly a comprehensive study, is the extent of external anti-social action that can be traced to this type of reading matter. To my knowledge, such a survey has never been made. We have limited studies -- to which the "Censorship Bulletin" piece refers, but there does not seem ever to have been a study that considered a good cross-section of the young people of this country.

This type of study, I feel, would be fairly simple and clear cut. But there is another at least possible effect of the reading of obscene or suggestive material, which must be suspected to exist but which will be much harder to ferret out. It is this: what happens to the mental attitudes, the thinking of young people who live on a diet of the sensational press, the lurid (if not positively obscene) magazine, pocket-size book and comic book. Is their thinking about sex, marriage and the family, respect for authority and a dozen other things warped by such a literary fare? Do marriages go on the rocks, let us say by example, because practically all that a young couple had ever read on the subject was contained in accounts of wife-beating, infidelity, drunkenness and other petty pictures drawn day after day in our tabloids? Do we <u>know</u>? Is there any <u>evidence</u> that mental attitudes are or not so shaped? It would seem a priori that a young man who is steeped in such

presentations of marriage and the general relationship between the sexes must think it is quite the thing -- or at least quite normal -- to consider women as things to be used, not as persons with equal dignity. If I may digress a bit, I feel that this was one of the unfortunate effects of the famous Kinsey reports; the constant emphasis was: this is what a lot of people do, therefore it is normal. This is to prostitute the idea of a norm, which is a standard of judgment, not a quantitative tabulation.

At any rate, here is the problem as it appears to be. A two-fold study cries to be made: 1) a comprehensive examination of the possible overt anti-social acts that may be reasonably traced to this type of reading; 2) an equally wide survey of the mental attitudes, especially of the young and impressionable, and the responsibility of this type of literature for fostering these attitudes (the survey might well give some thought to considering the role of the other mass-media, -- TV, radio, etc., in arousing such attitudes.

What sort of a team of experts, under whose patronage, the techniques of the suggested surveys are all tricky matters; but as to the desirability of such ground work, I have no doubt. This is the project that I would respectfully but urgently submit to the consideration of some Foundation.

Harold C. Gardiner, S. J.

I have a trifold interest in the problem of what is broadly called censorship: I am interested as an editor, as a father of young children and as a citizen.

As a result of this triple interest I have taken advantage of almost every opportunity offered to me to participate in dialogues among men of good will. In almost every case the dialogue immediately proceeded to the stage where everyone agreed to disagree, and then the men of good will had nothing more to say. Assertion replaced argument, and cliche clanged against cliche.

Take first the question of whether or not children are harmed by the cult of violence, horror and suggestiveness in our contemporary films, TV shows and lesser newspapers.

The AMA, the American Bar Association, the National Association for Better Radio and Television and numerous other groups and responsible individuals have asserted there is probably a direct link between the rise of juvenile delinquency and the increase of brutality and sadism on the mass media.

Testimony on the other side is not lacking: reputable psychologists have asserted that far from hurting the young, such fare actually helps them by providing a psychic catharsis analogous to that which Aristotle spoke of in connection with Attic tragedy.

As a father of young children, I am concerned as to which side of the argument enjoys the greater credibility; unfortunately, there seems no way to find out, as neither

side can offer much beyond grand and largely gratuitous assertions.

Closely connected with the question of the effect of violence, horror and suggestiveness upon the young is the question of what effect these same dominent themes of the image industries may have upon the adult population.

Here it is, perhaps, less a moral consideration than a cultural one--less a question of whether the viewer is incited to action than of whether he is moved to adopt attitudes inimical to the type and level of culture which should be the fruit of our distinctly American political principles and social ethos.

If the majority, or even a sizeable segment of our population should become so blunted that they can, like Macbeth, "sup full of horror" but unlike him keep coming back for more, then millions of dollars and thousands of man hours are being wasted in our national educational effort.

In a rather typical week 223 killings were portrayed on television, along with numerous other acts of violence. Can the citizen exposed to the avalanche of such images retain that reverence for life and that sense of human dignity which we think are the hallmark of our American society, or will these values go up in Gunsmoke, Mike Hammer and Have Gun, Will Travel.

Will such a citizen suffer a withering of sensibility, until he can no longer hear the smaller noises of conscience, the more delicate nuances of wit and reason? Two otherwise

disparate critics such as T. S. Eliot and John Crosby have answered "Yes" to the question.. As a citizen I would fear for that minimal maturity which our democracy demands from at least a majority of its citizens if Mr. Eliot and Mr. Crosby were right. But I am not sure they are right: I am not sure, with T. S. Eliot, that "literature represents an invasion of the reader's personality, for good or evil." I am not sure, with Mr. Crosby, that "every televised shooting dulls our sensibilities just a little bit." Neither would either of these men confess themselves absolutely sure of their positions if hard pressed; they could not prove themselves right; no antagonist could prove them wrong.

And yet it is vitally important that we know whether T. S. Eliot, John Crosby and others of like views are right or wrong. As a citizen I must feel a concern for any indication of a general cultural decay, for such a decay usually ppesages and even prepares political malaise. But who can even give an educated guess as to whether or not the image industries are contributing to a cultural decay; the industry spokesmen simply assert that they are giving the public what it wants, and there is no hard evidence to indicate whether what the public wants is palliative or poison.

Closely connected with the question of the effect of the images of horror, violence and suggestiveness upon the audience is the question of the effect this prevailing situation has upon the serious artist,--writer, director, producer.

If the serious artist in the mass media feels that he must conform and therefore expend his energies largely upon the question of how best to make the bodies fall or how best to get the sniggering response to sex, obviously we are frittering away much of the real talent in the entertainment arts, and are keeping some talent from entering it at all.

How does the prevailing climate of movies, TV and publishing affect the serious artist? Does it affect him at all? These are big questions but there are no big answers forthcoming. No one has asked the artists, systematically and scientifically, whether they feel, qua artists, free to contribute to our society or whether they feel that the price they must pay to enter the mass media of our society is patience, prostitution or penury.

We have, then, two authentic questions of overriding importance; we have no authoritative answers. These answers can come only from carefully conducted research. Until the results of such research are forthcoming, men of good will can carry on their dialogues with the expectation of little beyond the rehearsing of their own already well-rehearsed positions, and the exercise of civility as they regard the already familiar positions of those with whom they disagree.

Philip Scharper

September 26, 1958

Dear Alan:

Many thanks for sending me the decision on the Richter matter and the other enclosures. If Morris committed his piece on our obscenity laws to paper, I would be most grateful for a copy.

As ever yours,

KKM:skh

Mr. Alan U. Schwartz
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR.
JOHN A. WIENER
CHARLES E. HEMING

CASSRELL GREENBERG
ALAN L. ROSENBLUM
PLATT V. KETCHAM
JULIA PERLES
FREDERIC S. NATHAN
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RICHARD M. ADER
MARY MOERS WENIG
NANCY F. WECHSLER
MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
ALAN U. SCHWARTZ

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSE
GREWOLFERN, NEW Y
MORERNST, NEW YO

September 19, 1958

Dear Ed:

Morris is away in Newport for the boat races, which is no doubt where all of us should be. He asked me to send you the enclosed copy of the decision in the Richter matter. I hope you don't have too much trouble deciphering it.

He also wanted me to send you a copy of the New York Times report of Congressman Porter's speech in Paris. Unfortunately, I cannot lay my hands on a copy at the moment. However, the speech was carried, in part, on page 4 of the New York Times of September 11, 1958. Porter said in effect that he is now convinced that the Galindez disappearance was engineered by Franco as well as Trujillo. (Smiles all around).

I am enclosing a copy of the letter appearing in the Times under date of September 17, 1958, written by the Spanish Press attache showing the feelings of his government to this Porter announcement.

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You might like to know that Morris gave an incisive and altogether magnificent talk on the present state of our obscenity laws at the recent Judicial Conference. I even think he managed to penetrate behind some complacent faces and bulging vests.

Best to you,

Sincerely yours,

Alan

Alan U. Schwartz

Encs

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF LICENSES

- -

In the matter of the complaint
of Elia J. Malara
against William Richter

- -

This complaint came on for hearing before A. S. Wechsler, Director of Licenses, Department of State, on the 1st day of July, 1958, at the New York City office of the Department of State, 270 Broadway, pursuant to a written notice duly served upon William Richter, together with a copy of the complaint as required by law.

The charges against the respondent William Richter, a lawyer and notary public, involve a certain document executed by one Virginia Wulfing on October 1, 1957, at her home in Massapequa Park, Long Island.

The respondent, with relation to his status as a notary public, and in connection with the execution of the aforesaid affidavit, is charged in the complaint as follows:

1. that Mrs. Wulfing did not appear before the respondent;

2. that Mrs. Wulfing did not sign the paper purporting to be an affidavit in the presence of respondent;

3. that the certification by the respondent on the affidavit, to wit, "sworn to before me this 1st day of October, 1957," was not correct;

4. that the respondent did not administer an oath to Mrs. Wulfing;

5. that Mrs. Wulfing did not swear to the truth of the contents of the paper purporting to be an affidavit.

The testimony and other evidence admitted at the hearing of the complaint establish the following with relation to each of the charges:

1. The charge that Mrs. Wulfing did not appear before the respondent is found to be without any basis in view of the fact that Mrs. Wulfing in her own testimony admitted that Mr. Richter was present at the time that she subscribed her signature to the document in question.

2. The second charge that Mrs. Wulfing did not sign the document in the presence of the respondent is found to be baseless in the light of the testimony by Mrs. Wulfing that she did subscribe her signature to the document in question in the presence of the respondent. In this connection, Mrs. Wulfing, in her testimony, admitted that she made certain changes in the body of the affidavit and attested to the making of such changes by inserting her initials in the margin on the level where the changes had been made.

3. On the question as to the certification by the respondent that the contents of the document had or had not been sworn to by Mrs. Wulfing, an examination of the original document placed in evidence as an exhibit indicates that the typewriting on such paper, as an entirety, was continuous and unbroken; there is not the slightest indication that the jurat, as it is typed on the original exhibit, was inserted at a later date. It is unquestionable that the imprint of type of the jurat and the remainder of the document is one and the same. The respondent, an attorney, and his witness, Francis X. Grottano, a former police lieutenant of the City of New York, both testified that the document in question, at the time it was subscribed by Mrs. Wulfing, actually contained the jurat appearing thereon. Considering the physical condition of the document together with the testimony of the witnesses, it is my finding that at the time the paper was executed by Mrs. Wulfing, it did bear the jurat.

4-5. With reference to the charges that the respondent did not administer an oath to Mrs. Wulfing, and that Mrs. Wulfing did not swear to the truth of the contents of the paper signed by her, the latter testified that she did not at any time know that the respondent was a notary public. However, she did testify that the respondent was introduced to her as an attorney.

Under the provisions of Section 137 of the Executive Law, an attorney at Law who is appointed a notary public may use in lieu of the term notary public in connection with his official acts as such, the term attorney at law.

The fact that the status of the respondent as a notary public was not made known to Mrs. Wulfing is immaterial in arriving at a disposition of the question as to whether an oath had been administered. Such an

official act, as indicated, could have been performed by the respondent as an attorney, as permitted by law. In view of the deliberateness with which Mrs. Wulfing made various changes in the document in question, she initialled such changes, and corrected her name in the paper by substituting her full name for her first initial, greater credibility must be given to respondent on the question as to whether an oath had been administered. In this regard, both the respondent and his witness, Francis L. Grattano, each testified that an oath had been administered and that Mrs. Wulfing had sworn to the truth of the contents of the document in question.

Mrs. Wulfing further cast a shadow on her credibility in testifying that the words "but in April or May of that year" in paragraph 4a were added to the affidavit at a subsequent time. So serious an act is inconceivable in the light of the fact that the words "April and May 1956" appear in paragraphs "3" and "4" hence the alleged tampering with paragraph 4a was unnecessary and highly improbable.

On the basis of the findings as made above, it is hereby determined that Mrs. Wulfing did appear before the respondent William Richter on the 1st day of October, 1957; that she did sign an affidavit in his presence; that such affidavit contained a proper jurat and that such jurat was perfectly correct and regular; that the respondent did administer an oath to Mrs. Wulfing; that Mrs. Wulfing did swear to the truth of the contents of the affidavit and that the respondent did affix his official signature to the jurat on said affidavit in the presence of Mrs. Wulfing. The charges made against respondent, as a notary public, are found to be without merit. It is found that the respondent William Richter did fulfill his function as a notary public properly and completely. Accordingly, the complaint in this proceeding filed against the respondent is hereby dismissed on the merits.

/s/ A. S. Wechsler

A. S. Wechsler
Director of Licenses

ASW:jg
July 17, 1958

Galíndez Tie Denied

To the Editor of The New York Times:

It was with great surprise that I read in the Sept. 11 issue of The New York Times that in a speech delivered in Saint Jean de Luz, France, United States Congressman Charles O. Porter, according to your paper, "asserted today that Generalissimo Franco of Spain was connected with the disappearance of Dr. Jesús de Galíndez," self-styled Basque, University of Columbia instructor who for many years resided in the Dominican Republic.

I don't believe you will find many people, no matter what political ideas they may profess, who would give credence to such a statement. Nevertheless, it might still be useful to recall:

That in spite of the time elapsed since Dr. Galíndez' disappearance, two and a half years ago, and of the investigations conducted by the United States Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Police Department and by a group of private attorneys at no time has the name of a single Spanish Government agent been connected with this case.

That the Spanish Chief of State is the head of a friendly nation and an ally of the United States, and that therefore not even political passion—legitimate and respectable in fair play—should justify such a preposterous accusation.

Statements of such nature follow exactly the technique used by the Communists when they cut loose, throwing insult after insult of the same ignominious sort against the American boys who—without firing a shot—oppose their devious plans in the Middle East and Asia.

ADOLFO ECHEVARRIA,
Spanish Embassy Press Attaché.
Washington, Sept. 13, 1958.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

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September 19, 1958

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

Morris is away in Newport for the boat races, which is no doubt where all of us should be. He asked me to send you the enclosed copy of the decision in the Richter matter. I hope you don't have too much trouble deciphering it.

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Best to you,

Sincerely yours,

Encs

Alan U. Schwartz

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

September 10, 1958

Dear Ed:

1. Enclosed find the Quincy episode. It is a good story

2. I should imagine that I (x) could do better than Frank Hogan for the purpose we discussed.

3. Maybe the right to counsel would be more universal for conversation between England, a New York City lawyer and a lawyer from the countryside.

Let me know if you have an evening when we can try to invent a new structure which would make life bearable for you in the clash between quantity and quality.

Let me know if you write to your friends at Channel 11.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Enc

P.S. 4. I do want to pick your brain on the valuable Gunther properties.

5. Have you any non-lawyer intimate at CBS who would really like to know the facts with respect to CBS programs? If Joe Ream were around, I am sure he would grab at some ideas I have on the subject.

6. Enclosed find copies of two preliminary statements resulting from our dinner parties of the spring.

(x) I mean - could suggest some one more skilled in form of conversation

I find in a volume entitled MEMOIR OF JOSIAH QUINCY, 1744-1775, by his son, Josiah Quincy, published in Boston by John Wilson and Son, 1874, an amusing story. As a foreword, may I say that with the advent of mass media, men and women in our culture can be destroyed as easily by the press, radio and television, as by any magistrate sitting in any court. One only has to recall the injury done, not in a court, not even in a hearing room, but merely by statements made by men like Senator McCarthy. This, even though the statements are short of libel. Moreover, the court, as a forum, in most libel injuries, is quite inadequate for redress since the press is in unison in failing to report libel actions.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Josiah Quincy, Junior, was an ardent Republican and hater of British tyranny. According to the foreword of the book he was of the same ilk as Adams, Otis, Hancock and Warren, and was of great help in the establishment of the American Republic. In addition, his activities, indirectly at least, helped incite events leading to the Boston Massacre.

In 1770 Quincy was asked to defend the British soldiers who had participated in the massacre, and most particularly, a Captain Preston, who was in command. Although Quincy had long been opposed to British rule and certainly to British tyranny, and although the people were crazed with hate for the British atrocities, Quincy decided to accept the defense along with John Adams. Quincy was made the brunt of a violent, brutal and salacious attack by the public.

As a result, Quincy's father, Josiah Quincy by name, wrote to his son on March 22, 1770 (p. 26 of the MEMOIR). Part of this letter follows:

"My dear son,

I am under great affliction at hearing the bitterest reproaches uttered against you, for becoming an advocate for those criminals who are charged with the murder of their fellow citizens. Good God! Is it possible? I

will not believe it . . .

I must own to you that it has filled the bosom of your aged and infirm parent with anxiety and distress, lest it should not only prove true, but destructive of your reputation and interest; and I repeat, I will not believe it, unless it be confirmed by your own mouth, or under your own hand.

Your anxious and
distressed parent,

Josiah Quincy"

Josiah Quincy, Junior, replied to his father in the classic letter which follows (p. 27 of the MEMOIR):

"Honoured Sir:

I have little leisure, and less inclination, either to know or to take notice of those ignorant slanderers who have dared to utter their 'bitter reproaches' in your hearing against me, for having become an advocate for criminals charged with murder. But the sting of reproach, when envenomed only by envy and falsehood, will never prove mortal. Before pouring their reproaches into the ear of the aged and infirm, if they had been friends, they would have surely spared a little reflection on the nature of an attorney's oath and duties; - some trifling scrutiny into the business and discharge of his office, and some small portion of patience in viewing my past and future conduct.

Let such be told, Sir, that these criminals, charged with murder are not yet legally proved guilty, and therefore, however criminal, are entitled, by the laws of God and Man, to all legal counsel and aid; that my duty as a man obliged me to undertake; that my duty as a lawyer strengthened the obligation; that from abundant caution, I at first declined being engaged; that after the best advice, and most mature deliberation had determined my judgment, I waited on Captain Preston and told

him that I would afford him my assistance; but, prior to this, in presence of two of his friends I made the most explicit declaration to him of my real opinion on the contests (as I expressed it to him) of the times, and that my heart and hand were indissolubly attached to the cause of my country; and finally that I refused all engagement, until advised and urged to undertake it, by an Adams, a Hancock, a Molineux, a Cushing, a Henshaw, a Pemberton, a Warren, a Cooper and a Phillips. This and much more might be told with great truth; and I dare affirm that you and this whole people will one day REJOICE that I became an advocate for the aforesaid 'criminals' charged with the murder of our fellow-citizens.

I never harboured the expectation nor any great desire that all men should speak well of me. To inquire my duty, and to do it, is my aim. Being mortal, I am subject to error; and, conscious of this, I wish to be diffident. Being a rational creature, I judge for myself according to the light afforded me. When a plan of conduct is formed with an honest deliberation, neither murmuring, slander, nor reproaches move. For my single self, I consider, judge, and with reason hope to be immutable.

There are honest men in all sects, - I wish their approbation; - there are wicked bigots in all parties, - I abhor them.

I am, truly and affectionately, your Son,

Josiah Quincy, Jr."

Quincy tried the case along with John Adams in October of 1770. The defendants were acquitted. Adams, writing in 1822, had this to say about the public reaction to his and Quincy's representation:

"At the present day it is impossible to realize the excitement of the populace, and the abuse heaped upon Mr. Quincy and myself for our defense of the British Captain and his soldiers; we heard our names execrated in the most opprobrious terms whenever we appeared in the streets of Boston."

M. L. E.
Aug. 1958

Ernst, Morris.

August 28, 1958

Dear Morris:

Many thanks for your letter of August 6th.

I shall be back in the shop on September 8th and hope we can discuss matters shortly thereafter.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

fc

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR
JOHN A. WIENER
CHARLES E. HEMING

CASSRELL GREENBERG
ALAN L. ROSENBLUM
PLATT V. KETCHAM
JULIA PERLES
FREDERIC S. NATHAN
BARRY LEE COHEN
RICHARD M. ADER
MARY MOERS WENIG
NANCY F. WECHSLER
MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
ALAN U. SCHWARTZ

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

August 6, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I miss you. I saw Bob Kintner. His immediate reaction to our show was that Ed Stanley would get in touch with me and what seemed to me to be significant was his reaction "This is a dish of Charlie Van Doren".

When you get back, see me because conversation went further than the show and as you can imagine, went in the direction of a "property" called Edward R. Murrow.

Best to you and Janet and do remind me that I must talk to you about the handling of Casey's interest in the event that NBC buys the property.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:eab

Mr. Murrow: Please note:-

Mr. Ernst had to leave the office rather hurriedly and since he is not expected back for a few days, I've taken the liberty of signing the letter for him.

EAB, Secretary.

Ernst, Morris

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

August 21, 1958

Call on

Dear Ed:

Bob Kintner telephoned me. The first reaction was that my teacher program was too close to their Wisdom program. On this I would have no judgment even if I saw it. His next reaction was that the interviews would have to be made on film because of the reluctance of people to take a chance on being interviewed live.

Do give me a ring when you get back and have a breathing space. I want only a few beats of your breath because my entire conversation with Bob has been shifted to something that affects you personally. Be sure not to speak to Bob until you have spoken to me.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Ernst Morris

June 19, 1958

Dear Bob:

This is slightly unorthodox, but orthodoxy is the curse of the drinking man.

My friend, Morris Ernst has an idea for a TV program that would, I think, create favorable talk and be an ornament to any network that carried it. I have caused it to be considered by my superiors here and they have rejected it. I think they were mistaken.

Would you or someone in your shop be willing to talk with Ernst about it?

As ever yours,

Mr. Robert Kintner
National Broadcasting Company
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

mcc

cc: Morris Ernst

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

June 13, 1958

Dear Ed:

If, as and when you ever write a letter to Mr. S. in regard to Teachers, do let me know.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

Ufc
Ernst

Wire see

June 16, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My partner, Morris L. Ernst, and I have been going over various possibilities in connection with the handling of a very valuable television property. It occurred to Morris that you might be interested in hearing about this property and, in any event, he and I should be most grateful for whatever suggestions you may have in connection with it. I wondered whether there was a possibility that you could spare a few moments from your very busy schedule during which I might come up and talk to you about what we have in mind.

Morris sends his warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Harriet F. Pilpel

Harriet F. Pilpel

elr

Wed 25 June.
3:00

Ernst

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

June 2, 1958

Dear Kay:

Because of CBS' interest in the Galindez case, thought you might like to show Ed an advance set of proofs of the blast LIFE will feature this week on Ernst's report on Galindez. The attached release might be helpful.

Bestest,

Shirley

Shirley Potash Clurman

P.S. This issue of LIFE (June 9) will not go on sale until Wednesday.

S.

Galindez
Ernst

NEWS *from* LIFE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, N. Y. 20, N. Y.
JUDSON 6-1212

FOR RELEASE

6 p.m. Sunday, June 1, 1958

"LIFE" DENIES ERNST REPORT DISPROVES ITS THEORY OF GALINDEZ DISAPPEARANCE; DARES DOMINICANS TO SUE FOR LIBEL

NEW YORK, June 1 -- The report by lawyers Morris Ernst and William Munson, released today, has contributed nothing substantial to refute the theory, reported in the February 25, 1957 issue of LIFE Magazine, that Dr. Jesus de Galindez was kidnapped by agents of Dominican Dictator Trujillo and was flown from Long Island to the Dominican Republic, via Florida, by Gerald Murphy, a free-lance American flyer. According to this week's issue of LIFE Magazine, the Ernst-Munson investigation does not alter the record as to Murphy's flight or explain away the coincidence of the Galindez disappearance on the same night that Murphy, after weeks of preparation and after working with a convicted agent of the Dominican Republic, headed on a long flight southward.

The magazine notes that the Ernst-Munson paper attempts to retrace LIFE's investigation. "It delves into every step minutely, but the result never disproves LIFE's story. In many ways it substantiates it." LIFE says that if the allegations of its theory were unjust "as hinted and not proved by the Ernst report," Espaillat and Trujillo are welcome to come to the U.S. and sue for libel.

In support of its position the magazine quotes Congressman Charles O. Porter of Oregon, a prime mover behind the Washington investigation into the Murphy-Galindez case: "The report changes nothing basic in the known record of Murphy's part in the Galindez disappearance. The United States Government -- the Department of Justice, the Department of State and other agencies -- know these basic facts. And the Dominican Espaillat, for whom Ernst is trying to provide an alibi, is so deeply

involved in these basics that he is afraid to come to the U.S. and testify or cooperate -- even though he has been asked twice formally and many times informally by this government."

LIFE observes that the Ernst-Munson report was prepared at vast expense over many months with "its main purpose" to refute LIFE's 1957 story -- the first to link the Galindez disappearance with the disappearance and death of U.S. pilot Gerald Murphy.

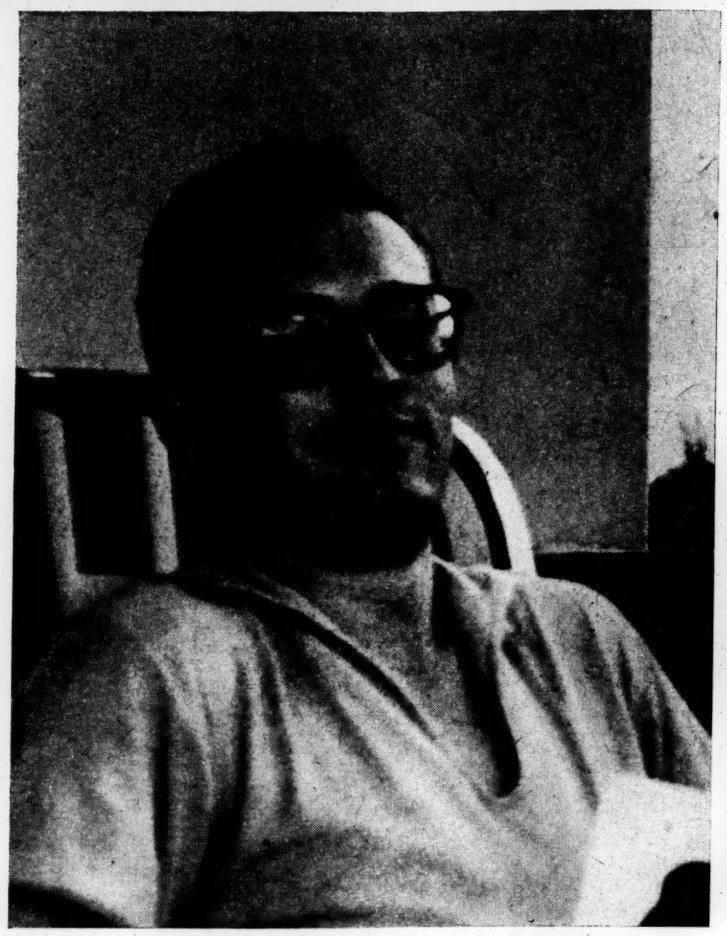
The basic point in the Ernst-Munson claim, according to the magazine, hinges on timing. They say that the gas capacity of Murphy's plane, cruising speed and available time made it improbable that the trip to the Dominican Republic could be made within the known timetable. LIFE, using the same statistics, holds that the flight would have been possible.

Since publication of its original story, the magazine also says, new facts have turned up supporting their theory of the Galindez disappearance. The man who accepted $800 from Murphy for the rental of the airplane said that Murphy wanted the receipt made out in the name of "John Kane", an alias for John Frank. The grand jury investigating the Galindez case later indicted Frank for failing to register as an agent of the Dominican Republic. He has since been convicted on this charge.

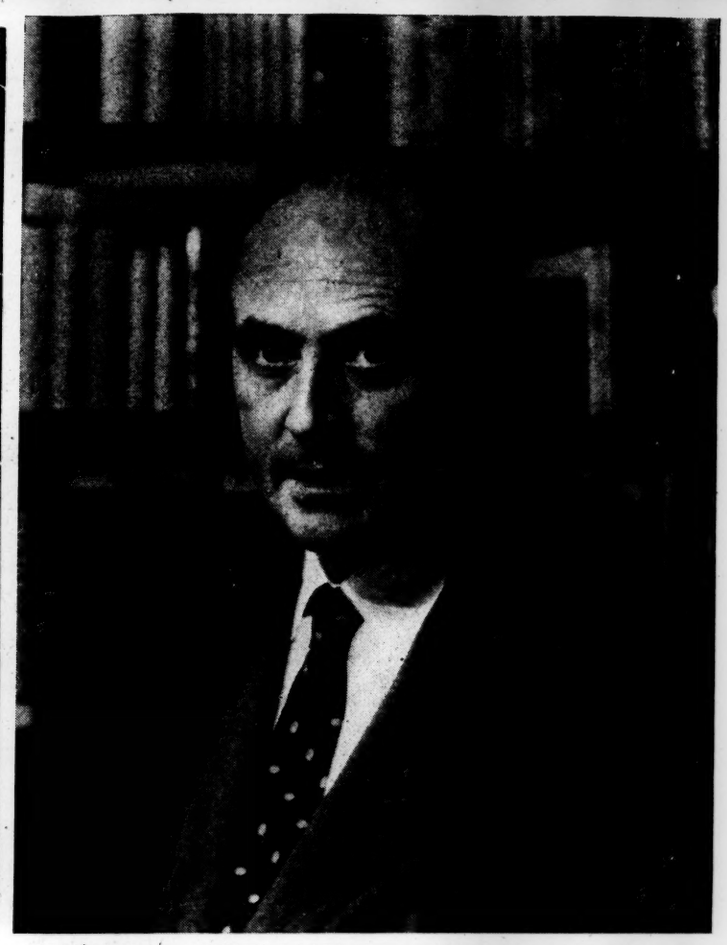
A young man named Harold French, a friend of Murphy's, has said that it was he who installed the extra gas tanks in Murphy's plane. He said that one of the men present at the airport when the plane was rented was Espaillat. The Ernst-Munson report says that the records fail to show that Espaillat was in the U.S. during that period. Now in the Dominican Republic, Espaillat has refused to come to this country and testify.

# # #

Hud Stoddard
JUdson 6-1212



THE MISSING GERRY MURPHY BASKED IN DOMINICAN SUNSHINE



THE MISSING GALINDEZ POSED FOR ONE OF HIS LAST PICTURES

COSTLY WHITEWASH OF BLACK CHARGES

After 10 months Lawyer Ernst criticizes LIFE on Galíndez but the big question remains unanswered

THIS is a story that will never really end—in spite of a pretentious document released to the press this week. The paper was prepared at vast expense (well over $100,000), and over many months, with its main purpose to refute a story that appeared, more than a year ago, in LIFE.

The story is one of the officially unsolved disappearance of a frightened, bitter man, Jesús María de Galíndez, and the presumed death of a young American flyer named Gerald Lester Murphy in shark-filled Caribbean waters in the year 1956. The document that now brings it back into the news again is a sort of rambling white paper, 95 pages long with 176 pages of exhibits. It was prepared under the aegis of Lawyer Morris Ernst. A well-known liberal, Ernst was hired last July by Dominican Dictator Rafael Trujillo (through New York publicist Sydney Baron) to investigate press charges that the Dominican government had something to do with Galíndez' disappearance. His paper, entitled "Report and Opinion in the Matter of Galíndez," is not an official document—the Galíndez-Murphy case is still under grand jury investigation. It is the record of a 10-month-long examination by Ernst and his staff of the evidence on which the charges were based, and it turned out to be an obvious attempt to get Trujillo off the hook.

Galíndez, a leader of the Basque government in exile, a teacher at Columbia University and a bitter foe of Trujillo, disappeared mysteriously after one of his classes on the night of March 12, 1956. Knowing his fear of Trujillo's agents in New York, his friends cried foul play. The police investigated but found no answer. Stories began to circulate. It was widely suggested for a while that his body had been stuffed into the flaming boilers of a Dominican ship then tied up in New York harbor.

The first big break in the case came almost a year later when LIFE, after a thorough investigation of its own, published the Galíndez story. As LIFE reconstructed the story in its issue of Feb. 25, 1957, Galíndez was kidnaped shortly after leaving a class at 9:30 p.m., probably at the entrance to a New York subway station. He was put into an ambulance and driven to Amityville, Long Island. There he was placed in a twin-engined Beechcraft airplane N68100, fitted with extra gas tanks. From Amityville he was flown to Miami's Tamiami Airport. The plane arrived too early to gas and flew to Lantana Airport near West Palm Beach, gassed up ($95 plus a $15 tip) and flew to the Dominican Republic.

LIFE's story had another side to it. The pilot of the plane was Gerald Lester Murphy, a young man with bad eyesight who would do almost anything to fly. Murphy had done all he could to get an airlines job, but had wound up flying for Tom Guthrie's air taxi service at Miami. In Miami he met Arturo Espaillat, the Dominican Republic's New York consul general (who was to emerge as a shadowy figure in the case). Soon Murphy told Guthrie he had a better job. He went to Linden, N.J. and rented a twin-engine Beechcraft for a month—for $800 cash. In the middle of March, Murphy was back at Guthrie's with his Beech and a lot of money. He bought a convertible—and he talked. He said he had flown a wealthy invalid to Tampa and that a charter flight passenger had fixed him up with a flying job in the Dominican Republic's national airline. He went to Ciudad Trujillo and flew for several months, writing home about all the money he was making. He wrote he was coming home. Then in December he put an ad in a Dominican paper offering his household goods for sale. Next day his car was found, deserted, near a cliff by a bay. A Dominican pilot who had flown with him, Octavio de la Maza, was charged with Murphy's murder, denied everything to the police, then admitted the murder in a suicide note and hanged himself in his cell. That was the end of Murphy, and—as far as the public knows—of Galíndez too. It seemed to be the end of the trail. These were some of the facts that LIFE, with its best resources, had gathered a year ago last February.

Now, 15 months later, the Ernst report has attempted to retrace LIFE's investigation—minute by minute, mile by mile. It delves into every step minutely, but the results never disprove LIFE's story. In many ways, the paper substantiates it. The report does not admit that Galíndez was in Murphy's plane. It clings to the fact that the New York police still list Galíndez as missing, rather than as a victim of foul play. It does not agree that Murphy even flew to the Dominican Republic. Instead it comes to the conclusion that he probably flew to Cuba where, the report implies, he was engaged in some unnamed illegal activity.

The basic point: timing

THE basic point in the Ernst report's conclusion hinges on timing. His claim: the N68100's gas capacity, cruising speed and the time available made it improbable for the plane to have made the trip to the Dominican Republic within the established timetable. To fit both Ernst's and LIFE's timetable, Murphy could only have made his Dominican flight on March 13. LIFE said that Murphy went first to Tamiami, then Lantana, then left the United States. Ernst says that the airport records were in error, and that Murphy went first to Lantana, took off about 8 a.m. and landed at Tamiami at 3 that afternoon. Thus, if he flew to Montecristi field in the Dominican Republic (as later reports indicate), Murphy would have had about seven hours for a round trip that takes seven hours flying, allowing no time at all for landing, unloading or refueling.

Thus, Ernst's 3 o'clock landing time became a critical factor. If Murphy had landed at 5 instead of 3, says Ernst, "it would have been possible, but extremely improbable, for him to have made the trip." But last Saturday night, Ernst's own source, Sidney Stein, co-owner of Blue Star Aviation Corporation at Tamiami Airport, told LIFE: "I realize that I made an error, that Murphy had come in at 4:30 or 5:00 p.m." Hence, even if Murphy did not take off until 8—even if, as Ernst says, he went to Lantana first—the flight would still have been "possible."

CONTINUED

Elephants remember in June as December!

Give Dad Dutch Masters–The Fine Cigar–On June 15!

Gift-wrapped packages for as little as $3.

Copyright 1958, Consolidated Cigar Sales Company, Inc.

Whitewash CONTINUED

Ernst found "not a scintilla of evidence" to connect Galíndez with Murphy and N68100. But LIFE's story has been supported since its publication by new facts and coincidences. The man who accepted Murphy's $800 for the rental of N68100 said that Murphy wanted the receipt made out to one John Kane (an alias for John Joseph Frank). On May 13, 1957 the grand jury investigating Galíndez disappearance indicted Frank for failure to register as a Dominican agent. He was convicted Dec. 9. At the Frank trial a young man named Harold French, a friend of Murphy's, testified that it was he who helped Murphy ready his plane for flight. He said that one of the men he met with Murphy at Linden airport where the plane was rented was the everpresent Espaillat. The Ernst report says that records fail to show that Espaillat was in the U.S. during that period. Now safe in the Dominican Republic, Espaillat has refused to come to the U.S. and testify.

Harold French told LIFE that he helped Murphy put extra gas tanks in the plane and that Murphy had talked about a mysterious flight. "Gerry laid out some charts on his bed at Rahway Motel Tourist Village, folding them so they fit together. 'Here's one of the trips I might make,' he said. 'I will be taking somebody from Miami to the Dominican Republic. Let's see how it would look on the chart.'

"We studied the charts for two hours. Gerry said the flight would end at a specific airport on the Dominican north coast, Montecristi."

The report characterized Gerry Murphy as an irresponsible young braggart who lived on sporadic payments from unknown sources, Galíndez as a cynic who raised funds for the Basque cause; and implied skulduggery. The report sloughs over stories of the kidnaping told by Murphy to Sally Caire, then his fiancée, now married and living in Kansas. Her account was one of the strongest links between the young pilot and Galíndez.

Thus, as facts pile up, the arguments go on. Ernst has not explained the key coincidence. A foe of Trujillo disappears in New York at 9:30 p.m. At just about the time he would have arrived at Amityville, a young American pilot, after weeks of involved preparation, after working with a now convicted agent of the Dominican government, suddenly takes off on a long, midnight flight—to points south.

This week, when the Ernst report was released, Congressman Charles O. Porter of Eugene, Ore., Murphy's home town, who was a prime mover behind the Washington investigation into the Murphy-Galíndez case, said, "The report changes nothing basic in the known record of Murphy's part in the Galíndez disappearance. The United States government—the Department of Justice, the Department of State and other agencies—know these basic facts. And the Dominican Espaillat, for whom Ernst is trying to provide an alibi, is so deeply involved in these basics that he is afraid to come to the U.S. and testify or cooperate—even though he has been asked twice formally and many times informally by this government."

Recently Morris Ernst wrote a letter to Sydney Baron. In it Ernst pointed out that, although "much of the press, radio and television made statements which were libelous vis-à-vis the Dominican Republic," it was impossible, according to his interpretation of U.S. libel laws, for a foreign government to sue. This, however, does not apply to private persons such as Espaillat or even Trujillo himself. If Espaillat and Trujillo believe the allegations are unjust—as hinted and not proved by the Ernst report—they can come to the U.S., and under the laws sue various TV, radio and press groups, including LIFE, for libel. It's up to them.

"MY FRIEND" was the way Gerry Murphy described Dominican diplomat Espaillat in this magazine photograph which he mailed home to his parents.

Ernst

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

May 2, 1958

Dear Ed:

Enclosed find copy of my letter to Irving Gitlin and a letter from him that crossed mine.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Encs

May 1, 1958

My dear Irving:

I desperately want an early decision on the teacher program. Although I am not in the business of getting sponsors even for something that will be both entertaining and helpful to the culture of our Republic, I met great enthusiasim from presidents of big American companies. Do shake up your boys and let me have a decision.

If you want further exploration as to subtleties that may not have been adequately set forth by me, don't hesitate to give me a ring and I will run up to your shop to see you.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P.S. 1. I was hoping to get you back to the next dinner party with my Catholic friends but the books have to be closed because of the modest space in which we live.

P.S. 2. Anyway, why not let's have a snifter some afternoon. Or don't you ever get time to relax.

Mr. Irving Gitlin
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York • Plaza 1-2345

IRVING GITLIN
Director of Public Affairs

May 1, 1958

Dear Morris:

That was an enjoyable evening I spent at your house last week. Many thanks for inviting me.

Ed Murrow and I are still trying to get together to discuss your interview program. I expect Ed will clear his schedule sometime this week so that we can give the area some thought.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

IG/pe

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, NY

Ernst.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

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P. S. 2. Anyway, why not let's have a snifter some afternoon. Or don't you ever get time to relax.

Mr. Irving Gitlin
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Ernst, Morris

April 22, 1958

Dear Morris:

I will try to stir up the animals on the teacher program this week and look forward to seeing you on May 6th.

As ever,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

fc

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

April 18, 1958

Burn Before Reading

Personal

My dear Ed:

Irving Gitlin may have told you a little about the dinner last night. I am getting up a new one on May 6th having ambushed you.

Gitlin told me that my "teacher" program was going the rounds and they would give me a hearing before it was thrown out.

Remind me to mention a puzzling statement he made about you and his general attitude about you in relation to the Galindez program.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Deliver

Will you get a hearing on Teacher program before its rejected? Even Adam had due process before he was thrown out of the Garden of Eden (not to be confused with CBS.!)

M.

Ernst, Morris
Rec.
Answered by phone

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

March 28, 1958

My dear Ed:

I wonder if you could join us for dinner at 7:30 on the evening of April 17th.

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of Harold Gardner's book "Catholic Viewpoint on Censorship". I reviewed this volume for the Saturday Review and concluded that this was the most important book on censorship over the last decades, not that I agree even in the main with the author's positions but because I am persuaded that he is a man of goodwill and he has opened up new pipelines of communication in our culture. I have been disturbed, as you know, because of what I felt was an increasing amount of anti-Catholic bigotry in our culture. I thought we might run a series of informal dinner parties with people who can differ with goodwill.

Let me know soon if you cannot come to this informal party. This, so that I can invite someone in your place since we want to keep the group small. This is the first party and I have invited:

Gordon Wasson
Ernest Angell
George N. Shuster
John J. Delaney
Harold C. Gardner, S. J.
John Cogley, of the Fund for the Republic
James McGurrin

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Ernst

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

March 17, 1958

Dear Ed:

I am back and ready and willing. Between us we should be able. Note the enclosed sample of the hundreds of items which I have run across during the last two weeks dealing with prestige of teachers.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Enc

EILEEN DARBY/GRAPHIC HOUSE

It's important to teach a child to read, says Miss Jean Listebarger, but it's more important to make him want to read

McCALL'S TEACHER OF THE YEAR

Parents of children in Miss Jean Listebarger's second grade at the Edwards School in Ames, Iowa, are never at a loss to know what goes on in class. Several times a year, at evening meetings with mothers and fathers, she explains her program — and at the same time gives them the opportunity to ask questions about the school's philosophy and methods.

Miss Listebarger, McCall's National Teacher of the Year for 1958, employs other interesting techniques. For example, she teaches Spanish to the twenty-seven members of her class. She works closely with each child's family to help develop special talents. In the same classroom she is able to challenge her superior students with more assignments while she is encouraging and working overtime with those who are more backward — often with startlingly successful results. Never in her second grade are there "forgotten" children.

Each of the meetings with parents is devoted to a different phase of the second-grade program. Generally, the first is devoted to language arts, and Miss Listebarger says, "I try to help parents understand that children grow and develop at different rates, that reading is more than merely word calling. Parents who are tense about a child's reading ability begin to relax when they hear about our second-grade phonics program."

At a second meeting parents actually participate in a number game played by their children. This time they are *(Continued on page 60)*

"Timely and Important..."

DR. MILTON J. E. SENN

It is timely and important that McCall's is honoring an elementary-school teacher as National Teacher of the Year.

Timely because since Sputnik there has been much talk about the deficiencies of our educational system and the need to improve it at high-school and college levels, especially in the teaching of science.

It is important because the significance of elementary-school education has been little emphasized in these days of American self-examination. Education in the early years sets the stage for later learning or lack of learning.

Children of primary-grade age, and even before, have an abundance of curiosity, a drive to investigate everything, to question and to criticize. They even want direction and discipline. Their powers of perception match those of the adult scientist. They lack only his mature self-discipline and ability to plan his research in an orderly manner and to appraise results in terms of relatedness to other knowledge.

In other words, the young child is motivated naturally to learn and to be taught, has the emotional and intellectual potentials for developing qualities of independence and critical thinking which we want our citizens to have. If by high-school age children become passive and conforming, the fault lies in those of us who as parents and educators have been blind to our opportunities for keeping interest in learning alive, and have misjudged the importance of our role in rearing and educating young children.

McCall's Teacher of the Year

Continued from page 58

shown the value of developing number concepts and understandings as a basis for more abstract number thinking. At a third meeting Miss Listebarger suggests solutions to such complex problems as comic books, regulation of television viewing, the amount of responsibility a second grader should be able to accept at home.

Again and again she has found that mothers and fathers become more patient about their child's progress as a result of these meetings. Parents and teacher learn to become co-workers in enriching the lives of their seven-year-olds.

Each parent is furnished a booklet —written and typed by Miss Listebarger and decorated by the children—describing characteristics unique among second graders, outlining her program of studies, her goals and the ways in which she plans to achieve them.

The booklet underlines Miss Listebarger's ruling conviction: Children will read if they learn to *want* to read. Second grade, she points out, is the critical time in reading—this is when a child decides whether it is fun or a bore. Clues are listed for parents to watch in evaluating a youngster's growing skill.

The second-grade arithmetic program calls for understanding numbers up to two hundred and a concept of hundreds, tens and ones; addition with sums of ten or less; subtraction of combinations with an answer of ten or less; the initial use of fractions; measurements of time and money, weights and lengths. Her class, she says, does simple story problems involving addition and subtraction, and often masters numbers through games.

In her language program Miss Listebarger wants her pupils to become adept at reporting facts that add to the information of the group, and to develop good listening habits as well.

After a trip to the fire station or the post office the boys and girls write their reactions—and in the process improve their spelling and their sentence structure. As the year goes on some of the second graders will begin to organize their thinking into paragraphs concerned with one central thought. The last fire-station trip, incidentally, also inspired two murals made by six boys and girls, who were thus provided an opportunity to express themselves and also to plan and work together. New words too—such as ax, ladder, boots, siren, helmet—were adapted from the trip to the spelling lesson.

Miss Listebarger makes periodic walks through the woods a normal part of the curriculum. For days afterward the boys and girls study the specimens they bring back, review the trip in prepared talks, make drawings that tell the story of what they have seen, and even write accounts of something unusual that might have happened or been observed.

Great stress is placed on science, for as Miss Listebarger explains to the parents, it is natural for young children to be inquisitive. Everything in their world is new and fresh and wonderful, and therefore at their age they are most receptive to the facts of science. Her children begin building an orderly understanding of the world around them: how seeds are distributed and take root, the place of water and light in our lives, the classification of animals, the relation of temperature to weather and of weather to our daily lives. Young scientists of the future have been vastly encouraged in this class.

Miss Listebarger is one of a very few elementary teachers in Iowa who teach Spanish.

"I believe that a foreign language should be taught at an early age," she says, "because during these years children are imitative and unself-conscious and can pick up languages quickly. If they learn to love a language when they are young, the chances are that they will want to continue in high school or college."

Her technique in teaching elementary Spanish is purely conversational. Spanish words are introduced through the use of pictures, objects and context, as well as through songs, games and dramatizations. These adventures in Spanish usually occur at the beginning of the school day and are considered as much a part of the day's work as spelling or arithmetic.

The pupils remember their Spanish, too. "Our fourth grader is still talking Spanish to us," says one parent. Another says, "Mary's curiosity about foreign languages apparently will not be satisfied now until she has studied them in high school and college." Several students have continued their interest after second grade by taking private Spanish lessons.

Certainly the fine school system at Ames is in part responsible for Miss Listebarger's success. The Edwards School is a source of community pride, with its roomy, airy classrooms, well equipped for today's new methods and demands. Counter space, bookcases on wheels and a woodworking bench, for example, provide space to study specimens, display collections, dramatize stories, read in small groups, paint and draw. The room is attractive, with healthy green plants, gaily bound books and exhibits of the children's own handicraft. What E. C. Aurand, the principal of Edwards, calls a "permissively controlled atmosphere" pervades this room.

A native of Fairfax, Iowa, Miss Listebarger graduated from Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa, in 1951, the year she started teaching. In addition to her schoolwork, she is actively interested in various Methodist youth movements. She is eager to earn a master's degree, and the chances are that she will soon take a year's leave of absence from teaching if she can arrange a scholarship.

It is difficult to decide whether Miss Listebarger is most popular with her second graders, their parents or the educational leaders in Ames. The parents, for example, tell about listless students who suddenly have become interested in their work, of slow learners who have adjusted, of seven-year-olds who have unexpectedly become eager readers, of youngsters who have discovered a passion for science in her class. Her pupils, the parents report, have a desire to know more about current events and people in other lands.

The children love their school and find that work there is fun. Discipline rarely seems to be a problem; it is supplanted by an understanding of how people live together, of fair play and recognition of the rules of good conduct. One former pupil recently expressed appreciation of her teacher this way: "She showed me how to earn good grades."

For their part, educators in Ames are gratified by Miss Listebarger's ability to organize her work, her faultless planning and her great skill. She has a facility, Superintendent of Schools Walter L. Hetzell points out, for improving each child in the class, for making each pupil realize that she is interested in him. "She leaves no stone unturned," he adds, "to provide lessons which will help both the superior child and the slow learner."

James F. Kee, supervisor of special education services and school psychologist in Ames, recalls the case of Sam, a markedly overstimulated and hyperactive boy. Sam's generalized confusion resulted in almost no achievement for him and near exhaustion for his teacher. "My alternatives were to drop the boy from school or locate an unusually gifted teacher for him," says Mr. Kee. "We thought of Miss Listebarger, and Sam was transferred to her classroom. She worked with him for thirteen months, during which time there was a remarkable transformation in him from chaotic confusion to relative stability.

"Miss Listebarger knows how to work not only with children like Sam but with all children. She possesses a rare insight into the emotional needs of children, and under her skillful management they acquire an unmistakable inner contentment and calmness which contribute importantly to their success in the classroom." THE END

McCall's HONOR ROLL OF TEACHERS

These teachers earned special mention in 1958 for their significant contributions to the improvement of national teaching standards:

Miss Sophia D. Chrusciel, second-grade teacher, Northeast Elementary School, Rutland, Vermont. Her radiant enthusiasm inspires seven- and eight-year-olds to want to do their best. Her superior understanding and able guidance help the "different" child to become a happy, participating member of the class.

Miss Lillye D. Harding, librarian, Gulfport High School, Gulfport, Mississippi. She makes the library a convergent area for the whole school. She compiles reference materials with wisdom, imagination and orderly method; orients students in intelligent use of library resources; and generates enthusiasm for reading and research.

Miss Helen M. Hogan, head of the social studies department, Leavenworth High School, Waterbury, Connecticut. Her teaching aims to serve students of economics and American history in terms of their vocational needs, and to engender attitudes of loyal, effective citizenship. Her wholehearted, competent leadership in professional and civic affairs points toward betterment of both school and community.

Mrs. Betty Lou Pagel, coordinator of elementary grades, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Through her intelligent curriculum planning, her demonstration teaching and her teaching workshops, she has opened new and valuable vistas in education to students, parents and her fellow teachers.

Miss Mary C. Rogers, teacher of science and mathematics, Thompson Junior High School, Newport, Rhode Island. She succeeds in keeping her science and mathematics classes up-to-date by participating each summer in scientific institutes, nuclear studies and laboratory experiments provided by education, government and industry.

Mrs. Edna Saunders Tait, mathematics teacher and student council adviser, Leon High School, Tallahassee, Florida. Her main problem in the classroom is getting students to enjoy mathematics, and she succeeds in this by turning her classes into "learning laboratories." She guides and leads the student council with immense skill.

Mr. Glenn R. Ziegler, teacher of vocational agriculture, Mount Baker High School, Deming, Washington. He has trained more outstanding farmers than any other teacher in his state, and he has the awards to prove it. Stimulating and inventive, he has instilled among his students a new sense of cooperation, leadership and community service.

Miss Dorothy E. Zimmerman, general science teacher, Roosevelt Junior High School, Salt Lake City, Utah. In 1956 she was cited as Woman of the Year in Education in Utah for her special talent in arousing scientific interest among her students. Lately she has influenced an increasing number of girls to take up science. Her classes are surprisingly well informed about atomic energy, radar, and space travel.

★ ★ ★

How we found McCall's National Teacher of the Year

Miss Listebarger was selected by McCall's from teachers nominated by state departments of education in all parts of the nation at the invitation of Dr. Lawrence G. Derthick, United States Commissioner of Education, and Dr. Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers. Representatives approved by the U. S. Office of Education and McCall's studied and observed the nominees at work over a period of several months. From their recommendations the editors selected Miss Listebarger, who earns the seventh citation in McCall's annual project honoring teachers.

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

February 28, 1958

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

New York Times carries story that Robert Frost was White House guest. You may recall my mentioning efforts to raise prestige of people of the mind by such symbols. Call me if interested in more information for what I trust will be brief comment by you on news program tonight. Be careful because Adams not Ike was host.

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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CHARLES E. HEMING

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

February 17, 1958

Dear Ed:

I am leaving for the West Coast on Monday, March 3rd. Note the additional items on my television program.

1. As a symbol, maybe the honorarium paid to the subject should be $250 or even nothing. To the teacher we ought to pay $750 or $1000. The differential validates the spirit of the program.

2. I ran into the I T & T publicity staff. They are deluged by "The Philadelphia Story". Why shouldn't we let I T & T buy the new program particularly if we pick up teachers from other cultures.

3. I sent a copy of the working papers to Hobe Lewis at Reader's Digest. I think that kind of sponsor might be interested in putting the program on film for its free distribution to schools and colleges.

4. What about my idea of working out a deal with Herbert Agar who controls one of the British sponsored television areas. They won't pay enough to work out a weekly alternate exchange but we might be able to pick up a British counterpart interview of someone well known to the American public.

I have lots more information that I have not bothered to pour on to you.

Although I have given the package to my kids, they will be happy, if it will not embarrass you, to cut in Casey so that he would have a fourth part. My only hesitance on such a proposal would arise from public embarrassment of your relations to the program and your employer. Of course it could not be done without disclosure and maybe disclosure would evaporate my hesitance.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

February 13, 1958

Dear Ed:

Enclosed find working papers for the program of which the owners will be my kids. Without any reference to a television program I have conducted another thirty interviews. I am also sending you a budget which I have prepared based on several other analogous programs, the names of which I cannot reveal.

I hope the paradoxical winter vacation will not upset you for the rest of the season. In any event, I am more sure of my idea than ever, and will keep my calendar free for you and Bill.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Encs

Average Cost of Three Comparative Half Hour Shows

Package

Accounting	$ 50.00
Misc.	300.00
Production	500.00
Writing	350.00
Afra	135.00
Material research	50.00
Office with 2 secretaries	225.00
Insurance	150.00
Interviewer	500.00
Head Man	200.00
Legal	125.00
Taxes, not income	275.00
Plus commissions of agent, if any, honorarium, misc.	1,140.00
For originator and owners in lieu of agent,	1,500.00
	5,500.00
Network charges	3,000.00 (*)
	8,500.00

(*) This includes auditing, telephone, telegraph, studio crew, director, which is minimal, office space, etc.

On the excess the packager would normally get a 50 - 50 split. There are special services at times to integrate commercials, etc. There exists the variable factors -- time of day, the frequency of performance, a definite committment for 13 weeks, number of outlets, etc. which effect total cost to sponsor.

P.S. I'd like to try it out at Morgan's with Harry Davison, Leffingwell, et al, whenever you and Bill give a green light.

February 10, 1958

Working Paper Re Interview Program

1. Source of people - Who's Who, Pulitzer prize winners, winners, Nobel prize winners, Institute of Arts & Science, etc.

2. Breaks in the news - Salk, Gavin, etc.

3. Walks of life -

Military: Rickover, Gavin
Scientist: Oppenheimer, Salk
College President: Pussy, Goheen, Clapp
Poets: Frost, Shapiro, Moore
Writers: Hemingway, Ferber, Faulkner, Cheever
Artists: Calder, O'Keefe, Shahn
Playwrights: Miller, Schary, Williams, Anderson, Hammerstein
Political: Stevenson, Ike, Nixon, Learner, Muskie, Meyner, Williams, Chase
Singers: Callas, Thebon
Musicians: Bernstein, Stein
International: UN officials as against foreign cultures - Dag Hammarskjold, Mrs. Roosevelt, Bunce
Critics: Parker, Atkinson, Kerr
Senators, etc.: Fullbright (England), Knowland, Frances Bolton
Sculptors: Zorack, Solomon
Dancers: DeMille, Balanchine, Astaire
Clergy: Graham, Sheen, Pike, King
Composers: Barber, Rodgers
Detective Stories: Gardiner, Hitchcock
Bankers: McCloy, Leffingwell, Colt, Martin
Reporters: John B. Martin, Scotty Reston
Athletes: Roger Bannister, George Gregory
Industry: Joseph, Abrams, Cordiner
Designers: Loewy, Dryfuss
Judges: Brennan, Douglas
Theatre: Hayes, Cornell, Olivier, Fonda
Directors: Stevens, Kazan
Publishers: Sulzberger, Fisher (Harpers) Harry Luce and Clare
Inventors: Sandford
Humorists: Perelman, Thurber

Requirements of Interviewer:

1. Not too glamorous - will overwhelm subject.

2. Rounded as to science, art, psychology, literature - a cultured man interested in people

3. Suggestions - Massey, Murrow, Mark VanDoren, MacLeish. Why not try out even unfamous gents?

4. Ability to explore all facets of the subject and not just the one for which he is famous.

5. Wise enough to know that the flame once sparked is fanned later in life.

6. At times have two people interview one subject.

7. Possibly have a group of interviewers to be used alternately.

8. Explore what success or fame did to the subject. Did teacher know what he was doing? Did subject thank teacher?

9. Kick-off programs: E.R.M. interview M.L.E. and visa-versa

Format:

1. No scenery and no motion, except in rare case to see a painting or a bit of sculpture of the subject.

2. Scientist could redo the first experiment.

3. No one will refuse

4. Pick up foreigners who visit here to get impact of education elsewhere.

5. Do you use a table with stiff chairs or easy chairs like Dr. Pike?

6. Possibility of use of picture of subject at age when sparked and picture if possible of teacher or even of classmates.

7. Teacher and subject together, but this is only likely if subject is under 50.

8. Spread of locations - not all culture is in big cities.

9. No deal on publishing rights until I have fulfilled my commitment to talk to Reader's Digest.

10. Put on film and use in schools in 16 mm.

11. No honorarium is needed, but if any it should be modest.

The Spark:

1. Discuss the school, the size, maybe the budget, the number in the class, the equipment, the teacher, male or female.

2. Discuss the teacher, not only as to the age but as to future effectiveness.

3. Get to specific poem, book, experiment (See Murrow re Marcus Aurelius, Marglo Gilmore re Proust, Billy Graham re priest).

4. What happened to teacher and subject's relation to teacher. (See MLE re Ted Lewis and Ed Williams re inaugeration story).

5. Did subject thank teacher? If not, why not, and if so, under what circumstances? (See story of Taylor whose sparker, Alexander, worked for Taylor later because he did not want Taylor to fail in Germany).

6. Were other pupils affected?

7. Surprise as to name of subject is a possibility.

8. Teachers may be inarticulate, but this can be capitalized on. The spark comes often from those who are not orators.

9. Did subject do anything to further education.

10. Public schools vs. private schools as sources of inspiration.

11. Assessment of methods, 20 - 30 years ago - changes, if any, since.

Things to Look for in Relation to the Spark:

1. Size of family and where the subject lived and age when it struck.

2. Income status - hungry, poor or rich.

3. Parents, sisters, brothers, older or younger.

4. Athletics and hobbies. Relationship to other children and loneliness.

5. Timid or brash, secure or insecure then and now - major insecurity.

6. Relation at the time to other sex, to fantasy reading, to fiction and nonfiction, to detective story reading - See Woodrow Wilson.

7. Early dreams - policeman, fireman, nurse.

8. Movie influence - paper, magazines.

9. Prior reading or knowledge in field of spark.

10. Intra-class competition at the time - average subject in a bright class or stood-out in an average one.

11. See records kept by school at time - see Charles Van Doren records at C & C school!

Subtle Results of Spark to be Sought:

1. Creation of curiosity.
2. Open new vistas.
3. Goal of perfection.
4. Value of work habits.
5. Personal satisfaction as compared to societal admiration.
6. Motive of public good as compared to getting the answer to a problem.
7. Relation of spark in later years to adjustment to family and society.

Undisclosed but "liminal" purpose - to give teachers and men of the mind a prestige category just below the high prestige of Jayne Mansfield's breasts -- wherever that may be! The secret weapon is to get respect for education and hence better schools -- desireable even if there were no SPUTNIK or Russia.

Ernst P

January 8, 1958.

Dear Morris:

Thanks for the kind words about the Marian Anderson show.

My superiors tell me they have written Baron saying the proposed show is off. I am both disappointed and embarrassed, but the matter was and is out of my hands.

All the best.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

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JULIA PERLES
FREDERIC S. NATHAN
BARRY LEE COHEN
RICHARD M. ADER
BARRY H. SINGER
NANCY F. WECHSLER
MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
JOSEPH STEIN

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

January 2, 1958

Dear Ed:

The Marian Anderson show was as good as you said it would be. As to your Round Up, only one person mentioned that dirty word -- Dulles. It is about time you put somebody into Central and South America. It is only a matter of a few years before the communists will capture one of those illiterate nations, at which time our people will be more panicky than they were over Syria.

I am going down to the Dominican Republic in a week. Will you or your Giant be able to call Baron before that time. Please.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Ernst P.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

December 27, 1957

Dear Ed:

Enclosed find copy of letter from Harry Davison. This, just to let you know that I did not set up the luncheon at Morgan's as a one-shotter even though it was fun. Out of your 24 hours each day if you would only let me have 27 or 28 hours, I am sure we could really make a dent on the fundamentals of the television - radio problems. As soon as I hear further from Morgan's I will let you know.

Baron never did hear from your friend upstairs. Does this mean they are letting you down? Don't hesitate to let me know if you have changed your mind or if the pressure is too hot on you.

Happy New Year.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Enc

23 Wall Street
New York 8

H. P. DAVISON

December 23, 1957

Dear Morris:

Thanks for your note and the clipping. It so happens that that was the first Steel Hour I had tuned in on for some time. Frankly, I cannot quarrel with Jack Gould's comments. It was pretty awful.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Ernst P.

P.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

December 20, 1957

Dear Ed:

In connection with our next move at Morgan's, I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter received from Russell Leffingwell. The last paragraph refers to my concern over industrial unionism and its potential of reducing differentials in pay and prestige between the skilled and the unskilled. (x)

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Enc

(x) Which is none of your business!!

23 Wall Street
New York 8

R. C. LEFFINGWELL

December 18, 1957

Dear Morris:

Thanks so much for your good letter and for bringing Mr. Murrow down here. We were privileged to meet him and have luncheon with him. I did thoroughly enjoy the visit. I will pass on your letter to Harry and see what he thinks about it.

I agree with you about the egalitarian methods of the unions. Of course it is the unskilled who have the most votes and to whom the leaders therefore cater. Our system of taxation is similarly a egalitarian and operates to the discouragement of effort in professional, educational and other fields. Again those who have the most votes are the favorites of legislation.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year.

Yours ever

Morris L. Ernst, Esq.
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Ed

November 25, 1957

My dear Russell:

Edward Murrow and I will be down at your shop at 12:45 on December 5th. With our comparatively lagging educational attitudes, I should think that money alone can do little unless prestige values for the mind be created in the mores of our people. Ed owns one of the most important pipelines to the people of our nation. I hope he will be willing to be frank enough to tell you the competition, in prestige terms, between scholarship and Things of the spirit as compared to symbols such as the G-man gun and portions of the bodies of Hollywood glamour girls.

If you have one or two other associates in addition to Henry in the small room, I would suggest that the conversation would flow better than at the big table. Ed's talks with me led me to believe that in part a shift of prestige for scholarship may well have to seep down from the top of our culture -- as what doesn't and shouldn't -- and rightly or wrongly, I believe that you and your confreres are the top.

Don't scold me.

Yours,

Mr. Russell C. Leffingwell
23 Wall Street
New York 8, N. Y.

Upcoming

23 Wall Street
New York 8

R.C. LEFFINGWELL

November 22, 1957

Dec. 5
12:45

Dear Morris:

I received your letter of the 20th. Henry and I would be delighted to have you bring in Mr. Murrow if you care to come to lunch here. How would Thursday, December 5th or Friday, December 6th do? If neither, then someday the following week.

I am not sure from your letter whether you would prefer the big room or any small one, say which.

Yours ever,

Russel

Morris L. Ernst, Esq.
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Ed - this means full Board ~~of Directors~~ or all officers about 20. Please advise soon
M. L. E.

November 21, 1957

My dear Ed:

Alan Schwartz and I had lunch with Arthur Morse and this is a fan letter about him. I don't know if we helped him but I found him a thoughtful and perceptive person, no resemblance to the man who developed another program of yours, whom I have also met.

I trust you don't object to having outside appraisals of staff members as I may meet. I have no objection to your telling Morse my evaluation in case his insecurity might welcome such a minor boost.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

From the Desk of DATE November 20, 1957

Morris L. Ernst

To Mr. Edward R. Murrow:

Just to help you remember:

1. You will get in touch with Baron.

2. I will follow up with Morse in regard to the jury program.

3. I have written to Morgan's about a possible date which indirectly concerns Marian Anderson.

4. You will let me hear from you after you have seen McMullin.

5. Janet should telephone Margaret about George School.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-8432-3.

November 13, 1957

My dear Ed:

Remember me? The name is Ernst. I had been under the slight impression that I have been of some aid to you, and even at your beck and call when you wanted me. Tell me if the love affair is over with and just why it died.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Ernst, Morris

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR.

CASSRELL GREENBERG
ALAN L. ROSENBLUM
PLATT V. KETCHAM
JOHN A. WIENER
CHARLES E. HEMING
JULIA PERLES
FREDERIC S. NATHAN
BARRY LEE COHEN
RICHARD M. ADER
BARRY H. SINGER
NANCY F. WECHSLER
MORTON DAVID GOLDBERG
JOSEPH STEIN

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

November 4, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I saw the "Omnibus" program. It had nothing to do with juries. It was a real evil phony because the man was not convicted as the police had found the real culprits. This might have been a good show on the subject of the horrors of prosecutors or on the dire problems of mistaken identities of defendants.

I am sorry you couldn't see Baron. I am off to D.R. tomorrow. I can be reached at the Hotel Ambassador in case you want to talk to me further about the January show.

Best -

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

November 4, 1957

My dear Ed:

I ran into Aldous Huxley. He and Dr. William S. Kiskadden are working on a possible television show which deals with the race between population and food. They have in mind a treatment that does not run in to the position of the Catholic Church.

I suggest that you might want to drop a line to Aldous Huxley, or Dr. Kiskadden at the Hotel Shoreham and see if they would like to drop around to see you sometime. It sounded exciting to me, and safe enough for your bosses.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST

Ernst

November 1, 1957

Dear Al:

I have been keeping at Ed Murrow. He has been sick. I don't think he is trying to duck me. I would love to sit with you and Ed to explore the network concept which you are working on and which intrigues me.

I will be out of the country until November 10th. I am sending a copy of this letter to Ed. Miss Gross will have authority to set up an evening date for dinner any time agreeable to Ed, and I assume both you and I will adjust to his rat race calendar.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Alfred Stanford
117 Broad Street
Milford, Conn.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Dear Ed:

1. Are you seeing Baron before he leaves on Tuesday? Please!

2. Let me know when you are ready on the jury - television show.

3. Evidence piles up to indicate the mischief done by your Galindez programs -- disregard of facts.

MLE

October 28, 1957

Dear Ed:

I learned that Wide, Wide World is going to have a big show on the American judiciary - it may be "jury" system. Have someone watch it and I can now guarantee that what they do would only be a teaser for the show I discussed with you. You can certainly do better than Welch in terms of imagination.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Notes on TV show dealing with Jury System

1. There are two systems. In [illegible] cannot pick a jury where some juror is not related to a witness, a party or a lawyer -- in the big cities, if a juror has heard of the case he is apt to be challenged.

2. There are the types of people, varying from state to state who are exempted from jury duty.

3. Stories which used to make it seem that everybody wants to get on the jury. [illegible] juries, and note that a [illegible] year.

October 24, 1957

Dear Ed:

As your fewer goes down, you might want to mull over some of the tidbit I have listed in regard to juries. I have no skill in the television field and I rather resent those who think they can tell a producer what should go in a TV show, but the enclosed are a few angles that might whet your mind.

Largest is a professional grand juror, both state and federal.

4. See differences in pay between federal and state grand juries.

5. Note Chicago scandal and controversy over bugging of juries.

6. Women on juries -- recent and probably not universal.

7. Run-away juries.

8. England abolished grand juries because there is no right of confrontation by a person about to be indicted, so people are held for trial by a preliminary hearing before a magistrate.

9. The breadth of the jury system exists merely only in Russia; and note Judge Peck's violent campaign to abolish.

10. Impanelling a jury could be shown visually with Edward Bennett Williams and Paul Williams, the District Attorney, possibly taking part.

11. In the Costello case Paul Williams admitted they had asked the Treasury to look over the tax returns of all the prospective jurors and rate them in relation to the attitude toward the government.

12. See brief memorandum about this shocking practice enclosed.

13. Secrecy of juries and wide misunderstanding as to secrecy of juries as distinguished from witnesses.

14. Note that the federal government sends the FBI out to interview every juror in cases on hung and acquittals. See Hoffa case -- note effect on jurors.

15. Indictments are now legal before federal grand juries even though all of the evidence be hearsay, and there is not a word of competent evidence before the grand jury. See opinion of Hugo Black in U.S. vs. Costello --

MRS - Ed R. Murrow -

Notes re TV show dealing with Jury System

1. There are two systems. In Nantucket you cannot get a jury where some juror is not related to a witness, a party or a lawyer -- in the big cities, if a juror has heard of the case he is apt to be challenged.

2. Take a look at the types of peopel, varying from state to state who are excused from jury duty.

3. Pick up the general trend of dollars paid to jurors, which used to make it worth while in periods of employment for people to want to get on the jury. See distinction between grand juries and petty juries, and note that a grand jury can be kept in session for more than a year.

Incidentally, Margaret is a professional grand juror, both state and federal.

4. See difference in pay between federal and state grand juries.

5. Note Chicago material and controversy over bugging of juries.

6. Women on juries -- recent and probably not universal.

7. Run-away juries.

8. England abolished grand juries because there is no right of confrontation by a person about to be indicted, so people are held for trial by a preliminary hearing before a magistrate.

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15. Indictments are now legal before federal grand juries even though all of the evidence be hearsay, and there is not a word of competent evidence before the grand jury. See opinion of Hugo Black in U.S. vs. Costello --

as a result, prosecutors now are getting indictments which seriously can injure people and frankly tell grand juries that the case cannot come to trial until they get real evidence but that an indictment based on hearsay will help because it prevents the statute of limitations from running out.

16. Terriblecomplaint of jurors in big cities hanging around waiting to be called.

17. Note that it sometimes takes weeks to get a grand jury.

18. A lot of information can be gotten from the Association of Grand Jurors.

19. Note that in some jurisdictions jurors need not act unanimously -- note juries of six; note juries of 12, with two extras in case of sickness, etc.

MLE

October 14, 1957

Memorandum for the day

Dear Ed:

Gossip has it that you are considering an interview for Person to Person with Abram Chasins. He has more than ten fingers well used on a piano. He has a deep concern with the present discrimination against creative people in our culture. This is the root of his recent book.

I write you because I sense that you are increasingly bored with the glamour puss, or pusses, whom you have to interview. This one you would enjoy.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

October 10, 1957

Dear Ed:

1. Enclosed find my law note of the day. It is interesting that no commentator so far as discussed this important issue -- the practice of the Treasury Department in the Costello case to review tax returns of all jurors.

2. When you get around to the integration program, note the enclosed letter for a December 15th celebration of the Truman Committee.

3. I have a lot of material on the changing folkway: how the Statler was opened in Washington; the Belmont and Algonquin, forty years ago, were the only hotels where I could go with my Negro friends for lunch; and why LaGuardia suppressed the report on Harlem made at his request, etc.

4. I suggest you confirm to Sydney Baron any arrangement you made for January to interview his client. I know he is under great pressure from your competitors, if any.

5. Do set aside an evening for Alfred Stanford and those twenty radio stations.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Encs (2)

TO.....

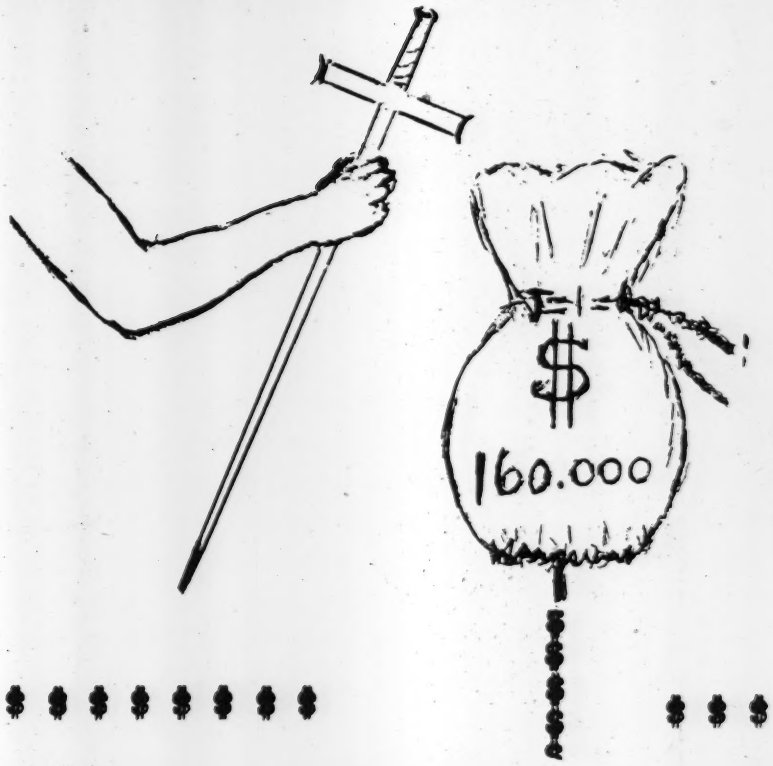
FROM.....

Ernst

This is what they were distributing out in front of Baron's office last week x E.B.

BRIEF CHAPTER IN THE GALINDEZ-MURPHY CASE

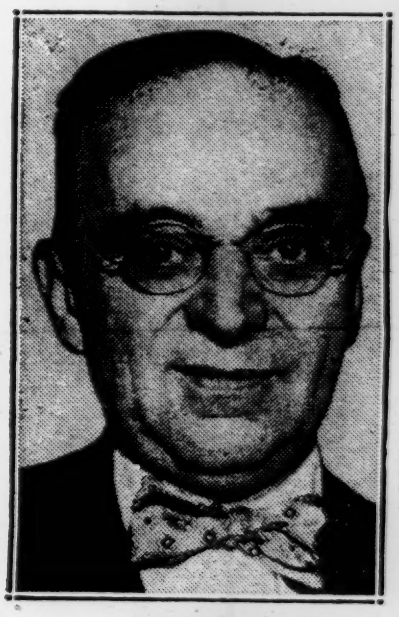
REP. PORTER



Generalissimo Trujillo

INVESTIGATOR: William H. Munson,

Sydney S. Baron



Morris Ernst
Full cooperation pledged

Dr. Jesus de Galindez
Vanished in mystery

Gerald Murphy

Ernst -

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

October 8, 1957

My dear Ed:

You said you would have an evening when we can discuss, in confidence, the proposed new radio network. I am free Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday of next week. Set any date. Al Stanford will come down any time you are free.

I have two or three other matters that I want to discuss with you.

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Also call me re Trevor Gardner who resigns on Russian - U.S. satellite —

M.L.E.

Ernst, Morris
Pers.

August 26, 1957.

Dear Morris:

The only guy who can give you access to our material on Galindez is Irving Gitlin, in our shop. I am sure he will help if he can.

I shall be back on the treadmill about the tenth of September, and hope to see you soon thereafter.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

August 14, 1957

Mr. Ed Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

My dear Ed:

You may have noted in the press that I have undertaken the chore of trying to solve the triple mystery arising out of the Galindez disappearance.

I missed your program. I have heard the recording, and I am most anxious to know whether you can make available to me those members of your research staff with whom I could discuss the vast amount of information that I have received.

I am setting up a staff, primarily composed of violent anti-Trujillos, and after two or three months hope to develop what might be termed an indictment so that I can go to the Dominican Republic and examine Trujillo, his employees and all of the records of his government which have a bearing on the situation.

I understand that you wont be back for some time, and I realize that this letter should not be sent on to you while you are getting a few more days from all your ordinary, but fortunately enjoyable, rat-race.

Give me a ring if you want further information.

Yours,

MORRIS L. ERNST

MLE/hj

Ernst

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., MU RRAY HILL 8-0300*

August 1, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought you would be particularly interested in getting an advance glimpse of Look's up-coming article on General Trujillo and the extraordinary lobby he maintains in this country.

I have enclosed advance tear-sheets of this piece (by Fletcher Knebel) which will appear in the issue of Look out Tuesday.

Among the interesting items brought out in the article is the incident concerning Representative Porter of Oregon and Representative McCormack of Massachusetts.

Sincerely,

Jack Squire

Jack Squire

JS:RB
Enclosure

How Trujillo spends a million in the U.S.A.

Self-styled "benefactor" of the Dominican Republic, Trujillo last year spent almost $1 million in America chiefly to win good will. He has received $6 million in U. S. aid.

A formidable team of influential friends and registered agents in New York and Washington have not changed the "wrong impression" Americans have of the Dominican Republic's dictator

By FLETCHER KNEBEL LOOK WASHINGTON BUREAU

THE OWNER-OPERATOR of one of the world's smallest and tidiest dictatorships is behind what may be the most extraordinary of all the foreign lobbies that have operated in the United States.

He is wealthy, proud, tough, 65-year-old Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina. As generalissimo, chief and self-styled "benefactor" of the Dominican Republic, he dictates with an iron hand the affairs of a sugar-crop country that covers two thirds of a Caribbean island—a nation about the size of West Virginia.

Friends of Trujillo or his regime include a former Truman ambassador, a brother-in-law of Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower, a son-in-law of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the Democratic leader of the House. His registered agents have included a son of the late President Roosevelt. His tourism has been promoted by a former chief of U. S. military aid. In 1956, Trujillo spent almost $1 million in traceable funds in the U. S. chiefly to spread his fame and woo good will.

For all the action on behalf of the Dominican Republic, Trujillo fell on hard times in the U. S. press recently. The bad publicity followed a series of murders and mysterious disappearances of his foes in the United States and Cuba and the killing of an American pilot, Gerald Murphy, on Dominican soil. But the effort still operates at full blast.

Many of the Americans who side with Trujillo are men of important reputation. William D. Pawley, U. S. ambassador to Peru and Brazil in the Truman administration, serves as unpaid adviser to Trujillo's government on minerals and production. He also heads a mining exploration enterprise in the Dominican Republic. Pawley regards Trujillo as a "genius" and feels that a Communist campaign to destroy him has victimized the American press.

Robert Y. Hinshaw, son-in-law of Secretary of State Dulles, spent considerable time in the Dominican Republic at the invitation of Trujillo, although he later indicated doubt that the good in the Trujillo regime outweighed the bad.

Mamie Eisenhower's brother-in-law, Col. G. Gordon Moore, Jr., a retired Army officer, has had business dealings with the Dominican regime. His comments on the dictator add up on the plus side.

A bill pending in Congress would yield $80,000 to a Washington importer in a complicated Dominican sugar deal originated by Colonel Moore. The money would be refunded to Robert G. Lynch, who shares office space with Moore. The bill would make retroactive to June 30, 1955, a provision of the sugar law which refunds duties on sugar imported for animal feed.

Colonel Moore had arranged for the purchase of 7,000 tons of "green sugar" in the Dominican Republic in late 1955, acting as broker for Lynch. "I would in no way benefit from the bill," says Moore. "The only thing I did was go down there and get the sugar."

Maj. Gen. George H. Olmsted (U.S.A.R.), a Des Moines insurance executive, was head of America's military-assistance program from late 1951 to early 1953. Several months before he left office, he entertained Trujillo at luncheon in the Pentagon. After he left the Government, General Olmsted visited the Dominican Republic and signed a contract to promote the country's tourist trade. Olmsted's International Services, Inc., was paid $24,000 by the Dominican Republic in 1954, $27,500 in 1955 and $270,000 last year.

Olmsted's firm also is a concessionaire in the free port of Ciudad Trujillo, chief city of the Dominican Republic, with an inventory varying between $20,000 and $50,000. Olmsted says of the dictator:

"I respect him for the many good things he has done for his country and ours. He has always been stanchly pro-United States and anti-Communist. I would be quick in condemning anyone for terrorism, kidnapping or murder, should guilt be established."

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., served a hectic year as special counsel for the Dominican Republic in partnership with Charles Patrick Clark, $75,000-a-year lobbyist for Spain. The pair split a $60,000 fee from

continued

HALF-ANGEL.....HALF-DEVIL
she made him HALF-A-MAN!

AN RKO RADIO PICTURE starring
DIANA DORS · ROD STEIGER
Co-Starring
TOM TRYON · BEULAH BONDI · with MARIE WINDSOR · ARTHUR FRANZ
SCREENPLAY BY JONATHAN LATIMER • PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY JOHN FARROW
A UNIVERSAL-INTERNATIONAL RELEASE
SEE IT SOON...FOR AN EXCITING NIGHT OUT AT YOUR MOVIE THEATRE

Press reports of unsolved crimes spur Dominican

the Trujillo regime the first year. The contract had another year to run, but Roosevelt & Clark severed the connection on February 28 after a blizzard of protest which threatened to freeze young Roosevelt's political future.

In April of last year, Joseph G. Feeney, a White House legislative aide during the Truman administration, signed up with Maj. Gen. Manuel de Moya, Trujillo's top aide, to represent the Dominican Republic in matters of "economic welfare" at $1,500 a month. Feeney indicated he placed little stock in stories of Trujillo terror on U. S. soil, declaring nothing had been confirmed in a court of law.

The law firm of Brookhart, Becker & Dorsey represents the Dominican government sugar commission and last year represented another Dominican government arm, the Agencia Industrial, at a fee of $2,500 a month. Smith W. Brookhart is a son of the late Iowa Republican senator. Ralph E. Becker is a former chairman of the National Federation of Young Republican Clubs and a good friend of Sherman Adams, assistant to President Eisenhower.

Cummings, Sellers, Reeves & Conner, another Washington law firm, represents the Dominican Embassy at $2,000 a month. Albert L. Reeves, Jr., a former Republican congressman from Missouri, is the firm's chief contact with the Dominicans.

Sugar Quota Is Boosted

During the big sugar-quota fight, Trujillo's government relied chiefly on the Washington law firm of Surrey, Karasik, Gould & Efron, which received payments from the Dominican sugar commission of $25,000 in 1954, $57,076 in 1955 and $38,612 in 1956. Walter S. Surrey and Monroe Karasik, both veterans of government posts under the Democratic administrations, performed ably for Trujillo's regime. Congress doubled the Dominican Republic's sugar quota, from less than 30,000 tons to more than 60,000 tons annually.

Trujillo's aides made the firm's labors smoother by taking several members of the House Agriculture Committee on an all-expense trip to the Dominican Republic in the spring of 1955. As the sugar bill cleared the House, it allotted 80,000 tons to Trujilloland, but non-traveling senators trimmed back the amount.

Other law firms registered as agents for the Dominican interests have included the Washington firm of Culbertson, Briggs & Pendleton ($31,000 from the Dominican Sugar Institute since 1950), the Washington firm of Davies, Richberg, Tydings, Beebe & Landa ($43,750 from the Bergantin Corp. for 1954 and 1955) and the New York firm of Townley, Updike, Carter & Rodgers ($5,145 from the Dominican Republic Information Center for 1956).

The Dominican Republic Information Center in New York City is the fountain of Trujillo's propaganda in the United States and is operated by Harry C. Klemfuss, former New York newspaperman. This institution used to operate on less than $26,000 a year, telling the story of the Generalissimo's benevolences to his people, but expenditures vaulted to $174,000 in 1955 and have stayed at that level. Klemfuss admitted that press reports of unsolved crimes plaguing the Trujillo government provoked the counterburst of activity.

Two years ago, Klemfuss enlisted the literary talents of Stanley Walker, famous New York newspaperman now retired to Texas, to turn out a biography of Trujillo. Walker reported to the Justice Department's foreign-agents section that he had received $1,800 for the 7,800-word production. The Center paid for and distributed the work.

For a short time last year, the New York advertising firm of Albert Frank-Guenther Law, Inc., assisted the Information Center, for the sum of $55,000. One of the chores of the firm, according to its report to the Justice Department, was to prepare a letter to the New York *Times*, signed by seven prominent Dominican officials. The letter defended the Trujillo regime and blasted his detractors, a majority of whom were denounced as "known or hidden Communists."

But Dominicans aren't satisfied that the "benefactor" has been properly glorified in the United States. The Dominican Embassy has contracted with Vantage Press, Inc., to bring out a reprint of *Trujillo* by Abelardo R. Nanita, published in the Dominican Republic in 1954. Former Dominican Ambassador Joaquin E. Salazar said the Embassy will foot the printing bill for the biography and buy up copies, just in case the volume doesn't leap into the best-seller list.

A more ambitious literary endeavor has been undertaken by John V. Hinkel, Washington public-relations man. He has contracted with the University of Santo Domingo to do a 20-chapter compendium on the Dominican Republic.

Hinkel advised the Justice Department that the volume will be devoid of political propaganda, but the foreign-agents section wants to see the final version before it decides whether Hinkel and his associate authors must register. Hinkel admits his chapter on the current government may be touchy, but feels safe on all other chapters, including one on the importance of the Dominican Republic to Western defense by Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board and former Marine Corps commandant.

Jack Kofoed, Miami *Herald* columnist, received $30,000 for collaborating on an autobiography of Trujillo. The task came to an end before Kofoed touched a typewriter. Kofoed signed for the job in 1952. The checks flowed in, but Trujillo wouldn't sit still to be interviewed. "I think when they got the idea that I wanted the real story," says Kofoed, "they wouldn't go for it."

Members of Congress Are Honored

The Dominicans have been grateful to members of Congress. Last winter, Ambassador Salazar bestowed the Order of Duarte-Sánchez-Mella on five Americans at a ceremony which took place under a portrait of Trujillo. Included were three members of Congress—House Democratic Leader John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Rep. Katharine St. George (Rep., N. Y.) and Rep. Donald L. Jackson (Rep., Calif.). Jackson got his award *in absentia*.

The decorations were conferred just a day before Rep. Charles O. Porter (Dem., Ore.) unleashed a blistering House attack on Trujillo, accusing him of establishing a "network of terror" in the U. S. Porter sent a private note to McCormack, suggesting that he might want to defer the ceremony until he had heard Porter's speech. McCormack replied that the suggestion was "presumptuous."

To date, about $6 million in military aid has flowed to Trujillo's armed forces. In the fiscal year just ended, the debt-free Republic received $237,000 in American economic assistance, chiefly for education, a Senate committee reported. Also in 1956, besides the doubling of the Dominican Republic's sugar quota on the U. S. market, an atomic-energy agreement was signed by which the Republic could negotiate for our uranium-235 to operate a research reactor.

Not everything has gone Trujillo's way recently. John J. Frank, Washington attorney and former agent for both the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency, was indicted for allegedly accepting pay from the Republic without registering with the Justice Department as a foreign agent. The Inter-American Press Association condemned the Trujillo dictatorship for the unsolved killings of his foes and warned members against Trujillo's plan to appoint "honorary consuls" in American cities to gain prestige. Congressman Porter launched a one-man crusade to deny further bestowal of American favors on Trujillo. The State Department rejected the Dominican explanation of the Murphy killing and investigated a speech by Trujillo aide de Moya (now ambassador to the U. S.) which attacked "pseudo-liberals" opposing the regime. To cap Trujillo's troubles, a Federal grand jury probed the slayings and the status of his diplomatic agents.

For the first time, the little dictator has a fight on his hands in the United States. But he is a long way from giving up. END

Wear Healthknit—the only underwear with Xclusive "X" design to give you neater, longer-lasting comfort!

Say goodbye forever to old-style bulky underwear. Enjoy the trim, smooth comfort of Healthknit MacDees. It's the only brief to give you Xclusive "X" design tapes extending from waistband to inseam. As waistband expands, the *cantilever action* of the cross tapes causes them to lift. The result is gentle support from top to bottom. And the cross tapes cause the entire garment to work as one unit. You get better front tailoring, line trimming neatness, 'round the clock comfort. Plus *seamless seat* for sitting comfort, smoother appearance, and longer wear.

Best companion for your MacDee briefs are Healthknit Utility Shirts. Xclusive "X" design "spring-back" Nylon reinforced strip holds the neckline in shape . . . always. Tailored, no-bind armholes give you the feeling of extra free—extra easy action. Wear Healthknit Utility Shirts as undershirts—sports shirts—work shirts.

Save up to ⅓ on this quality underwear! All Healthknit garments are easy to live with. Made from Healthknit fabric designed for *Easy Living*. Easy to wash, never need ironing. Shrink-resistant, of course. Elastics are heat-resistant, guaranteed for life-of-the-garments. And you save up to ⅓ over comparable garments. Briefs from 95¢; Utility Shirts $1.00—at better stores everywhere.

HEALTHKNIT Athletic Shirts

Your best buy in Athletic shirts for value—long wear! Special knit shoulder straps lie flat, don't twist. Straps and neckline are Nylon reinforced. From 79¢.

"Xtras" for boys, too!

Son, like Dad, will enjoy the Xclusive comfort features of Healthknit. And there's less work—more economy—for Mother.

Healthknit®

Standard Knitting Mills, Inc., Knoxville, Tennessee • Licensee for Canada: S. Lennard & Sons, Ltd., Dundas, Ont.

Ernst

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
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BARRY LEE COHEN
RICHARD M. ADER
MIMI OBSTLER
NATHANIEL H. JANES
BARRY H. SINGER
NANCY F. WECHSLER

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

CABLE ADDRESSES:
GREWOLFERN, NEW YORK
MORERNST, NEW YORK

February 20, 1957

My dear Ed:

You will remember the dinner at our home with the Canadian Commission on radio and television. Their report has been sent to the printer. I think the publication date will be about March 15th. You might want someone to keep an eye on it.

And what about a Person to Person show with Robert Fowler at his home in Canada. You can reach him, incidentally, at 2280, Sun Life Building, Montreal, Canada. Such a program might be a lead-off for discussion on this side of the border of United States - Canadian ether problems.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

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RICHARD M. ADER
MIMI OBSTLER
NATHANIEL H. JANES
BARRY H. SINGER

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

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November 30, 1956

Dear Ed:

I assume you are as heartsick and I am over the Dulles behavior which destroyed the good will and faith needed to carry on our historic relations with France and England. I have been in Washington and have done a lot of exploring as to minor steps that could be taken to heal the wounds.

And now, Dr. Murrow, what would you think of doing a Person to Person half hour show with Ismay. I think this would be a forerunner to getting Ismay over to the United States so that he could chat, after dinner, with Ike about the need of oil for the continuance of NATO. If we don't deliver and finance oil for the winter, the assumption goes that Europe will not vote enough moneys to give NATO what it needs for even meager existence. My guess is that I could get Ismay over here so that your Person to Person could be done in the United States and save you from competing with Dulles, in peripatetic terms.

I have another hunch which could lead up to the Ismay interview. I think Walter Lippmann has done the most thoughtful writing in the last three weeks. What about a half hour Person to Person with Lippmann.

Don't be irritated if these two suggestions indicate what is a fact -- my preference for the Ismay - Lippmann type rather than the glamour puss type. The latter have their function but it is closer to the bedroom than the parlors where the interviews take place.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

Ernst

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-1582 CABLE "GREWOLFERN," N. Y.

November 27, 1956

Dear Ed:

If you ever want to get out of your rat race and hold a position of editor-in-chief of comment and reporting on a group of a dozen or more of the best radio stations in the nation, let me know. The group could easily be expanded to fifty and the number of hours under your direction would be up to you. You would have plenty to live on and you could find out whether you want to live.

I hope the above intrigues you enough to give me a ring for lunch or a snifter.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Pawling, New York

September 18, 1956

Dear Ed:

Have you dropped the idea of basing a show on "Utopia 1976?" I still would like to work with your staff on the idea. You once did suggest that you would send one of your braintrust to see me for a weekend in Nantucket. We might even be able to do it in this mad city if one of your staff can really spend two days to work out the outline.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 22, 1956

Palmer Williams
Keith Tarik

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Your talk about Mr. F stayed in my mind. I know less of the facts than you do. I have a hunch that despite his being at the doorstep of the court, ingenuity might produce more prompt and salutary results than if the matter were to wend its way through the courts. By and large, the court as a forum is valueless for such purposes as libel and custody of children. In both these situations the parties get wrecked on the way.

Moreover, I should imagine that CBS might be highly embarrassed by a trial. I know what I could do to the system at CBS as it existed under Danny if I were handling the case.

Let me know if you or your associates want to see me. I will get you plane tickets to Nantucket.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

egb

Who is the Sailor - who will come to Maui - for Utopia 1976 - on Tel.

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 8, 1956

My dear Ed:

I sent you, some time ago, a copy of a letter to my children, dated May 19th, reporting on my trip to Russia. I am advised that in some of the mailings the card of transmittal was omitted.

I am particularly anxious to hear in the event that you are in disagreement with any of my observations.

Yours,

Morris L. E.

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 5, 1956

Dear Ed:

If CBS is looking for the precise person to handle security and loyalty matters, talk to me about Senator Harry Cain. He is not a lawyer but he would bring CBS objectivity in reviewing complaints, integrity of handling them, and above all, immunity from invalid criticism.

Have you seen a picture made by Phoenix Films about the burning of books? This is your dish.

Congratulations on Dan's reports from Russia.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

May 28, 1956

Dear Morris:

I am now negotiating with the Russians for permission to take our camera teams over to do a "Middle Town" treatment on a single Russian city. I am not sure it will come off because at the moment they are disposed to insist that we develop and edit the film in Moscow. I will leave you know.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

285 Madison Avenue
New York 17

MORRIS L. ERNST

May 22, 1956

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your cable to Dan Schorr.

And please do the American people a favor and go over to Russia if only for a few days. If I can help, let me know.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

April 5, 1956

Dear Ed:

I spoke to John Aaron yesterday for a moment while I was up at your shop doing some tape recordings. Making good on my statement on Person to Person, I thought I would get to your attention the possibility of John Aaron and Jesse Zousmer copping some real dollars for their children.

I have just read a script of a great movie dealing with book burnings, a script I think that was inspired, in part, by your position on libraries and book censorship. I have in mind that a trailer done by you could be of value to our Republic and could be made by you and your associates, and then given as a gift to your respective children.

If you are at all interested, get word to me before you leave.

Best,

Yours,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Deliver

March 28, 1956

Dear Ed:

Do you want to let your Mr. Daniel Shorr in Moscow know that I arrive on April , and I am staying at the National.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City

Ernst

March 23, 1956

Dear Morris:

Thanks for the news from Puerto Rico. I would love to try the piece, but there is just no chance of doing it this year.

I don't know anything about the Granik situation. It would be a waste of his time to talk with me about it. I should think Hubbell Robinson would be the only man in this shop who would make such a decision.

Hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

rh

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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 15, 1956

Dear Ed:

Enclosed find copy of letter received from the Puerto Rico News Services. I call your attention particularly to the three last paragraphs where your name was mentioned. I know this situation intimately and would love to help you do the show.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Enc

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 12, 1956

Dear Ed:

I spoke to you sometime ago to see if there was any interest on the part of CBS in Ted Granik's two programs -- American Forum and the Youth Program. Either you or some of your associates told me that you knew about the situation.

I think it might be worth your while to have me bring Granik up to see you. He will be in town this week. I may be able to seduce him into selling part or all of either program.

Please wire or telephone me.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Puerto Rico

HAMILTON WEIGHT

PENTHOUSE - BANCO POPULAR BUILDING - STOP 22 - [illegible]

CABLE ADDRESS: HAMWEIGHT, [illegible]

"For the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico"

March 14, 1956

Mr. Morris Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Morrie:

Ted Moscoso tells me your letter gave rise to an interesting discussion in a recent Cabinet meeting. The concensus seemed to be that a Department of Cultural Values (I guess that's my label, not yours) would encounter too many pragmatic difficulties in functioning. It's interesting to note, though, that in the Governor's speech to the legislature last week, a translation of which I've just received, he refers to you as follows:

"Probably more cars will be purchased than at present, but they will constitute a much smaller proportion of the income than at present. Probably, as Morris Ernst predicts for the U. S., they will be smaller cars, easier to park. Were this to be so, it would be because in the table of values the imitation of neighbors would have lost its motivating power. Until this motivation is fully replaced by one of more originality, of more similarity to the creative spirit of man, we will not have what in good conscience we can call a good civilization."

In the same speech he also makes some other illuminating points:

Operation Bootstrap since 1940 has raised the net income of Puerto Rico from 230 million dollars to one billion, an increase of 107 per cent.

It has doubled productivity per worker.

It has raised labor's earnings from 120 million dollars to 280 million dollars on the same basis of 1940 prices, without any increase in the labor force.

It has increased business earnings from 75 million to 155 million.

It has doubled school enrollment, from 300,000 to 600,000.

He also gave a classic definition that I [illegible] worth quoting to you:

"Political advancement may be measured by the increase in the authority of each individual vote over matters that concern it when it is deposited in the ballot box and by the respect of the majority for the rights of the minority and that of the minorities for the constitutional decisions of the majority and of all for the dignity of the individual."

Morris, don't you think that a man who has accomplished so much for this place that was called "The Stricken Land" 15 years ago ought to make an excellent Person-to-Person for Ed Murrow? Especially when you consider that he lives in one of the hemisphere's most historic and beautiful residences. And that he's the kind of guy who won't let them use the air-conditioning in his office because it would drive out a little bird that's made a nest in the chandelier over his desk - visible to every visitor.

Since you know Murrow and I don't, you might mention some of these facts to him. If he wanted to come down here with any of his staff we would cooperate in every way. We could even supply a raison d'etre -- in early May this country is setting aside a week of celebration of the fact that they have just succeeded in pushing the balance of the economy over from agriculture to industry. Quite an achievement when you consider that 15 years ago this was a one-crop country, existing, if it could be called that, on six months' work a year in the sugar fields for most of the population.

It all adds up to a side of "the Puerto Rican question" that most Americans don't know, but need to know. To me it seems to present a superb opportunity for the sort of liberal public service presentation without sacrifice of entertainment values that Murrow does so well.

Best regards to you and Mrs. Ernst and greetings to Harriet.

Cordially,

Mort

Morton Sontheimer

ms:s

cc: HW
HWJr
MM
SFR

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

JAMES M. SEWARD
Administrative Vice President

March 20, 1956

Dear Morris:

I thought I had better report that we are presently at dead center on the "Good News" project. Art Hayes, the President of the Radio Division and who chatted with us for a while during your visit to my office, heard your recorded material a couple of days after that visit and suggested that inasmuch as it was proposed that Mrs. Hobson would actually do the programs, we ask her to cut a couple of five-minute records to show what the actual broadcasts would be like. Shortly after Art spoke to me, Miss Bertha Case (Mrs. Hobson's MCA representative) telephoned me and I relayed the suggestion to her. Miss Case called me back to report that Mrs. Hobson would like a stronger expression of interest on our part before she did any work on the matter and, in the meantime, would like me to send her both your recordings and your portfolio of suggestions for individual programs.

I very much hope that we will be able to proceed with the project.

Cordially yours,

Jim

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

cc: Mrs. Laura Hobson
Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Miss Bertha Case

March 12, 1956

Dear Ed:

I spoke to you sometime ago to see if there was any interest on the part of CBS in Ted Granik's two programs -- American Forum and the Youth Program. Either you or some of your associates told me that you knew about the situation.

I think it might be worth your while to have me bring Granik up to see you. He will be in town this week. I may be able to seduce him into selling part or all of either program.

Please wire or telephone me.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

February 29, 1956

Dear Ed:

Just because you have a million foot of film that you have to reduce to some minuscule amount, I write to urge that you squeeze into the program the concept I mentioned to you over the telephone. I refer to a loan to Egypt and other Arab states in order to help irrigate and develop land facilities so that the Arab world can empty the camps of their kith and kin.

I put this matter up to the State Department and the Pentagon over the years, being convinced that a loan could be negotiated conditioned on the emptying of the camps, and that as long as the camps are there they will remain as a symbol to validate a question which I was asked by many members of the Egyptian Cabinet: must we teach our children to kill Jews? In other words, were you ever mean to Janet except when you were in the wrong?

If your show could inject this one concept into the arena of debate, I am quite sure that the bait would be chased by the Arab states.

This is the trip I should have taken with you so as to have the above program confirmed to you in Egypt.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. I am off to Russia on April 6th on a very exciting mission. Before leaving, I would like to close two little items: (1) your Utopia spectacular which I have further developed; and (2) a deal with CBS and Laura Z. Hobson and Morris Ernst for a radio or television program entitled something like "Headlines From An Optimist."

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

January 31, 1956

Dear Ed:

If while shaving you get around to thinking about a spectacular based on Utopia 1976, the enclosed meager dreams for 1965 and 1975 make my prophesies look too conservative.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Enc

The Economy in 1965 and 1975—Co

By 1965 the nation's gross national product will be around $535 billion in the view of Arno H. Johnson, vice-president and director of research for J. Walter Thompson Co. Mr. Johnson's reasoning is outlined in an interview reprinted here from the December issue of "Challenge" magazine, published by the Institute of Economic Affairs of New York University. Inset below, Haig Babian, editor of the magazine, recapitulates the forecasts of top economists for 1975 and foresees an American national economy at the $675 billion mark by that year.

Q.—Mr. Johnson, in a recent speech you stated that by 1965 we should be producing more than $500 billion in goods and services annually. You said the big problem will be to raise our sights on what constitutes a good standard of living so that we can actually consume what we shall be producing. Is that substantially correct?

A.—I think we have pretty well established now that our ability to produce is far beyond what we believed possible before the war. That $500 billion you mentioned was really the President's estimate of our ability to produce in 1965. The Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report set the figure even higher—at $535 billion—and I think that is a reasonable projection in terms of our probable labor force and our history of economic expansion since the war.

Consumer Figures

Q.—What would such a level of gross national product represent in terms of consumer items that would have to be absorbed?

A.—In order to support a $500 billion economy of production—allowing for adequate defense requirements, for new plant and equipment and government expenditures—we shall have to consume $350 to $357 billion worth of personal goods and services. That would call for a 50 per cent increase in the over-all standard of living in the next ten years. Unless we change some of our concepts of what a high standard of living should be, our ability to produce will outrun our ability to consume.

Q.—Does this imply that the disposable income with which to buy will be available to consumers?

A.—Productivity in itself produces revenue. In other words, a production of $500 billion will produce the revenue to buy up that production, by and large. That is the way our economy is based. And the major part of that revenue obviously goes to the people who produce the goods and services.

Q.—What do you mean when you say we need a change in our concepts of what a high standard of living should be?

Different Concept

A.—If you study the pre-war living standards of our population—the government made some studies early in 1942—and divide up the population by income groups from under $500 a year up to over $10,000, you will find there was a different concept of living standards in almost each income group. That is demonstrated even in the case of goods. There was, pre-war, a very definite pattern of increasing consumption on a physical and dollar basis at each income level. My point is that in pre-war years, the average income of a family in a middle-income bracket was $1,000 to $1,500. We have moved up in our income groups so rapidly that a few years from now, the major portion of families will have annual incomes of more than $5,000. Allowances should be made for the shrinking value of the dollar, of course. But these families moving up do represent a great opportunity for changes in our standard of living even if they were to take on only the kind of a standard of living that upper-middle-income people enjoyed in pre-war days.

Q.—Is a rising standard of living always characterized by an increased purchase of the same goods?

A.—As you get up into the area of better and higher incomes, there is an increase in the disposable income that might be called discretionary—beyond just the bare needs—which means that different individuals will have different ways in which to spend. Some will want to take a trip to Europe. Others will like to engage in sports, to have a shotgun, or something like that. So it isn't necessarily true that you have exactly the same pattern.

Q.—Mr. Johnson, how does a family move up into a higher income bracket? Which comes first, the greater production or the higher income?

Leapfrog Theory

A.—The two go together like two people playing leapfrog. I think perhaps, the ability to produce comes first—not necessarily the production itself, because then you pile up too much—but the ability to produce, the technological advance. That's the thing, in my estimation, that makes the higher pay check available. With increased productivity per worker or per capita, obviously the revenue that can be paid that worker or person will be greater. Now, the transition from greater productivity to higher incomes is not always smooth. But it has been going on nicely during the last five years when the average weekly earnings in manufacturing increased by 20 per cent while there was practically no change in the price level.

On Spending Habits

Q.—Now, in order to keep our economy running smoothly, your contention is that the consumer must be educated to use his income to buy up the productivity. Don't you believe people can make up their own minds about how to spend their money?

A.—You will have to remember that the background, the environment of a majority of us, was keyed to a lower level of over-all productivity in this country. The mass of our population lived, pre-war, at incomes of around $25 a week, which perforce, meant that most of us were on the wrong side of the railroad tracks by today's standards. As productivity increased, most of us have increased our ability to buy goods and services beyond the level of necessity according to pre-war standards. I believe people need to be stimulated to use

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For the role of consumer buying in pushing the nation's economy to a record high see Harvey E. Runner's State of Business column on Page 9 of this section.

The Mechanics of $675

Workers, Youngsters and Elderly Pe

By Haig Babian

In 1975 the (worker to non-worker) ratio is likely to be 1 per every 2.53, with about 87 million jobholders compared to today's 65 million.

Unless there is a drastic revision in the birth-rate schedule of the next twenty years . . . the labor force of 1975 will have to support more oldsters and youngsters, in grander style, than any other productive group has ever been called upon to do.

Shorter Work Week?

. . . Proceeding conservatively, a work force of 87 million will produce an income of $339 million dollars every hour. During the course of a 40-hour week at an average of 50 weeks per year, the annual income comes to $678 billion. The gross national product would be around $800 billion.

It is unlikely however, that such an increase in the national product would be digestible; nor would the will to work so hard be present in the labor force. Far more likely is a gradual reduction in the work week; by 1975 it will be on a 4-day, 32-hour schedule.

This would, in turn, reduce national income to $543 billion, and the gross national product to approximately $675 billion. The average family income in 1975 would be approximately $8,000 per year. All these figures are given in the value of the 1956 dollar.

If these figures appear formidable . . . consider what a projected gross national product of $675 billion represents. In 1950, the total wealth of the United States amounted to $1 trillion. Therefore, in the single year of 1975, we expect to produce 67.5 per cent of what the whole country was worth in 1950.

Is this possible, even though we shall be working only a 32-hour week? It is possible—if we set aside sufficient sums from current income in order to build up our capacity to satisfy future desires.

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-Consumers the Key to Forecasts

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asing power in new ways
hich represent a higher stand-
d of living according to 1956
ncepts.

*Q.—Don't you believe people
ll naturally want to buy a
r, a refrigerator, a TV set,
d so forth, once they have
e money to do so?*

Misleading Point

A.—A higher standard of liv-
g cannot be measured merely
physical units. I think too
any people look upon the du-
ble goods in our economy as a
ue measure of our new pattern
living. That is very mislead-
g because only some 14 per
nt of our current expenditure
$250,000,000,000 for goods and
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ere has been a very big in-
ase in what families allocate
for religious activities. There has been a change in the diet and a change in what people do in their leisure time, the way they enjoy life. There has been a trend toward larger families. I think this is all a part of our new standard of living.

Q.—What can we do to make ourselves more capable of absorbing the potential of our productive capacity?

Bathing Habits

A.—I don't think there is any one thing that any one can do. Certainly business men, by progressive marketing and educational efforts, can help considerably. Let me illustrate my point with a simple story about bathing habits. If you divide the population up into income quartiles, you will find that the people in the pre-war higher income groups took a great many more baths than in the next income groups, and so on down the scale. Yet, the self-interest of a manufacturer, through the various pressures of magazine and television advertising, can help to change the bathing habits of people whose incomes have gone up during the last sixteen years. In other words, if people were to move up even in their bathing habits, from the levels of the lower middle class of 1940 to the levels of the upper class of 1940, you'd have terrific increases in markets for soap and in demand for water in cities. It is as simple as that.

[Editor's Note: Although it did not mention bathing habits, the Department of Commerce last week agreed with Mr. Johnson, estimating that use of water would come close to doubling by 1957. The United States now uses 262,000,000,000 gallons daily.]

Q.—Can we always assume that the goods the manufacturers have available are really directly related to people's needs? In other words, is there a potential danger that manufacturers will concentrate on getting rid of the goods they wish people to buy rather than what people really want?

Watch That Tangent!

A.—I think you can go off on a tangent on both counts. As you have mass millions moving up into higher income groups, their concept of a need may not be what really is the best since many have not had a chance to experience something different. So I don't think you can rely entirely on consumers telling you what they want or what they need, because their needs, their motives, are based on concepts derived from past experience. On the other hand, I think it's just as dangerous for a manufacturer to come out and produce something, and then, with a huge promotion effort, cram this down people's throats. That is bad, too, and in the long run it won't work anyway. There has to be an element of working in between.

Q.—There has been a great deal of talk about developing a market for that second car. Will this meet a real need?

A.—Until a few years ago, manufacturers thought of the second-car market only as a luxury market. Consumer surveys now show that 17 million families are single-car families; the vehicle is driven to work every day by some member of the family, and the family is immobilized five or six days of the week. Those left at home aren't always conscious of the need for a second car, yet the need is clearly there. The need will be expressed once the woman decides she wants a car and her man agrees she should have one.

Any Limit?

Q.—Is there any limit to this self-regenerative process of higher productivity, higher incomes, greater expenditures and higher productivity again?

A.—The only limit I see is productivity of the people and availability of raw materials. We've found that a great many of our raw materials are not necessarily scarce because new things can come in as substitutes. I don't know where the limit is.

Q.—Mr. Johnson, provided there is no war or abnormal interruption in the production processes, would you say this preoccupation with what the consumer will do is a fairly normal and permanent consideration from now on?

A.—I think it is, in our present economy. I think it may have been a consideration before the war, but we didn't recognize it. In my estimation the major problem is definitely that of prompting consumption, which is not a problem at all, but an opportunity.

675 Billion Output

y Persons—All Have a Role

g away less money in 1975
an at any other period in
nerican history. We shall
ve more young people . . .
d youngsters just don't save.
e shall also have more elderly
ople, but the majority of them
l be living on pensions and
cial security . . . The guaran-
d annual wage funds, unem-
yment insurance, paid pen-
ns and health insurance
ns will decrease the incen-
es to save.

But each and every one of
se funds and plans . . . repre-
ts pooled savings on a gi-
ntic order to be handled by
fessional managers and
own into the channels of in-
tment. This revolutionary
proach to the pumping of
sh funds into the financial
eries of business has not yet
n fully recognized.

Everybody Gains

More than anything else, it
rantees the availability of
cretionary income for con-
uctive purposes—even though
original donors may not un-
stand the process and not ap-
preciate the consequences until explanations are made. No one loses. Every one gains.

Management will have to buy more automation than any one thought would be possible three years ago—if the goals for 1975 are to be realized. This requires a higher degree of labor-management co-operation than has ever existed before.

Labor's Role

Labor's share of the annual improvement factor, already in the majority, cannot be raised much more without jeopardizing the ability of business to finance itself into 1975 standards. This is not to suggest that labor cannot get more. It can, but only if business can get enough.

It would be perfect if labor could grasp this point without any prompting from management. How far the realization from perfect will be is one thing a prognosticator does not dare to guess at.

Yet, on this single point of resolving how the rewards shall be allocated, rests the future and shape of 1975.

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7

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Ed,

Three possible scoop items:

1. I have been advised, in confidence, that the Royal Commission on Broadcasting will have its report ready some time this week for tabling in the House of Commons. I have a copy of the report, which even mentions you in complimentary fashion. Of course, there can be no mention before the Prime Minister accepts the report. If you want to examine it in confidence beforehand, let me know.

2. Also, in confidence, I have been invited to sit with the Presidents of the five City Colleges in regard to the policy considerations involved in the Gates case -- speakers on campuses.

3. On April 22nd, the United States Supreme Court will review, for the first time, the constitutionality of obscenity laws. I am sending you a copy of the brief which I filed. This is an amusing story because, for the first time in the history of the Court, you will see a brief filed by a lawyer without a client.

Let one of your brain trust telephone me. I will hand over such other information as I can properly do. In the meanwhile, all of this is off-the-record.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

mgk

IN THE

Supreme Court of the United States

October Term, 1956

No. 582

SAMUEL ROTH,

Petitioner,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Respondent.

BRIEF OF MORRIS L. ERNST
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IN THE

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SAMUEL ROTH,

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BRIEF OF MORRIS L. ERNST
Amicus Curiae

Interest of the *Amicus*

For more than 40 years at the bar I have had the great good fortune to be involved in First Amendment causes. In the writing of books and articles, more than I now like to recall, I have had a deep and satisfying concern with the problems of censorship over the mind of man.

I surmise that such enjoyed dedication to this important sphere of the law prompted the Solicitor General to give permission to the filing of this brief—in opposition, I assume, to what may be his own position. I express here my gratitude together with a hope that this brief may be of some slight aid to the Court. I speak only my own mind and not that of any other person or group.

Summary of the Argument

The First Amendment must be construed in the light of its historical development if we are constitutionally to resolve the problems which have arisen in connection with the attempted regulation of freedom of speech and press. In that light, we must now recognize that there are three different areas of ideas which claim Constitutional protection. Of these, the Federal Government has the power to regulate the two groups which embrace seditious words and "merchandise words," respectively. But the third group, which is here termed that of Ideas *qua* Ideas, consists of those ideas which have as their purpose purely their impact on the mind of man; and it is this last group which carves out an area in the realm of ideas which the First Amendment places beyond the power of the National Government.

This construction of the First Amendment is in accord with the fundamental concepts underlying the Ninth and Tenth Amendments by which there was reserved to the States the regulation of the morals of the community. The absence of centrally decreed uniformity in this area of folkways and morals is vital to the preservation of Federalism in this Republic.

The history of the Constitutional Convention, of the Bill of Rights and of proposals debated in the earlier Congresses makes it abundantly clear that it was not the intent to grant to the central government by way of the postal, commerce or importation powers legislative authority in those areas reserved implicitly in the original Constitution and explicitly by the First, Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the States. The statute here involved bears witness to the fulfillment of the prophetic fear that the Congress will

seize upon these powers to base claims to those reserved powers of the states.

The only qualification which may be imposed on the power of the states over speech and press in the areas of Ideas *qua* Ideas is that which is ordained by the 14th Amendment.

"Obscenity" being a word incapable of precise definition and dependent in any particular situation upon an infinity of variables cannot serve as a Constitutional basis for predicating criminal liability. The Fifth Amendment forbids this.

The evil aimed at is unclear; proof of the causal relationship between the material protected by the First Amendment and the supposed evil does not exist at this moment of our history.

POINT I

Although originally the First Amendment forbade the abridgement of all speech and press, we must now recognize that the ideas underlying the First Amendment fall into three distinct and separate categories.

Freedom for all material that goes to the mind of man is a concept historically impressive. Yet few would deny that our present Constitutional attitudes concerning this concept are less than precise. Since the days of the Founding Fathers, totally new pressures on the Republic have arisen and have compounded the imprecision of the concept.

It is my thought that the resolution of the present Constitutional confusions and dilemmas may be assisted by examination of the distinctions between the three streams of ideas with which the freedoms of speech and

press are presently concerned. I suggest that Constitutional history indicates that a clarification is now necessary in terms of the distinctions between that speech and press which affect, in one sector, the preservation of governmental sovereignty; that in a second sector, trade and commerce in Things; and that in a third sector, ideas *qua* ideas.

The goodness or badness of ideas in this last sector can be tested only over the ages, and on such a gamble do we predicate our way of life.

Man has ever had a fear of ideas. The first clearly pronounced target was blasphemy during the early ages. Then, as the power shifted from the church to the state and from clergy to kings, the threat of the fearful became fixated upon sedition. Thereafter followed the Industrial Revolution and the Distributive Revolution, the latter utilizing words and ideas as auxiliaries to merchandise; and the Court found it constitutional to abridge the speech and press employed to solicit and to sell. The last target of the censorious, first attacked in England around 1860 and in our land around 1870, is obscenity in printed materials, accompanied by presumed dangers of anti-social sexual behavior.

The first area, in which censorship was born, that of blasphemy, is no longer significant, for the Government does not undertake to punish blasphemy, nor does it undertake to define what blasphemy might be. Neither are the states permitted to legislate test acts founded upon the criteria of blasphemy. Cf. *Burstyn* v. *Wilson,* 343 U. S. 495 (1952).

But in three other areas into which I am persuaded speech and the flow of the press have by force of history become divided, Government has undertaken to regulate the words which may be promulgated and received by the

public. I suggest that in two of these areas regulation may be constitutionally proper while in the third area it is absolutely prohibited. Without violating the First Amendment, the Government may justifiably permit abridgement of freedom of speech and press in the area of sedition and in the area of "merchandise words," but the Government may not without violating that Amendment abridge freedom of speech or press in the third area, of which "obscenity" (along with scandal, sadism, etc.) is a part. The distinctions between these various areas are distinctions of substance. It is this last area which is involved in the instant case. Here the First Amendment must be literally rendered: no abridgement is tolerable.

(a) In the area of seditious words, the Government has the power to abridge freedom of speech and press.

This first sector is comprised of ideas of sedition, those ideas that have impact on the very sovereignty of the Republic. It would be absurd to plead that our sovereign Republic is legislatively impotent to protect itself from attack. The constitutional concern in this area has shifted from that of the *existence of a power* to that of the *selection of the criteria* to be applied in the balancing, on a risk-for-risk basis, of individual freedom against national continuance. See, e.g., *Dennis* v. *United States,* 341 U. S. 494 (1951).

It is irrelevant in this brief to indicate more than that the outer limits of freedom of speech and press might better be tested by a standard more objective than the Holmes slogan of clear and present danger (always clear to the frightened, never present to the brave!), enunciated in *Schenck* v. *United States,* 249 U. S. 47 (1919). Rather does the Brandeis formula—is there time to make answer,

or in the alternative, time to call the police—insist on greater objectivity by judge or jury before the killing of ideas:

> "* * * [N]o danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence." Brandeis, J., concurring in *Whitney* v. *California,* 274 U. S. 357, 377 (1927). See also Ernst and Katz, "Speech: Public and Private," 53 Col. L.R. 620 (1953).

(b) In the area of "merchandise words," the Government has the power to abridge freedom of speech and press.

The second sector of idea content which can be segregated from the instant case is that which concerns "merchandise words." It is an area not yet born in 1791, when our largest library was 4,000 books and we had only 100 newspapers. "Merchandise words" are words which promulgate ideas, yes, but ideas only in order to sell lottery tickets, stocks, bonds, drugs, liquor or any other Thing or Things. This includes shoes, ships, sealing wax and cabbages—but not Kings. Merchandise words are merely tools of things and do not have as their sole or prime target the mere impact on the mind of man. These are, rather, the words of commerce, the exchange between buyer and seller, the *quid pro quo,* the bargain and sale, the offer and acceptance.

There is no question but that the Federal government may pass legislation governing the use of merchandise

words in commercial or trade activities involving commerce or the mails. See, e.g., *Electric Bond and Share Company* v. *Securities and Exchange Commission,* 303 U.S. 419 (1937).

(c) But in the area of ideas *qua* ideas, the Government may not abridge freedom of speech and press.

It is in the third sector of idea content that the First Amendment proscribes the abridgement of freedom of speech and press. This third sector is the sacred area of ideas for ideas' sake. This is the area of words which have as their real objective their ultimate resting place in the restless mind of man—that instrument made sacred in constitutional terms by the First Amendment.

A sentiment may seem constitutionally relevant that our daily press is breeding a race of tasteless people to whom tawdry personal relations and sadism are made to seem normal. But the question in constitutional terms can never be one of decency or taste. Forces other than law exist in our culture to develop that degree of inner security which will minimize the need for vicarious tawdry living. I suggest that much of the distortion in legal constitutional thinking arises from the failure of the judicial stream to isolate this sector from the other two.

In this area we have not the Thing but the idea; not the package but the medium; not the paper, the ink, the binding, the film, but the thought. It is the thought, the idea—educational or entertaining—which, good or bad as judged by the whims of a passing generation, is the *res* of this area. We are not here concerned with the collateral paper or binding which is merely employed for the transmission of the constitutionally protected ideas of man.

Over the decades this Court will no doubt have to draw lines a little to the right or a little to the left to demark the

words which the Government may regulate from those words which are not seditious words, which are not merchandise words, but which are words which represent ideas *qua* ideas. Indeed, since *Near* v. *Minnesota,* 283 U.S. 697 (1931), this Court, over a span of 26 years, has employed dicta in various cases in an effort to pinprick the frontiers of this sector. I submit that the Court might take the instant opportunity to further define these all-important frontiers.

In light of the above, I now proceed to the sacred area which the Constitution removes from National Governmental power.

POINT II

Section 1461 of Title 18 of the United States Code, 62 Stat. 768, 69 Stat. 183, invades the reserved powers of the States in violation of the First, Ninth and Tenth Amendments.

The statute here under attack, Sec. 1461 of Title 18 of the United States Code, must be read in the context of two parallel statutes, Sec. 1462 of the same Title and Sec. 1305 of Title 19. Section 1461 of Title 18 of the United States Code, in pertinent part, provides:

> "Every obscene, lewd, lascivious, or filthy book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, print or other publication of an indecent character; * * *
>
> "Is declared to be nonmailable matter and shall not be conveyed in the mails or delivered from any post office or by any letter carrier.
>
> "Whoever knowingly deposits for mailing or delivery, anything declared by this section to be nonmailable, or knowingly takes the same from the mails for the purpose of circulating or disposing thereof, or of aiding

in the circulation or disposition thereof, shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

Section 1462 of Title 18 of the United States Code, in pertinent part, provides:

"Whoever brings into the United States, or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or knowingly deposits with any express company or other common carrier, for carriage in interstate or foreign commerce—

"(a) any obscene, lewd, lascivious, or filthy book, pamphlet, picture, motion-picture film, paper, letter, writing, print, or other matter of indecent character; * * *

"Whoever knowingly takes from such express company or other common carrier any matter or thing the depositing of which for carriage is herein made unlawful—

"Shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both."

Section 1305 of Title 19, in pertinent part provides:

"All persons are prohibited from importing into the United States from any foreign country * * * any obscene book, pamphlet, paper, writing, advertisement, circular, print, picture, drawing, or other representation, figure or image on or of paper or other material, or any cast instrument, or other article, which is obscene or immoral * * *

"(P)rovided further, That the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, admit the so-called classics or books of recognized and established literary or scientific merit, but may, in his discretion, admit such classics or books only when imported for noncommercial purposes."

In the main, Section 1462 of Title 18 prohibits the interstate transportation by common carrier of the same matter

of which Sec. 1461 of that Title prohibits the mailing and of which Sec. 1305 of Title 19 prohibits the importation. The effect of these sections is pervasive regulation by the Federal government of the permissible content of printed communication (written or pictorial) in the area under review. A network of Federal law thus abridges the freedom of the people to communicate, not only across state or national boundaries but also—since Section 1461 applies to both intra- and inter-state mailing—within the boundaries of a single state.

Has the Federal Government—a government of delegated and enumerated powers only—the constitutional authority thus to restrict the rights of speech and press? It is submitted that there is no such Federal authority.

(a) The Constitution delegates no power to the Federal Government to regulate community morals.

Obscenity legislation implements governmental control over the media of communication for the purpose of regulating community morals. Regulation of community morals is, under our federal system, within the jurisdiction of the states. The Federal Government has no authority over local morals—there is no Federal power to control marriage, divorce, adultery, bigamy, or any other of the subjects related to the moral good order of the community. These matters are the concern solely of local government. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution affirm State power over these matters, as to which no power was delegated to Congress.

(b) The Constitution delegates no power to the Federal Government to regulate speech or press.

The original Constitution, proposed to the States by the Constitutional Convention, contained no provisions relating to the rights of speech and press. No authority to regulate speech or press was delegated, and there were no provisions curtailing Congressional authority with respect to speech or press. On the floor of the Convention, a proposal to forbid Congressional interference with freedom of the press was put forward. It was defeated on the ground that it was unnecessary in that "the power of Congress does not extend to the press" (Elliott's Debates, 545 (1854).) This belief was universally accepted by Federalists and anti-Federalists alike in the debates on ratification which ensued. And such universal acceptance must be regarded as a significant accord of the conflicting groups, for there were so few questions upon which they did agree. See Hart, "Power of Government Over Speech and Press", 29 Yale L. J. 410 (1920).

There was no doubt in the minds of the Founders—those who favored the original Constitution as well as those who insisted on amending it—that the limited powers conveyed to the Federal government did not permit Congressional regulation of speech or press. But there were many who foresaw the danger that such authority might be arrogated through a doctrine of implied powers. For this reason they urged immediate adoption of a Bill of Rights.

Thus, Hamilton, justifying the absence of a Bill of Rights said:

> "They [a Bill of Rights] would contain various exceptions to powers not granted; and, on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more

than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done, which there is no power to do? Why, for instance should it be said, that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed?"

(The Federalist (J. C. Hamilton ed. 1864) 631)

To which Jefferson replied:

"Very well, I agree with you that the power is not legitimately here, and that it was not intended to be here, and that it is a subject matter which belongs to the States, the same as a common police power of the States. But there is in the Constitution a provision that Congress shall have power to pass all laws necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the powers here granted, and it might be held and construed to include regulation and legislation concerning the press. Therefore, accepting your view that it is not among such powers, we ask for a declaratory amendment to the Constitution which shall put it beyond peradventure that it is not one of the powers granted to the National Government."

(As quoted in Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 412.)

(c) Congress cannot invoke the commerce power, the postal power or the power to regulate imports as a basis for regulating such speech or press.

As stated above, the statute here under attack must be read in the constitutional context of the statutes which forbid the importation of the same matter or its interstate transportation by common carrier. The purport of these three statutes is thus to regulate the rights of speech and press on the basis of the commerce powers and the postal power. Congress has attempted to obviate the absence of express power to regulate, on the one hand, morals, and, on the other, the media of communication, by

construing the specific delegations of commerce and postal powers as permitting such regulation by inference. The scope of the statutes is sweeping and their impact on the rights of free exchange of ideas is profound. Can Congress, thus, by indirection, exercise a power not delegated? The answer appears in the negative.

(1) *The First Amendment was intended to prohibit regulation of speech and press by the Federal Government under any enumerated power.*

It was precisely for the purpose of preventing Federal regulation of the kind here involved that the First Amendment was passed. Exactly this the proponents of the Bill of Rights feared—that the Federal Government might find indirect ways of regulating speech and press although no express power was delegated. Jefferson's observation, that "there is in the Constitution a provision that Congress shall have power to pass all laws necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the powers here granted, and it might be held and construed to include regulation and legislation concerning the press," Hart, *op. cit.*, 412,—was the foundation of the effort for express limitation of Congressional power. In order to achieve such a precise restriction, Madison presented the Bill of Rights to the First Congress, on June 8, 1789 saying:

> "* * * if all power is subject to abuse, then it is possible that the abuse of the powers of the General Government may be guarded against in a more secure manner than is now done * * *"
>
> (1 Annals of Congress 432)

Answering the argument that a Bill of Rights was unnecessary because the Federal Government was one of enumerated powers Madison went on to say:

> "It is true, the powers of the General Government are circumscribed, they are directed to particular objects; but even if Government keeps within those limits, it has certain discretionary powers with respect to the means, which may admit of abuse to a certain extent * * *,"

referring as had Jefferson explicitly to the necessary and proper clause (*Id.* at 438).

To guard against the possibility of regulation of speech and press by resort to construction of the enumerated powers Madison stated that:

> "* * * the great object in view is to limit and qualify the powers of Government, by excepting out of the grants of power those cases in which the Government ought not to act * * *" (*Id.* at 437)

And after the House had adopted the restraints on Congressional power prohibiting the Federal Government from abridging freedom of the press, which formed the basis of the First Amendment, Madison said:

> "The right of freedom of speech is secured; the liberty of the press is expressly declared to be beyond the reach of Government." (Id. at 738)

It is thus plain that the purpose of the First Amendment was to prohibit Congress from resorting to any delegated power or "necessary and proper" theory as a basis for authority for regulation of speech or press, and this, of course, is what the words of the First Amendment state as clearly as words can state anything:

> "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

Madison, indeed, early had occasion to reiterate this fact, when he said, during the discussion of the Alien & Sedition Acts:

"Under any other construction of the Amendment relating to the press than that it declares the press to be wholly exempt from the power of Congress the Amendment could neither be said to correspond with the desire expressed by a number of the states nor be calculated to extend the ground of public confidence in the Government." (Elliott, The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 (1832), as quoted in Hart, *op. cit.,* p. 423.)

(2) *The purpose of the First, Ninth and Tenth Amendments is subverted if speech and press can be regulated by the Federal Government as incidents to exercise of the commerce, postal or importation powers.*

It is apparent that the First Amendment's prohibition becomes meaningless if the power which it most explicitly denies to Congress can be wielded as an auxiliary of one of the enumerated powers. The command of the First Amendment cannot be effective unless it is construed to subtract from each such enumerated power of Congress any authority to regulate speech or press.

It has been recognized since the case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden,* 9 Wheat. 1 (1824), that the commerce power is restricted by the "plain terms" of "limitations * * * prescribed in the Constitution." Congress may not in the course of regulating commerce impair the rights of speech or press. *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Ford Motor Co.,* 114 F. 2d 905, cert. denied 312 U. S. 716 (1941).

Likewise, in *Associated Press* v. *National Labor Relations Board,* 301 U. S. 103 (1937), although the majority found no impairment of free speech in the specific situation litigated, the underlying doctrine of Constitutional law which the Court applied was stated by the dissent as follows:

> "* * * Those liberties enumerated in the First Amendment are guaranteed without qualification, the object and effect of which is to put them in a category apart and make them incapable of abridgement by any process of law * * * (301 U. S. 103, 135)
>
> "The grants of the Constitution always are to be read in the light of the restrictions. Thus, the exercise of the power to make laws on the subject of bankruptcies, the exercise of the war powers, of the power to tax, of the power to exclude aliens, or of the power to regulate commerce, is each subject to the qualified restrictions of the Fifth Amendment * * * as each, also, is subject, so far as appropriate, to the unqualified restrictions of the First." (301 U. S. 103, 136)

It is equally clear that the First Amendment restricts what can be done under the postal power. This Court, in *Hannegan* v. *Esquire,* 327 U.S. 146 (1946), has approved the doctrines expounded by Justices Holmes and Brandeis in dissenting opinions in *United States, ex rel. Milwaukee S.D. Pub. Co.* v. *Burleson,* 255 U. S. 407 (1920):

> "* * * [T]he postal power, like all its other powers, is subject to the limitations of the Bill of Rights * * * Congress may not, through its postal police power, put limitations upon the freedom of the press which if directly attempted would be unconstitutional. This court also stated in Ex parte Jackson, that 'liberty of circulation is as essential to that freedom as liberty of publishing* * *' " (Brandeis, J., *Id.* at 430.)

and that:

> "The United States may give up the Post Office when it sees fit; but while it carries it on the use of the mails is almost as much a part of free speech as the right to use our tongues. * * *" (Holmes, J., *Id.* at 437.)

To the same effect see *Ex Parte Jackson,* 96 U. S. 727 (1877); *Pike* v. *Walker,* 121 F 2d 37, cert. denied, 314 U. S. 625 (1941).

Indeed, early in the history of the Republic, the restriction on the postal power necessarily resulting from the First Amendment was dramatically asserted, when President Jackson asked for a law prohibiting the use of the mails for publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection. The Senate refused so to legislate. Senator Calhoun, in the Committee Report said:

> "The committee fully concur with the President * * * as to the evil and its highly dangerous tendency, and the necessity of arresting it.
>
> "After the most careful and deliberate investigation, they have been constrained to adopt the conclusion that Congress has not the power to pass such a law * * *
>
> "In the discussion on the point, the Committee do not deem it necessary to inquire whether the right to pass such a law can be derived from the power to establish post offices and post roads * * * The jealous spirit of liberty which characterized our ancestors at the period when the constitution was adopted, forever closed the door by which the right might be implied from any of the granted powers, or any other source, if there be any other. The Committee refer to the amended article of the constitution which, among other things, provides that Congress shall pass no law which shall abridge the liberty of the press—a provision which interposes, as will be hereafter shown, an insuperable objection to the measure recommended by the president * * *"

S. Rep. 118, 24th Cong., 1st Sess. 1-3 (1836)

This view was concurred in by Senators from both North and South (all men raised during the formative period immediately after the adoption of the First Amend-

ment). See in particular comments of Webster, Clay and Davis, and debates, *passim,* Cong. Globe, 24th Cong., 1st Sess. 36, 150, 164, 165, 347, 348, 351, 354, 539.

It was not until 1825 that the Congress declared the postal service a monopoly and no longer permitted private competition (4 Stat. 102).

Indeed one notes that for almost a century after the adoption of our Constitution no Congress presumed upon the powers of the States to invoke the postal or interstate commerce powers in order to regulate the flood of scurrility which filled the newspapers of the nineteenth century. Scurrility of that era was as objectionable as "obscenity" in ours but Congress preferred to endure scurrility rather than to attempt to arrogate to itself a Federal power which it did not have.

In the Tariff Act of 1842 Congress for the first time applied the label "obscene" to material. Act of Aug. 30, 1842, 27th Cong., 2d Sess., 5 Stat. 566. The statute prohibited the importation of "obscene prints, paintings, lithographs, engravings and transparencies", but excluded books and other printed textual matter from the ambit of that prohibition. This even though in this same tariff act a tariff was levied on books. Thus the Congress recognized the same limitation in 1842 when examining the power over foreign commerce as it had recognized in 1836 when dealing with the postal power. In that era of the development of the Printed Arts, Congress had not yet come to realize that both Pictures and Books fall in the same sacred area of Ideas *Qua* Ideas.

(d) Power over speech and press is in the States alone.

The First Amendment imposed a limit on Federal power. The rights of the people and State powers not granted to the Federal government were explicitly reserved by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments. Such reservation was made explicit because the States were apprehensive of the abuse of power by the *national* government. As the constitutional historian Charles Warren has commented, opposition to ratification of the Constitution stemmed from

> "their profound belief that it was intended and framed to bring about a consolidation and ultimate destruction of the States and State sovereignty."
>
> (The Making of The Constitution, 753.)

To allay these fears, specific limits on Federal power were devised by the Bill of Rights. The States alone were given the power to balance the interests of free speech and press against the demands of morality. Yet the Federal government now claims just such authority. Mr. Justice Frankfurter has recently reminded us it was Jefferson's view that the Federal government had no such power:

> "* * * [T]he gravamen of the attack in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions against the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 was that they infringed on the rights of the states and were promotive of 'a general consolidated government.' It deserves to be recalled that even Jefferson attributed to the states the power which he denied to the federal government. 'Nor does the opinion of the unconstitutionality and consequent nullity of that law—the [Sedition Act]', he wrote * * * 'remove all restraint from the overwhelming torrent of slander which is confounding all vice and virtue,

all truth and falsehood in the US. The power to do that is fully possessed by the several state legislatures. * * * While we deny that Congress have a right to control the freedom of the press, we have ever asserted the right of the states, and their exclusive right, to do so.' "

("John Marshall and the Judicial Function" 69 Harv. L. R. 217, 225-226 (1955).)

And this was the view generally held by Republicans opposing the Sedition Act. They

"* * * regarded the punishment of libels and seditious speech and writings as a province of the states rather than of the Federal government. Nathaniel Macon declared that 'the liberty of the press was sacred'—but he meant only as against the Federal government, not against the states. Indeed, as he added, 'the states have complete power on the subject.' "

(Miller, Crisis in Freedom, 168-169 (1951).)

This viewpoint, so strongly expressed by Thomas Jefferson and others of our earlier statesmen is fortified by examination of the record of the First Congress.

(1) *An Amendment to forbid State regulation of speech and press was rejected.*

When Madison presented the draft of the Bill of Rights to the First Congress he proposed two separate provisions to deny authority over the rights of speech and press—one running against the general government, one against the States. The House adopted limits on both Federal and State power, the State provision reading:

"The equal rights of conscience, the freedom of speech or of the press, and the right of trial by jury in criminal cases, shall not be infringed by any state."

(1 Annals of Congress 755)

The amendment restricting the States failed of adoption in the Senate. The ground on which the proposal was opposed in the House by Mr. Tucker of Virginia was:

> "It will be much better to leave the state governments to themselves, and not to interfere with them more than we already do * * *" (*Id.*, at 756)

As a result of the action of the Senate, the First Amendment, a clear restriction of the power of Congress, was presented to and adopted by the States. But the power of the States remained unimpaired.

(2) *The Ninth and Tenth Amendments reiterate State power.*

Just as they feared that the absence of delegated power over speech and press would not without more explicit prohibition suffice to prevent Federal encroachment, the drafters of the Bill of Rights considered a positive declaration of reserved powers imperative. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments were designed to achieve this purpose, to make explicit that the reverse of the coin—restriction on Congressional power—was reaffirmation of State power. Thus, as expressed by Mr. Hartly on the floor of the House:

> "It had been asserted in the convention of Pennsylvania, by the friends of the Constitution, that all the rights and powers that were not given to the Government, were retained by the states and the people thereof. This was also his opinion, but as four or five states had required to be secured in those rights by an express declaration in the Constitution, he was disposed to gratify them. * * *" (*Id.*, at 732)

And Madison said:

> "I find, from looking into the amendments proposed by the state conventions, that several are particularly anxious that it should be declared in the Constitution, that the powers not therein delegated should be reserved to the several states. Perhaps other words may define this more precisely than the whole of the instrument now does. I admit they may be deemed unnecessary; but there can be no harm in making such a declaration, if gentlemen will allow that the fact is as stated. I am sure I understand it so, and do therefore propose it." (*Id.,* at 441)

By adoption of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, therefore, it was determined that the States and the States alone had the power to regulate speech and press.

The basic differences which were intended between State and Federal functions as to speech and the press were indicated by Mr. Justice Jackson in his dissenting opinion in *Beauharnais* v. *Illinois,* 343 U. S. 250 (1952), where Justice Jackson stated:

> "The inappropriateness of a single standard for restricting State and Nation is indicated by the disparity between their functions and duties in relation to those freedoms. Criminality of defamation is predicated upon power either to protect the private right to enjoy integrity of reputation or the public right to tranquility. Neither of these are objects of federal cognizance except when necessary to the accomplishment of some delegated power, such as protection of interstate commerce.
>
> "When the Federal Government puts liberty of press in one scale, it has a very limited duty to personal reputation or local tranquility to weigh against it in the other. But state action affecting speech or press can and should be weighed against and reconciled with these conflicting social interests.

> "For these reasons I should not, unless clearly required, confirm to the Federal Government such latitude as I think a State reasonably may require for orderly government of its manifold concerns."

The States have power over and responsibility for moral good order—accordingly there is State power to determine the limits on speech or press which morality may require. But the power and responsibility is that of the States alone; this is not a function of the national government (*Id.,* at 294). *Cf. Palko* v. *Connecticut,* 302 U. S. 319 (1937); *Gitlow* v. *New York,* 268 U. S. 652 (1925) (Dissenting opinions of Holmes and Brandeis, JJ.) (But see limitation noted in Point III).

(3) *Nationwide standards for judging "obscenity" do not exist.*

The wisdom of our Federal structure becomes apparent when we consider the anomalous results of an abuse of that structure—Federal obscenity legislation. Each State has enacted a complex of laws governing individual morals; the pattern of these laws varies in accordance with local custom and tradition. Societal mores and laws governing marriage, divorce, non-marital relations, profanity and other aspects of human activity which are components of the basic concepts of morality can and do vary from State to State.

The "mores of the community"—the standard against which the cases tell us "obscenity" must be tested—are inevitably the result of the interaction of these and other local factors. Within a given state there is perhaps basis for distilling a community attitude. But what possible basis is there for postulating "community mores" coextensive with the entire United States? In the variety lies our cultural wealth.

In a Southern state, where miscegenation laws are enforced, a description of interracial social activities might be deemed immoral; the same description be wholly inoffensive to a community in the North. Artistic expression considered shocking in remote rural areas may be deemed passé in large urban centers. On the other hand, everyday occurrences in the stables or the fields may shock those who are unfamiliar with animal husbandry. The diversity of mores and folkways in our many States safeguards us against a stultifying conformity. In aid of this diversity the Constitution must be read to proscribe the imposition of such conformity by Congressional fiat in the area of "obscenity". Facilities of travel and communication are the instruments of uniformity.

The simple fact is that as concerns moral attitudes, there is no national "community" and no basis in our Constitutional scheme for the development of any nationally uniform standard. The idea of a uniform nationwide consensus of moral values is a disturbing fiction particularly if imposed. So also was the fiction of Federal "common law" which was prophetically designated by Justice Holmes, in his dissent in *Black & White Taxicab* v. *Brown & Yellow Taxicab,* 276 U. S. 518 (1927) where at p. 534 he reminded the Court of the Federal judiciary's "unconstitutional assumption of powers * * * which no lapse of time or respectable array of opinion should make us hesitate to correct." The fiction of Federal general law was later held to be an unconstitutional basis of Federal judicial power in *Erie R. Co.* v. *Tompkins,* 304 U. S. 64 (1938). I suggest to the Court that the fiction of a national community of moral attitudes is equally an unconstitutional basis for Federal power.

(4) *Federal obscenity law interferes with the power of the States to mold the moral standards of the community.*

The Federal statutes purport to determine what printed matter may be mailed from a point in a given State to a destination which is within that State, in another State or in a foreign country; what may be received in a State of destination for distribution in that State; and what may be transported by common carrier from one State to another. As a result a Federal jury in New York may ban from the mails printed matter addressed to citizens of New Mexico, even though the State of New Mexico is wholly willing to permit its circulation there. Clearly the sovereign power of the State of New Mexico is infringed if such printed matter is adjudicated non-mailable under Federal law. Such a result is in clear violation of the First Amendment, which was intended to exclude Federal regulation of speech and press in this area.

The result is even more striking if we consider an instance in which the State itself—through the instrumentality, for example of a State university—may be prevented by Federal law from bringing literature into the State. This is not a remote possibility: "obscenity" prosecutions have been brought based upon educational literature dealing with sexual relations, which literature might well be used by State agencies. (*United States* v. *Dennett,* 39 F. 2d 564 (1930); *Walker* v. *Popenoe,* 149 F. 2d 511 (1945).)

More important, and indeed all important, is the valued use of our 48 separate experimental laboratories—our sovereign states—48 geographic areas evidencing varying cultural attitudes toward matters sexual; areas which have their highest value in these terms rather than in economic or geographic dimensions. To impress one uniform censor on these varying folkways cannot be consistent with the

concept of a Federal Government. The *Federal* concept imbedded in the Constitution demands the enrichment of comparative judgments and an emotional and spiritual free enterprise.

The needed diversity is easily illustrated. One need only look at the wide gap between the culture—Irish overlaid on Puritan—of New York and Boston which bespeaks a totally different standard of acceptance or rejection of matters sexual than does the Latin folkway of New Orleans. For example, also, one may note the conflicting pronouncements on the morality of the same book or motion picture which are made by civic or religious leaders in different localities throughout the nation. But all these variations pay tribute to the concept of Federalism in the Constitution and demand the persistence of that concept in matters of the mind. In this area, this Court has ever been cognizant of what in the vernacular is called "States rights", the concept that in a nation so vast the Founding Fathers negated in the Constitution any theory of a nationwide control of matter of the mind.

This area is removed from Federal power. The sedition area may even be preempted to the Federal Government while "merchandise words" may reside in State and Federal control.

POINT III

The power residing in the states over speech and press is not beyond all federal control.

This Court, as the ultimate guardian of the guarantees of the First Amendment, not only has the duty to enjoin any unlawful abridgement by the Federal Government of such guarantee; it also has the duty to the people of the Republic to protect against any attempt by the States to impose unreasonable restraints upon freedom of speech and press. Such is the command of the Fourteenth Amendment.

While it is recognized that the States possess the power to legislate with respect to the mores of the community, it must not be overlooked that such legislation is subject to the test of compliance with the First Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment is the instrument for effectively protecting the people against the power of any State to tamper with their rights in speech and press. Upon its proclamation was finally satisfied the demand of Madison and other members of the First Congress for the addition to the Bill of Rights of a specific prohibition applicable to the States, against their abridgement of the First Amendment freedoms.

Just as the Federal authority has the Constitutional duty to prevent the establishment of non-republican institutions in the States flowing from the guarantee of a republican form of government, so also the National Government has the Constitutional power, and indeed the duty, to protect the people from encroachments by the States against the freedoms of speech and press. This Court must continue to invalidate unconstitutional limitations of speech and press imposed by the States. Should this Court

not carve out as unabridgeable the idea *qua* idea area discussed in Point I the States may in the future find themselves in a position where they may desire to invoke Federal aid in the maintenance of Constitutionally approved local standards. Such Federal assistance has a precedent; it was obtained in support of local standards governing the consumption of liquors within a given State. As a State may prefer to remain dry despite the fact that its neighbors consume liquors, so likewise a State may prefer not to have its citizens receive certain "obscene" printed or visual materials which are transmitted from another State but in the State of delivery are lawfully banned. In such circumstance, the State of delivery may call upon the Federal government for assistance. Cf. *James Clark Distilling Co.* v. *Western Maryland R. Co.*, 242 U.S. 311 (1917).

The Court is undoubtedly aware of an analogous provision of the Postal Regulations whereby the most local authority, the parent, may invoke the aid of the postal authorities in order to control the delivery of mail to his child. (See Post Office Circular 2, 12-1-54 154.22).

POINT IV

If the Federal Government does possess power in this area, the Federal obscenity statute is unconstitutional in that it violates the First and Fifth Amendments.

(a) Freedom of expression is the rule.

Even if Federal power over the subject matter of speech and the press be conceded, the statute supporting the indictment in this case is unconstitutional under the First Amendment. Through a complex of obscenity laws as noted in Point II the government has imposed direct regulation over the contents of the media of expression. Such power, it is well established, may be exerted only under exceptional circumstances.

> "The basic principles of freedom of speech and the press, like the First Amendment's command, do not vary. These principles make freedom of expression the rule." (*Burstyn* v. *Wilson,* 343 U. S. 495) (1952); See also *Herndon* v. *Lowry*, 301 U. S. 242 (1936); *Thomas* v. *Collins,* 323 U. S. 516 (1944); *Winters* v. *New York,* 333 U. S. 507 (1948).

A narrow category of such exceptions has been recognized by the Supreme Court. These were summarized in this case below by Judge Frank, concurring as follows:

> "Any statute authorizing governmental interference (whether by 'prior restraint' or punishment) with free speech or free press runs counter to the First Amendment, except when the government can show that the statute strikes at words which are likely to incite to a breach of the peace, or with sufficient probability tend either to the overthrow of the government by illegal means or to some other overt anti-social conduct." 237 F. 2d at 802.

There is as is set forth in the Appendix to this Brief ground to hold that the anti-social conduct aimed at has not been identified and that publications considered to be obscene do not lead to any identified anti-social conduct.

A publication may be constitutionally suppressed only if the government sustains the burden of proving that it contains material which incites to anti-social conduct sufficiently dangerous to justify the exceptional remedy of suppressing free speech. The government must prove clear and substantial danger of anti-social conduct and must make a showing of high probability that such anti-social conduct would take place if the publication were not suppressed.

> "In each case [courts] must ask whether the gravity of the evil, discounted by its improbability, justifies such invasion of free speech as is necessary to avoid the danger." (*Dennis* v. *United States,* 341 U. S. 494).

The government has the burden of justifying any restraint on speech or press. *Burstyn* v. *Wilson, supra; Thomas* v. *Collins, supra; West Virginia Board of Education* v. *Barnette,* 319 U. S. 624; *Dennis* v. *United States, supra.* There is no presumption of the constitutionality of a statute which impinges on these freedoms; on the contrary "the State has a heavy burden." (*Burstyn* v. *Wilson, supra*). Moreover * * * "When legislation appears on its face to affect the use of speech, press or religion, and when its validity depends on the existence of facts not proved, their existence should not be presumed." (*Busey* v. *District of Columbia,* 138 F. (2) 592 (1943).

In the Appendix to this Brief we have set forth an analysis of sociological and psychological data indicating the absence of any causal relationship between reading sexually stimulating material and overt anti-social conduct. This was also the conclusion of Judge Frank who, after

an exhaustive study of this question, found in this case that:

> "To date there exists, I think, no thoroughgoing studies by competent persons which justifies the conclusion that normal adults' reading or seeing of the 'obscene' probably induces anti-social conduct. Such studies do conclude that so complex and numerous are the causes of sexual vice that it is impossible to assert with any assurance that 'obscenity represents a ponderable causal factor in sexually deviant adult behavior. 'Although the whole subject of obscenity censorship hinges upon the unproved assumption that 'obscene' literature is a significant factor in causing sexual deviation from the community standard, no report can be found of a single effort to genuine research to test this assumption by singling out as a factor for study the effect of sex literature upon sexual behavior.' What little competent research has been done, points definitely in a direction precisely opposite to that assumption.
>
> "Alpert reports that, when, in the 1920s, 409 women college graduates were asked to state in writing what things stimulated them sexually they answered thus: 218 said "Man"; 95 said books; 40 said drama; 29 said dancing; 18 said pictures; 9 said music. Of those who replied that the source of their sex information came from books, not one specified a 'dirty' book as the source. Instead, the books listed were: The Bible, the dictionary, the encyclopedia, novels from Dickens to Henry James, circulars about venereal diseases, medical books, and Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.*' "

For the full statistical analysis of these figures, see Ernst and Seagle, *To the Pure* . . ., Chapt. XII, An Appeal to Science, pp. 234ff. (1928).

(b) "Obscene" cannot be defined.

Due process of law requires that a defendant know with some certainty of what he is accused (see (f) below). The case law of obscenity is remarkable for its failure to define what is supposed to be prohibited. Many courts and commentators have attempted to define the concept; all have inevitably failed. An objective student of the precedents cannot fail to agree with Judge Frank that:

> "If anyone regards as precise the standard in the obscenity statute, he cannot have read the pertinent cases." (*Roth* v. *Goldman,* 172 F. (2) 788 (1949).)

To the same effect see *Parmelee* v. *United States,* 113 F. (2) 729 (1940); *Bantam Books* v. *Melko,* 14 N. J. 524; *United States* v. *Roth,* 237 F. (2) 796 (1956).

See also *State* v. *Lerner,* 51 O. L. A. 321 (Ohio 1948), 81 N. E. (2) 282, 286 (1948).

> "Obscenity is not a legal term. It cannot be defined so that it will mean the same to all people, all the time, everywhere. Obscenity is very much a figment of the imagination—an indefinable something in the minds of some and not in the minds of others, and it is not the same in the minds of the people of every clime and country, nor the same today that it was yesterday or will be tomorrow."

The reasons for the inability of the courts to define obscenity have been aptly diagnosed by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in *Parmelee* v. *United States, supra,* where the court said:

> "Probably the fundamental reason why the word 'obscene' is not susceptible of exact definition is that such intangible moral concepts as it purports to connote vary in meaning from one period to another."

(c) "Obscenity" depends on an infinity of variables which render the law completely uncertain.

As a result of their inability to define "obscene" the courts have, in effect, delegated the problem to the triers of fact. Juries or judges determine the extent to which "intangible moral concepts" shall be invoked to suppress rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. As Judge Hand has stated "obscenity is a function of many variables * * * and the verdict of the jury is * * * really a small bit of legislation ad hoc * * *" (*United States* v. *Levine,* 83 F. (2) 156 (1936)).

Under the Federal obscenity laws a very large number of variables may affect the fate of a publication. There are no standards adequate to prevent the trier of fact in any particular case from basing his judgment on his own subjective reactions. Preliminary to submission of the case is the determination to prosecute which, like the ultimate verdict, is bound by no precise limitations, and can, of course, be made on the basis of wholly extraneous factors. When the case goes to the triers of fact the ultimate result becomes anyone's guess, since the triers have virtually unlimited discretion to determine the law. In the first instance the jury must invest with content such terms as "obscene", "salacious", "immoral", "corrupt" or any other of the synonyms adverted to by the courts as substitutes for judicial definition. Here is an immediate invitation to punishment on the basis of the subjective reactions of the jury.[1] Second, the jury must evaluate the

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[1] Thus, Chafee, in Government and Mass Communications (1947) comments, at page 210:

> "The subject, by its very nature, includes a large element of irrationality * * * When the facts themselves are necessarily fraught with contradictory emotions, it is hopeless to expect officials and judges to be coldly reasonable in dealing with literary representation of those facts."

publication against the standards of the community. Here again, there is uncontrolled opportunity for subjective judgment.[2] Third, since the courts admit that moral concepts change with time, the result in the case of any given work depends on when the prosecution is initiated. Fourth, since under federal law the work may be prosecuted anywhere in the United States, the result depends on where the prosecution is brought.

Thus a publisher confronted with the federal obscenity laws lacks even a remote basis for evaluating whether a work may be held obscene. There is no rational body of judicial decision; there is no basis for predicting the subjective reactions of the jury; accidents of time or geography may become determinative. He may know that certain works have been condemned in certain places. But he also knows that the same works have been cleared—in different places or at a different time. He has no means of guessing where or when his publication will be prosecuted, what the mood of the community from which a jury will be drawn may be, whether the jury will reflect what he deems to be prevailing moral standards and in any case whose moral standards they will be. In other words, he is not in a position to make even an informed guess.

Obscenity is wholly different from other fields where defendants must risk the reactions of a jury, such as

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[2]Judge Frank noted, in his concurring opinion in this case below that:

> "If, in a jury case, the trial judge does not direct a verdict or enter a judgment of acquittal, the jury exercises the censorship power. Courts have said that a jury has a peculiar aptitude as a censor of obscenity, since, representing a cross-section of the community, it knows peculiarly well the average 'common conscience' of the time. Yet no statistician would conceivably accept the views of a jury—twelve persons chosen at random—as a fair sample of community attitudes on such a subject as obscenity. A particular jury may voice the 'moral sentiments' of a generation ago, not of the present time."

criminal negligence. In the instance of obscenity not only is virtually every element a variable, but the defendant's fate actually rests on the subjective evaluation by the triers of the facts of "intangible, moral concepts." The trier of facts does not evaluate conduct against a framework of objective events and apply the standard of the reasonable man. Here the triers of fact determine what should or should not be circulated.

As Judge Frank pointed out in this case below, the law authorizes "hundreds of divers jury-legislatures with discrepant beliefs, to decide whether or not to enact hundreds of divers statutes interfering with freedom of expression."

(d) The uncertainty of the standard is shown by the contradictory results of recent obscenity proceedings.

Even a cursory glance at the modern history of "obscenity" demonstrates how the purported standard is variously and contradictorily applied. Thus, the novel "Ulysses" was found importable as non-obscene in 1934 (*United States* v. *One Book,* 72 F(2) 705 (1934)); previously booksellers had been convicted under the New York Penal Law for selling it.

The novel "Memoirs of Hecate County" was found obscene in a criminal trial in Los Angeles in September, 1946; a bookseller indicted for selling the same book was acquitted in San Francisco in December, 1946. The publisher of the book was criminally convicted in New York in October, 1946 and the book was found non-obscene and therefore importable by administrative action of the Customs Service in California in 1954.

Similarly, the novel "God's Little Acre" was held "obscene" in Massachusetts in 1950. It was held not to be obscene in New York in 1933 and in Pennsylvania in

1948 (See *Attorney General* v. *"God's Little Acre"*, 326 Mass. 281 (1950)).

Nudist magazines have similarly been subjected to contradictory rulings in the courts. Thus, one lower federal court in the District of Columbia found magazines published by the nudist movement "not likely to promote lustful feelings or excite the sexual passions" (See *Summerfield* v. *Sunshine Book Co.* 221 F(2) 42 (1955).) Another federal district court subsequently found the magazines obscene (*Sunshine Book Company* v. *Summerfield,* 128 F. Supp. 564 (1955)), but was reversed on appeal by the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia (*Sunshine Book Company* v. *Summerfield,* No. 12622, May 31, 1956).[3] During the same period a lower federal court in the Eastern District of Washington banned importation of certain foreign nudist magazines (*United States* v. *4200 Copies International Journal,* 134 Fed. Supp. 490 (1955)) on reasoning comparable to that of the reversed decision of the District Court in the *Sunshine Book* case, *op cit. supra.*

It is notorious that in the field of federal administrative enforcement of obscenity laws there is wide discrepancy between rulings of the Post Office Department and the Treasury Department, although each agency is presumably charged with the same responsibility to ban "obscenity". The New Jersey Court has commented, with respect to the federal administrative picture:

> "Nowhere is the inconsistency of literary censorship more patent than in the federal field." (*Bantam Books* v. *Melko, supra*)

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[3] Subsequently reargued before the full bench.

(e) The uncertainties of the obscenity laws render them void for vagueness under the Fifth Amendment.

On the basis of the foregoing it is submitted that the Federal obscenity statutes are unconstitutional definitions of criminal liability. The due process clause of the Fifth Amendment forbids imposition of criminal sanctions where liability is as dependent on chance as it is under these laws. As Mr. Justice Rutledge said in *United States* v. *CIO,* 335 U. S. 106 (1947) (dissenting opinion), "Blurred signposts to criminality will not suffice to create it."

This Court stated the requirements of due process in *Winters* v. *New York* (333 U. S. 507 (1948)) where a somewhat different but no more precise restraint on freedom of expression than is here involved was invalidated:

> "The standard of certainty in statutes punishing for offenses is higher than those depending primarily upon civil sanctions for enforcement. The crime 'must be defined with appropriate definiteness' * * * . There must be ascertainable standards of guilt. Men of common intelligence cannot be required to guess at the meaning of the enactment * * *."

Section 1461 does not measure up to these requirements. When the result depends on subjective determinations of juries, and on happenstance of history or geography, there is no "ascertainable standard of guilt." The statute involved in this case and the other obscenity statutes are classic examples of legislation whose meaning can not be guessed at even by men of common intelligence. They appear also to be precisely the type of legislation condemned by the Court in *Herndon* v. *Lowry, supra,* on the ground that it "licenses the jury to create its own standard in each case."

While the majority opinion in the *Burstyn* case and in *Holmby Productions, Inc.* v. *Vaughn,* 350 U. S. 870 (1955) rests on the principle that the standards there involved, one of which was "obscenity", were too uncertain to satisfy the First Amendment, their reasoning—that "unbridled censorship" was involved—is also applicable to the Fifth Amendment. If a standard permits "unbridled censorship" it does not define a crime with reasonable certainty.

(f) The rule of certainty is particularly important when First Amendment rights are affected.

Because the rights secured by the First Amendment are preferred in the constitutional scheme, and because they are particularly vulnerable to impairment by prosecution under loosely worded criminal statutes, this Court has subjected such laws to most careful scrutiny.

In the *Winters* case the Court held:

> "Although we are dealing with an aspect of a free press in its relation to public morals, the principles of unrestricted distribution of publications admonish us of the particular importance of a maintenance of standards of certainty in the field of criminal prosecution for violation of statutory prohibitions against distribution."

See also *Stromberg* v. *California,* 283 U. S. 359 (1930); *Herndon* v. *Lowry, supra; Kunz* v. *New York,* 340 U. S. 290 (1950).

Under this doctrine there is clearly applicable to the standard "obscene" Justice Frankfurter's statement in his concurring opinion in *Burstyn* v. *Wilson, supra,* that it:

> "remains too uncertain to justify constraining the creative efforts of the imagination by fear of pains and penalties imposed by a necessarily subjective censorship."

CONCLUSION

Along the lines of the Constitutional philosophy above set forth, the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit should be reversed.

Respectfully submitted,

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On the brief:

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March, 1957

Consents To File Brief Amicus

DAVID VON G. ALBRECHT
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285 Madison Avenue
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March 14th, 1957

Morris Ernst, Esq.
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Re: Roth v. United States,
No. 582
October 1956 Term

Dear Mr. Ernst:

We hereby consent to your filing a brief amicus curiae.

Very truly yours,

David von G. Albrecht

DVGA:ig

TELEGRAM

1957 Mar 14 11:32

Morris L. Ernst
c/o Greenbaum Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue, N. Y. NY

Confirming my letter of March eleventh United States consents to your filing amicus brief on your own behalf in Samuel Roth versus US number five eight two

J Lee Rankin, Solicitor General

APPENDIX

Memorandum on the Lack of Causal Connection Between Exposure to Printed and Visual Materials and Participation in Anti-Social Conduct or Behavior

1. PRESENT STATE OF MAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF SUCH CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP

Only during the last several years have the effects of printed materials on readers been studied to any extent by social scientists. No study has been made which has shown causal connection between exposure to "obscene" printed and visual materials and participation in anti-social conduct or behavior. Moreover:

> "Although the whole subject of obscenity hinges upon the unproved assumption that 'obscene' literature is a significant factor in causing sexual deviation from the community standard, no report can be found of a single effort at genuine research to test this assumption by singling out as a factor for study the effect of sex literature upon sexual behavior." (Lockhart and McClure, "Obscenity and The Courts," 20 *L. & Contemp. Prob.*, 587, 595.)

Nor has it been demonstrated that youthful readers (who are often presumed to be most susceptible to influence) are affected by such material. Indeed, there has been a notable absence of results showing that any such effect exists.

> "Those who would ban books argue that particularly books make for juvenile delinquency or crime, induce violence and sadism, corrupt taste, promote sexual perversion, distort human values, subvert political loyalties, provoke disrespect for the law, produce demeaning stereotypes of groups and, in general,

make sin even more attractive than it ordinarily is. When evidence is put forward to support these claims, it is at best thin and questionable; more characteristically, it is entirely absent." (Richard McKeon, Robert K. Merton, and Walter Gellhorn, *The Freedom to Read,* 76 (1956).)

* * *

Where an effect is so out of proportion to its supposed cause the conclusion must inevitably be that other factors are of greater force.

"We start with the proposition that an interest in pornography is seemingly not the molder of a man's personality but the reflection of it. Indeed, certain psychological experiments suggest that one who finds pornographic elements in allegedly obscene books is very likely to discover them also in apparently innocuous books, through a process of self-selection and emphasis that the reader himself brings to the words. The same process of self-selection—this tendency to read and see what accords with pre-existing interests—probably controls the effects of reading as well as the determination of what will be read. The fact that 'sex maniacs' may read pornography does not mean that they became what they are because of their reading, but that their reading became what it is because of them. Their personality, according to modern scientific findings that confirm a proposition stated long ago by the Jesuit fathers, was probably basically formed before they ever learned to read." (Walter Gellhorn, *Individual Freedom and Governmental Restraints,* 61-2 (1956).)

This conclusion as it applies to the effect of "obscene" printed materials, is amply supported by the two classes of evidence into which the existing research may be divided: (1) that of anti-social behavior and sexual stimu-

lation, showing neither to be caused by printed materials, and (2) that of printed materials, showing them to cause neither sexual stimulation nor anti-social behavior. We may set aside for the moment the question of whether or not sexual stimulation is in itself a cause of anti-social behavior, an even more dubious proposition.

The sources of anti-social behavior, like the effects of reading, have been studied intensively in juveniles on the assumption that the youthful individual is more susceptible to influence than the adult and more likely to show such influence if it exists. Special attention has been given by a Congressional Committee to the relationship between juvenile delinquency and the mass media—such as television, motion pictures, and comic books—and much testimony has been elicited from social scientists and other experts in the field (see Hearings and Reports of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, 84th Congress, Reports Nos. 62, 1466 and 2055). The effect of the testimony is to suggest great doubt that the media—especially the printed media, in this case the comic book—have a primary or causative effect in producing anti-social behavior. "Majority opinion," the Committee reported, "seems inclined to the view that it is unlikely that the reading of crime and horror comics would lead to delinquency in a well-adjusted and normally law-abiding child." (Senate Report No. 62, 84th Congress, 1st Session, p. 12).

In communications to the Committee, many experts went further:

> "* * * In 25 years of practice, which includes 10 years majoring in juvenile and adult courtwork, I have never been able to pin down a definite major fundamental causal influence between crime, violence, etc., as depicted in movies, cartoons, books, or TV, and the offen-

sive behavior encountered in delinquency * * *." (Dr. George M. Lott, University Psychiatrist, State College, Pa., June 1, 1955).

* * *

"* * * To attack the television programs and the comic books appears to me to be rather like closing the stable door after the horse has escaped * * *." (Dr. Maier I. Tuchler, San Francisco, Cal., May 24, 1955).

* * *

"* * * It is my feeling that this literature and these programs serve a positive purpose in permitting the child or youth to live through emotionally, in a vicarious manner, his aggressive needs. If the disturbed child or youth who acts out his hostility in a violent manner were not exposed to these media, some other environmental influence would tend to provoke this hostility * * *." (Dr. Samuel R. Kesselman, Neuropsychiatrist, Newark, N. J., May 25, 1955).

This last opinion—that printed material with what may superficially appear to be anti-social content may actually serve to prevent anti-social behavior rather than encourage it—is shared by Dr. Lauretta Bender, Professor of Clinical Psychiatry, New York University, College of Medicine.

"As has been well stated by J. Moodie, normal, well-adjusted children with active minds, given insufficient outlets or in whom natural drives for adventure are curbed, will demand satisfaction in the form of some excitement. Their desire for blood and thunder is a desire to solve the problems of the threats of aggression against themselves or those they love, as well as the problem of their own impulses to retaliate and punish in like form. The comics may be said to offer the same type of mental catharsis to its readers that Aristotle claimed was an attribute of the drama * * *. That they supply a real need for the child there can be no doubt * * *.

> "* * * We repeat that comics are representative of the folklore of the times, spontaneously given to and received by children, serving at the same time as a means of helping them solve the individual and sociological problems appropriate to their own lives." (Dr. Lauretta Bender, *A Dynamic Psychopathology of Childhood,* 227, 229, 230 (1954).)

Moreover, in groups where both delinquency and comic-reading are found—as shown by a study of 250 New York City school boys—research reveals no correlation between the two. (Herbert S. Lewin, "Facts and Fears about the Comics," *Nation's Schools,* 46-8, 52.) In a report to the New York State Temporary Commission on Youth and Delinquency, Children's Court Judge George W. Smythe, president of the National Probation and Parole Association, submitted a list of twenty contributing causes of juvenile delinquency ranked by the number of cases in which they had appeared. No communication media, let alone reading material are mentioned; reading *difficulty* is included but ranks eighteenth. (*New York Times,* September 2, 1955). This finding is fully confirmed by a summary of studies quoted by Judge Frank:

> "(1) Scientific studies of juvenile delinquency demonstrate that those who get into trouble, and are the greatest concern to the advocates of censorship, are far less inclined to read than those who do not become delinquent. The delinquents are generally the adventurous type, who have little use for reading and other nonactive entertainments. Thus, even assuming that reading sometimes has an adverse effect upon moral behavior, the effect is not likely to be substantial, for those who are susceptible seldom read.
>
> "(2) Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, who are among the country's leading authorities on the treatment and

causes of juvenile delinquency, have recently published the results of a ten-year study of its causes. They exhaustively studied approximately 90 factors and influences that might lead to or explain juvenile delinquency; but the Gluecks gave no consideration to the type of reading material, if any were read by the delinquents. When those who know so much about the problem of delinquency among youth—the very group about whom the advocates of censorship are most concerned—conclude that what delinquents read has so little effect upon their conduct that it is not worth investigating in an exhaustive study of causes, there is good reason for serious doubts concerning the basic hypothesis on which obscenity censorship is dependent.

"(3) The many other influences in society that stimulate sexual desire are so much more frequent in their influence and so much more potent in their effect that the influence of reading is likely, at most, to be relatively insignificant in the composite of forces that lead an individual into conduct deviating from the community sex standards * * * And the studies demonstrating that sex knowledge seldom results from reading indicates the relative unimportance of literature in sexual thoughts and behavior as compared with other factors in society." (Appendix to concurrence in *United States* v. *Roth,* 237 F. (2) 796, at p. 813.)

The effect of printed materials even on impressionable children has not been shown even though the medium is universally available to them, consumed by them in large quantity, and direct in its emotional impact through bold color, pictorial simplicity, and highly dramatized content. Therefore, *a fortiori,* is it difficult to show such an effect on adults, who have been exposed to a much greater amount of experience and whose moral character, good or bad, has been more firmly molded.

This conclusion is further supported by the most important study of the subject, *The Impact of Literature: A Psychological Discussion of Some Assumptions in the Censorship Debate,* prepared for the American Book Publishers Council by Marie Jahoda and the staff of the Research Center for Human Relations, New York University, March 1, 1954. Dr. Jahoda finds that there "is little consensus on what constitutes a 'bad' book beyond the tautological statement that a 'bad' book is one that has a 'bad' effect," and that at the same time "assumptions made by various people on the effect of 'bad' books are often inconsistent with each other, unprecise and confusing." (*The Impact of Literature,* 16.) In summation she writes:

> "There is a large overlap in content matter between all media of mass communication. The daily press, television, movies, radio and fictional printed material all present their share of the so-called 'bad' material, varying in the degree of reality attached to these matters. It is virtually impossible to isolate the impact of one of these media on a population that is exposed to all of them. Some evidence suggests that the particular communications to which an individual exposes himself are probably in good part a matter of choice. The reader does not take in everything that is offered but mostly what he is predisposed to take. In the realm of attitudes, this means that adult people prefer to expose themselves to material which expresses attitudes they already hold. A conversion of attitudes by any of the mass media is indeed a rare event, if it occurs at all * * *" (*The Impact of Literature,* 44.)

Even if one assumes—and there is no evidence for such an assumption—that the stimulation of erotic thoughts and desires leads of itself to anti-social behavior, the few studies that have been made of such stimulation rarely

show reading matter or printed materials to have caused it. A carefully conducted survey of a group of boys between the ages of 12 and 16 showed that 85 per cent had been aroused to the extent of "genital commotion" by such varied stimuli as carnival rides, playing a musical solo, fast car-driving, and seeing a column of marching soldiers. (Glenn V. Ramsey, "The Sexual Development of Boys," 56 *American Journal of Psychology,* 217, at 222-223 (1943). Kinsey, a noted authority in this field, also reports the effects of stimulation resulting from skiing, swimming, or sitting in hot sand. (Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* 164-5 (1948).)

Where reading plays any role whatever, it is likely to be one of information. In the classic study of twelve hundred unmarried women college graduates made by the Bureau of Social Hygiene of New York City, 218 reported that what they found the most stimulating sexually was, as might have been anticipated, the opposite sex. As for their sources of sex information, reading represented only six per cent of it, and among the books mentioned were the Bible, the dictionary, Shakespeare, a Lydia Pinkham advertisement, and Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.* (Morris L. Ernst and William Seagle, *To the Pure* * * *, 249-255 (1928).) Obviously, given the appropriate circumstances, nearly anything can be sexually stimulating. If a person "reads a book when his sensuality is low," as Judge Curtis Bok puts it, "he will yawn over it or find that its suggestibility leads him off on quite different paths. If he reads the Mechanics' Lien Act while his sensuality is high, things will stand between him and the printed page that have no business there." (*Commonwealth* v. *Gordon,* 66 Pa. Dist. & Co. R. 101, 137-38 (1949), aff'd 166 Pa. 120, 70 A. 2d 389 (1950).)

Erotic stimulation, in any event, is not of itself the agent of anti-social behavior. If it were, the prohibitions affecting obscenity would have to be extended to include the wide variety of stimulating agents we have mentioned, and many more.

> "I think no sane man thinks socially dangerous the arousing of normal sexual desires. Consequently, if reading obscene books has merely that consequence, Congress, it would seem, can constitutionally no more suppress such books than it can prevent the mailing of many other objects, such as perfumes, for example, which notoriously produce that result." (*Roth* v. *Goldman*, 172 F (2) 788, 792.)

Far from being anti-social, erotic stimulation is essential to the very existence of society. "Unless the human race is to vanish entirely, we can scarcely afford to regard the arousing of normal sexual desires as a social danger to be curbed at all costs." (Walter Gellhorn, *Individual Freedom and Governmental Restraints,* 59 (1956).)

One authority reports no examples whatever of sexual offenses stimulated by "obscene" matter. (Karpman, *The Sexual Offender and His Offenses,* 360 (1954).) It is a commonplace that at least the female half of the population is largely immune to stimulation of this kind.

> "* * * [A]s Kinsey makes clear, women are not particularly interested in certain kinds of sex behavior—such as exhibitionism, peeping, and circulating pornography—in which many males delight. The Indiana University researchers * * * explain this sex difference by pointing out that females are less aroused psychologically than are males." (Robert Veit Sherwin, "Female Sex Crimes," in *Sex Life of the American Woman and the Kinsey Report,* 177-8 (1954).)

Furthermore, it has often been observed by psychologists that the individuals most interested in printed material with erotic content are the ones *least* likely to engage in any overt act as a result of it. (Testimony of Dr. Albert Ellis in *United States* v. *Roth,* S.D.N.Y. C 148-9 at p. 365.) The most delinquent youths are least likely to be interested in any kind of reading; of the delinquent and emotionally disturbed children in a survey presented to the Boston Kefauver Hearings on Juvenile Delinquency, the great majority had already manifested their disturbance before the age at which they could read at all. Not erotic stimulation but its very opposite—the inability to be stimulated—is characteristically found in what society calls sexual deviants and purveyors of "obscenity." A study of virtually all of the sex offenders convicted in New Jersey between April, 1949 and June, 1950 revealed that, aside from those involved in statutory rape and incest, they tended to be sexually inhibited and repressed rather than overimpulsive or over-sexed. "All told, 54 per cent of those studied showed severe sexual inhibition; and high rates of inhibition were particularly found among those convicted of non-coital sex relations with a minor, exhibitory acts, and disseminating 'obscene' material." (Albert Ellis and Ralph Brancale, *The Psychology of Sex Offenders,* 93-5 (1956).)

Those who are most affected tend to be, not the delinquents, but the prudish and censorious individuals who typically initiate complaints against material they find "obscene." They, and not the delinquents, are the only persons who consistently respond to published "erotica" in such a manner as to indicate any cause-and-effect relationship:

"* * * [T]he local Comstock, who prowls the book stores and magazine stands searching for 'shocking passages' to point at in horror, alarm, and glee, finds exactly what he is looking for and would be disappointed if he did not * * * He is often an emotionally disturbed and intemperate person with a paranoid personality. His attention is focussed on smut, and since he looks for it, he finds it everywhere." (Lockhart and McClure, "Literature, The Law of Obscenity, and the Constitution," 38 *Minn. Law Rev.* 371-378 (1954).)

2. IRRATIONAL JUDICIAL ODDITIES EMPLOYED TO COMPENSATE FOR ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE OF CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP

The compulsion of man to try to explain or justify the occurrences of the world about him is his noblest characteristic and his gravest danger. In the absence of a method of inquiry which offers either a reasonable hypothesis or a scientifically tested cause and effect relationship resort is had to the process of rationalization. To secure acceptance a rationalization need meet no objective standards—the approbation of those forces in the community enjoying the power of suasion is sufficient. It is "judicial notice" at its worst.

It has therefore been normal and indeed inescapable for man, whether juror or judge, in the absence of knowledge showing a causal relationship between ideas and behaviour in the field of morals or sexual conventions, to evoke a rationalization as a substitute for constitutional standards. Since 1872 the judicial determination of obscenity has rested on a variety of conflicting unestablished subjective assumptions, including:

Appendix

1. Motive of the author. This is often invoked as an excuse for suppression or defense for freedom of his ideas. This obviously is a complete negation of any scrutiny of the effect on the reader; causal relationship is dispensed with. But assuming even that a given idea in print or picture can be shown to elicit anti-social behaviour, then surely an author with high motives can bring about the evil, and similarly an author with low motives, perhaps even intending to bring about such evil, can be ineffective.

2. Price. In many cases the price at which the book is sold is used as a test. By and large expensive books gain immunity thereby. The only validity of such testing factor lies in the presumption that the rich are incorruptible or are already corrupted, or that which is costly is therefore not tawdry. This is basically a cornerstone theory of an aristocratic society.

3. A greater measure of freedom for the daily press. A special and understandable sanctity of freedom for the daily and weekly press as distinguished from other printed formats seems to have been developed by our legislators and judges. Apparently it is assumed that books and magazines require the interposition of a censor between the author and the community, whereas the more readily available newspaper must be viewed under different standards. Perhaps the unwillingness to attack the newspaper is only an expression of fear on the part of the censorious that such an attack on a popular institution might lose to them the freedom to condemn other material.

4. Classics. In historic terms there is to be found an amusing conflict which leads to the grant of immunity from

obscenity laws to so called classics. No one has yet determined how long an author must be dead before his work becomes a classic. We would appear to have developed a reverence for classics to the point where their obscenities can travel through our culture with impunity. An idea back of this absurdity may be that a person reading a classic becomes enveloped in a distinguished mood that eliminates the impact of sexual material from any effect on the gonads.

5. Isolated passages. A recent trend indicates that any book must be read as a whole and cannot be suppressed because an isolated passage is deemed offensive. If, as the censor contends, the community must suffer some antisocial behaviour germinated by the specific episode, then what matters it, the content of the surrounding material? This supposedly modern approach by our courts is in reality only an application of the *de minimis* concept, useful in other areas of life, but of doubtful value in a situation where the effect upon the mind of the reader is the vital question.

6. Recently there has been a scurrying about the bookshops and newsstands throughout our nation directed primarily toward format, namely: paper bound books. This accent on a new format is typical of man's historic approach to communication; the fear of Guttenberg's press compared to the quill, the fear of radio compared to the printed word, the fear of movies compared to the spoken word, all give evidence that each new technique of dissemination invites attack on the technique and not essentially on the extension of the available audience.

7. Protection of our women. Only recently has there been a trace of impact of the new knowledge produced by scientists that women are not affected as are men by sexual titillation in print; they are not attracted by the so-called pornographic. For decades it has been theorized that material must be suppressed in order to protect our women. In the light of the scientific investigation that has shown that print or pictures are clearly without sexual glandular behaviour impact on women, the rationale must find its resting place along with the other fictions, legal and moral, that until this century guarded and disabled them.

8. Until recently in fetching for an excuse to condemn, no distinction was made between the impact on children of fiction as compared to non-fiction. The attack in the main has been on fiction. Investigation may well, however, recognize that realism, particularly in the daily press, has a very different impact than has anything in the realm of fiction or escape literature. Sexual perversion or deviation portrayed as an historical event may impress the mind of an adult, as well as the child, in quite a different fashion than the equivalent material appearing as fiction.

9. There are certain areas of relief provided in our enforcement of obscenity statutes to prevent the courts from being held up to ridicule by the upper reaches of our culture. One notes, for example, the existence of so-called obscenity contained in the reported law cases; the collections of "pornography" amassed by some of the more important libraries; and the practice of sending so-called obscenity material stopped from importation into the United States, to the Library of Congress for use by the learned.

10. Educational materials. Exceptions have been created in the name of education for manuals of sex instruction. Detailed explanations and specific illustrations contained in such works are permitted to circulate while similar descriptive passages translated to the medium of fiction subject the work to the danger of prosecution.

11. Competing forms. One of the curious anomalies in the area of censorship has developed in recent years with the advent of radio and television broadcasting. The book banned in one jurisdiction is read over radio facilities; the film which failed to obtain the approval of the censor is televised—both may be received by the people of the locality which has forbidden their introduction. Similarly, those states and cities which pre-censor all motion pictures may never have the opportunity to review the televised film.

12. Courts, Customs and Postal authorities at times dip into a mirage of subjective sexual connotations as tests of obscenity. Among other tidbits so used: High heels, nudity as distinguished from nakedness, black stockings and bras as exciters of males, four letter Anglo-Saxon words as distinguished from euphemisms of same implication, explicit as compared to implicit excitements, etchings as compared to paintings, verse versus prose, shift from stockings on women at bathing beaches to bare legs at a later date in a changing mores, brown breasts as compared to white breasts, *et cetera.* A recent confusion appears since "filthy" in the statute implies repulsion, a force, if any, antithetical to excitement.

13. Privacy. Some among us contend that each citizen has, as a part of the protection afforded him by the community, a right of privacy not to be deluged with noxious material. The individual, it is urged, should not be compelled to suffer this burden. While there is no evidence as to the extent of the burden, this taxation of the sensibilities of the community is really of little importance. We are, in these States, constitutionally dedicated to the creed that each citizen must exercise the right of selection secured to him by the First Amendment to choose from among all the thoughts of the mind of man freely communicated to him, to establish, without the aid of government, his own level of taste. Immunization from offensive products of the press must, if needed, be self-imposed.

* * *

A valuable list of books suppressed in our culture and elsewhere can be found in Banned Books by Anne Lyon Haight, 1955. The time and locale and circumstances of censorship gives ample evidence of the gravamen of this Appendix.

3. SOCIETAL SCARS CREATED BY LACK OF CONSTITUTIONAL STANDARDS FOR CONTROL OF SEXUAL STIMULI

Just as it may be shown that the effects of a given piece of reading matter are unlikely to be harmful, it can also be shown that the effect of censorship is not only harmful in itself but the source of other harms. Censorship removes to the courtroom questions of aesthetic and moral judgment which the healthy society, if it is to remain healthy, must settle for itself. Only through voluntary action—as Milton most eloquently argued in the *Areopagitica*—can either an individual or society exercise its moral muscles. A noted contemporary theologian has also commented on the inappropriateness of confusing the two areas:

> "Officers of the law must operate under statutes which in this matter are, or ought to be, narrowly drawn. On the other hand, voluntary reform, precisely because it is voluntary, may be based on the somewhat broader categories of common-sense judgment." (John Courtney Murray, S.J., "The Bad Arguments Intelligent Men Make," *America,* November 3, 1956.)

The effect of censorship by law is to provide an arena for combat between social forces whose antagonisms are notoriously irrelevant to the social problems, such as they are, presented by the circulation of "pornography." The most familiar of these is "the fight between the literati and the philistines," as two legal scholars have put it, for aesthetic jurisdiction over book publishing. (Lockhart and McClure, 38 *Minn. L. Rev.* 295, 328-9 (1954).) Both parties to the dispute tend to treat the legal history of

obscenity as a series of victories or defeats, located on a scale between liberality and license; and thus is further postponed any objective analysis and cure of whatever anti-social phenomena are involved.

It may also be said of censorship in matters pertaining to sex that it derives from those general social and cultural criteria that are frequently called, for lack of a better name, "Puritan." Even the proponents of censorship accept this label:

> "The ascendancy of Puritanism in England promoted a pious reserve in language as in conduct * * * The Victorian era was a time of literary restraint * * * It may be that the time has come for the pendulum to swing back again * * * a consummation devoutly to be wished." (Gathings Committee Report, p. 5.)

While this statement has the merit of recognizing that standards have changed, it fails to point out that historical perspective has increased our understanding of those earlier times. We now know that the Puritans were not so "puritan," and that the Victorians cultivated "pious reserve" more in theory than in practice. "Puritan" standards have indeed been in good part abandoned for the very reason that we have discovered them to have been largely a surface veneer and a source of hypocrisy. "Every censorship," as Harold Lasswell writes, "produces a technique of evasion as well as a technique of administration." (*Censorship,* 3 Encyc. Soc. Sci. 290, 294 (1930).) Censorship and hypocrisy thrive on one another.

One effect of sexual censorship is to intensify the technically "decent" but highly emotional concentration on sex in advertising and entertainment in forms that are comparatively morbid and unhealthful:

> "Censorship, official and unofficial, lets pass into the social mainstream countless images and innuendoes that could only be identified—if they were to be identified—as perverse. Of the normal, the lustful thoughts and desires of one sex for the other, it faithfully removes whatever trace it can." (Larrabee, "The Cultural Context of Sex Censorship," 20 *L. & Contemp. Prob.* 685 (1955).)

And it enormously increases the concentration of public attention on violence. "There is no mundane substitute for sex except sadism," writes the author of a study of the relationship between the two. "You may search the indexes to Krafft-Ebing, Ellis, Hirschfeld, Guyon, or any dozen sex scientists, but you will find no other human activity that can replace sex completely * * *. It is no accident that the end of Restoration bawdry coincided precisely with the fullest flowering of literary sadism in England * * *. The elegant eighteenth-century litterateurs, Johnson and Pope, are famous equally for the sexual purity of their writing, the sadistic cruelty of their speech. Sex being forbidden, violence took its place." (G. Legman, *Love and Death,* 9, 10 (1949).)

This phenomenon can be found ubiquitously in American popular reading matter—for example in the works of Mickey Spillane, which have the largest printings of any novels published in America. ("As of June, 1954, 24,000,000 copies of Spillane's books had been published." Christopher La Farge, "Mickey Spillane and His Bloody Hammer," *The Saturday Review,* November 6, 1954, p. 11.) The combination of sex and sadism has frequently been observed, but it should also be noted that there is an imbalance between the two. "Sex, in these novels, is lush but abortive and unresolved. Sadism is explicit, fully re-

alized, minutely described." (Anon., "Dames and Death," *Harper's Magazine,* May, 1952.)

Ideally, the literary art and the public consciousness should lend equal weight to both love and death, to the act in which life begins and that in which it ends. The healthy mind will not become excessively preoccupied with either, but neither will it shun them. Deny one entirely, however, as sexual censorship aims to do, and the other is naturally increased in prominence and emotional magnetism. Our media of communication are therefore overabundant in violence—newspapers which prey on catastrophe, television programs and radio "soap operas" which prey on domestic misery, an entire division of book publishing which preys on murder.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.
WIRTH H. KOENIG
MAURICE C. GREENBAUM

CASSRELL GREENBERG
ALAN L. ROSENBLUM
PLATT V. KETCHAM
HERBERT A. WOLFF, JR.
JOHN A. WIENER
CHARLES E. HEMING
ARTHUR JOEL KATZ
JULIA PERLES
RICHARD M. ADER
MIMI OBSTLER

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

December 23, 1955

Dear Ed:

Although I dislike being a debtor, you did say that you would listen to a trial spin of a recording of "Headlines of an Optimist". I am sending you the record. As you will note, it was just talked off the cuff and unrehearsed and obviously not written in advance.

I accept your proffer of advising (a) is it worth doing; (b) can I honorably shift it to you and take it away from NBC; and (c) what suggestions have you got.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P.S. Maybe Janet's judgment would be worth more than yours on this, as in most other things dealing with L I F E.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City

Please return.

Best Ernst

Ernst, Morris

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

Toshiba

December 9, 1955

Dear Ed:

I have four items which may be of real interest to you:

1. An amazing opportunity for leadership in the industry as a result of the famous luncheon.

2. An answer from my friend on the Supreme Court bench.

3. A formula for a spectacular based on "Utopia 1976" which I outlined previously to Ray.

4. I have been offered a five day a week spot on NBC which I am tempted to take and which I can handle through tape recording.

Since you have said that you thought I had rendered service to your Company on two matters, I am not hesitant about asking you to advise me on the wisdom of doing such broadcast.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

December 2, 1955

Dear Ed:

Note the enclosed exchange of correspondence that took place at the luncheon. Please return promptly for my files.

Some day you must do a television show about a young man who is a stout lawyer but employed in a job where he is effective but ashamed. The pattern is clearly to be seen in what this decent lawyer Salant told my friend. The other part of the show could be a woman who does not hold herself in high regard and still expects others to love her.

I think I may have the answer to the final act of my "Utopia 1976" on television. A part of the show will indicate the pace of change from the past to the present; then put on the screen as if it were a senate chamber 40 or 50 top Americans and get their predictions,-- Menninger on health, White on heart disease, Patton on farming, etc. etc. If you cannot use this idea let me know because I am already confident that my book can be marketed in a package with this concept. I am told that there will be a scramble by all our big business tycoons to get into this act and that the only difficulty will arise in the inability to select religious spokesmen without offending others.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

Enc

December 1, 1955

Mr. Richard S. Salant
Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Salant:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 30. I too enjoyed our meeting and the constructive suggestions you and Dr. Wiebe made at that occasion. I hope to be in touch with you again in the very near future with a revised version of my report.

Sincerely yours,

Marie Jahoda,
Associate Director

MJ/jk
CC/Dr. Robert Hutchins
Mr. Elmo Roper

C O P Y

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York - PLaza 1-2345

November 30, 1955

Dear Dr. Jahoda:

I am indeed happy to have had such a pleasant and constructive meeting with you and Dr. Cook, in the course of which we discussed your report and our correspondence concerning the report.

As the result of our meeting, it seems to me that the most desirable procedure in all the circumstances, and in order to achieve the objectives in which both of us are interested, is on the one hand for me to refrain from replying to your memorandum of November 23 and for you on the other hand to review the suggestions which Dr. Wiebe and I made today to determine whether you may wish to take these suggestions into account in revising your report.

I feel, and I hope that you will agree, that through our meeting we have established a better understanding and communication with each other and that this procedure should therefore supersede our prior written communications.

I look forward to this method as a happier solution to our mutual problems.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Richard S. Salant

Dr. Marie Jahoda
Associate Director
Research Center for Human Relations
New York University
21 Washington Place
New York, N. Y.

CC Dr. Robert M. Hutchins
Mr. Elmo Roper

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

December 1, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Ed:

Just want you to know that the luncheon yesterday was conducted with good will and, as I get the report from Dr. Yawger, developed great benefits for CBS, the elimination of the letter of inaccurate accusations and the establishment of a surprising amount of good feeling. I am always surprised how easy it is to operate with success with decent objectives. These chores that I have done for CBS and other congregations of capital are probably the nearest I'll ever get to an honorary degree. I confess they add greatly to my conceit.

Thanks for letting me bother you and participate in what I deem to be a victory of importance in social terms and particularly of great aid to the radio-television industry. Don't hesitate to let me know if some occasion arises in the future where I can help.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:js

P.S. I have just heard that Dudley Nichols, a distinguished writer in Hollywood, has presented a technique for handling "Utopia 1976" on film. The matter is now before Dore Schary. I can say no more because Dudley has pledged me to secrecy as to the unique approach, an approach which I scarcely understand and which might not be at all applicable to television.

P.P.S. I understand that you are considering as the antidote to Ernst the outlet for maternal instincts known as "Liberace". I have decided to ruffle my scant hair and to get out my old cello for the evening of January 6th.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Arts and Science
Washington Square, New York 3, N.Y.

Research Center for Human Relations
21 Washington Place

Telephone: Spring 7-2000
Extensions: 8006
8048

November 22, 1955

Mr. Richard S. Salant, Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Salant:

Your letter of October 27 puts our correspondence unfortunately on a new basis. As you know, repeated consultation with the industry's leadership was part of my procedure from the outset, in the search for a true picture of the situation. Toward this end I took the following steps: (1) Before drafting a report I presented the findings of my study to leaders of the industry, including a Vice-President of CBS, in personal conversation. (2) In order to be sure that I had properly understood the views of every executive, I summarized each conversation in writing. (3) CBS received a statement of the essential points in my conversation with a Vice-President of your company. (4) At the request of this gentleman I visited him a second time and as a result of this conference I made several changes in my summary. (5) I submitted a first draft of the report to each executive I had personally interviewed. (6) In response to comments, suggestions and criticisms - including your own - I produced a revision of the report incorporating almost every comment I received. (7) I sent you a copy of this revised report, expressing the hope that you might wish to contribute further to its improvement.

Your answer radically deviates from this spirit of cooperativeness. While my own position is unchanged - my only interest in the matter is to present as correct a report as I possibly can - I note that your letter contains no constructive suggestions; that it was sent to a number of persons in mimeographed form without giving me a chance to respond to it; above all, that it amounts to a gross misrepresentation of my report.

Such misrepresentation occurs, as a rule, for one of two reasons: either because the person producing the misrepresentation has reasons for deliberately distorting a report in the wish to discredit its findings; or because he has misunderstood what the report said. I shall here assume that your misrepresentation is based on misunderstanding. Accordingly, I shall make every effort to explain and clarify; in many cases I shall be able to do so by quoting to you passages from the report which you apparently overlooked.

In view of the seriousness of your charges I have asked two of my colleagues to

consider them independently. Each of us has carefully examined every point you raise. Our judgments concur that you distort the report. The enclosed memorandum deals with the matter point by point. Two general mistakes in your letter which underlie many of your detailed comments may as well be pointed out here. First, you assert in many places that the report contains statements which it actually does not contain. Second, in support of your arguments against this alleged content of the report you quote many facts as if you had uncovered them, while they are actually fully stated in the report at your disposal. I shall document this in detail.

I realize that the enclosed memorandum does not reflect favorably on the line of argumentation used in your letter. In view of the fact that you have seen fit to send out your charges, I have no alternative but to do likewise and make copies of this letter and memorandum available to all who have received copies of your letter.

Sincerely,

Marie Jahoda
Associate Director

MJ:GG
ENC.

Memorandum

Mr. Salant's Charges Against the Report Anti-Communism and Employment Policies in Radio and Television: A Study of Morale, and their Refutation

Note: The following charges are verbatim quotations from a letter signed by Mr. Richard Salant, Vice President of C. B. S.. Wherever possible the refutation consists in a verbatim quote from the report which was at Mr. Salant's disposal when he made his charge.

Charge a: "Text vs. data: Morale in general. The text seeks to establish that morale is exceedingly poor, with creative personnel unhappy, restive; frustrated, cynical and hostile. The data fail to support the text."

Refutation:

This assertion is untrue. For example, the text states:

"To round off this picture of general factors influencing morale and related to employment policies called 'blacklisting' there is one overwhelmingly positive aspect: the attitude of persons engaged in entertainment toward their work, independent of the specific working conditions. People on top, medium and low level; talent, producers and writers - most of them mention sooner or later in the interview the potentially tremendous satisfactions that entertaining holds out for the entertainer. They speak of radio and TV as superior media of expression, of their creative urges, of the thrill in knowing that millions of people see and hear them, of the satisfaction in meeting the challenge of a new medium, of the variety of work, its spontaneity, and of course the fact that it gives them a living. The excess of labor supply over demand is in itself an indication that the glamor and appeal of the entertainment world has not lost its attractiveness." p.23

"There are two apparently contradictory groups of stereotypes which exist simultaneously in the field: the easy going camaraderie of show people versus the cut-throat competitiveness of the entertainment industry; the devotion of a team to a creative and artistic task versus the mechanical routine

of an entertainment machinery which interferes with creativity, dilutes high standards and has no room for the responsibility of the individual for his work." p. 15

"As to the relations between colleagues, here too opinions are, of course, divided. About one quarter of the people interviewed voiced no opinion or felt that there wasn't much difference between the entertainment industry and other fields, when it came to helping each other. Among the remainder, more than half were convinced that relations were better, while only 13% said they were worse than elsewhere. Statements such as the following were frequently made: 'People in show business identify with a fellow artist in trouble. They generally say to themselves: that might happen to me. And so I think they are very prone to helping each other out of difficulties.' " p. 16

In other words, a true characterization of the text is that it reports some factors which influence morale positively and some factors which influence morale negatively. Most of the details you mention in support of charge "A" concern aspects of good morale. In presenting them under the heading text v. data you imply that they were not contained in the text. As the following refutations show, this is untrue.

Details charge a:

> "Thus, in item 4 of the questionnaire the 64 respondents gave some 165 responses to what they liked most about working in radio and television. While the text emphasizes that 33 of the 165 responses identified 'economic factor ("the money"),' 107 of the 165 responses indicate that what they liked was the interesting, enjoyable, or challenging nature of the work, its creativity, the fact that it is worthwhile, the camaraderie, and the superiority of broadcasting as a medium for expression."

<u>Refutation:</u>

See above quotations from report, dealing exactly with these matters. That more than 50% of the respondents give money as a reason for liking their jobs is mentioned in one half sentence at the bottom of p. 23, in a context that has just previously established their interest in creativity.

Details charge a:

> "Item 6 discloses the largest number of people responding to the question whether they would prefer doing something else fell in the group which stated that they liked what they were doing."

Refutation:

This is treated in the report. It was stated thus:

".... only two out of all our respondents felt like leaving the entertainment field altogether. But about one-third said they would rather work in the theater or in movies than in radio or television; ...." p. 23

Details charge a:

> "Other data refute the picture of cynicism, suspicion, favoritism and lack of objective standards which the text seeks to draw as pervasive in the industry. Item 8 discloses that in this intensely competitive and emotional creative field, of the 96 responses to the question designed to elicit respondents' views as to why they state certain people are most successful in the business, by far the highest number of responses -- 39 -- stated it was because of greatest ability, while 21 identified highest prestige with the public or within the industry. Further, 36 of the 64 answers to the question whether the success was actually deserved were unqualifiedly yes, 16 were yes with qualifications and only 2 said no. In response to the question how, apart from ability, the most successful person got where he is, most responses reaffirmed ability or attributed the success to hard work, while only 14 of the 77 responses identified 'knowing right people' or 'connivance'.
>
> In response to the question in item 11 concerning the respondents' views as to his chances of being 'where...(he) would like to be career-wise in five years', only 6 thought they had no chance, 18 a fair chance, 14 a good chance and 14 an excellent chance. While a large majority of respondents thought that they could achieve their goals not through truckling or bootlicking but through hard work, study, perseverance, ability, self-confidence and self-reliance, only one respondent thought he might be hindered in achieving his goal by 'lack of right contacts'."

Refutation:

Your charge implies that selective reporting is based on a negative bias. This is untrue. Some figures have not been reported for one of two reasons: they are either not relevant to employment policies, or they are redundant because the facts have already been established in different form.

Such omissions refer to favorable and unfavorable comments. For example, in answer to question 7 about the most difficult problem facing the industry, by far the highest number of responses -- 29 -- mention mediocrity and poor quality. In answer to question 8, nineteen persons identify success with greatest income (a fact you regard elsewhere as derogatory, but do not mention in your discussion of question 8); other examples of information reported in the Appendix only concern blacklisting proper. They will be mentioned below.

Details charge a:

> "In response to item 13, 27 of the 64 respondents stated that they thought that the industry personnel was particularly helpful and only 6 thought that they were particularly unhelpful."

Refutation:

You apparently missed my statement of exactly this point on page 16. The report states this thus:

> "About one quarter of the people interviewed voiced no opinion or felt that there wasn't much difference between the entertainment industry and other fields, when it came to helping each other. Among the remainder, more than half were convinced that relations were better, while only 13% said they were worse than elsewhere." p. 16

Details charge a:

> "Item 15 discloses that in the event that a friend of the respondent was named as a Communist sympathizer, only 13 thought that the friend would be unlikely to come to the respondent for advice, while 28 said yes and 19 maybe."

Refutation:

You imply that the helpfulness of colleagues in cases of "blacklisting" has not been mentioned. In sharp contrast to this implication the report states:

> "People were asked whether they knew anyone in the field who was

currently or had ever been 'blacklisted'. The vast majority (about four out of five) who answered the question affirmatively were asked how the colleagues and how the employer of that person behaved in the situation. Help from colleagues was reported only by 14% of those familiar with such a case, though sympathetic attitudes among colleagues without active help was mentioned by another 30%." p. 17

I want to point out to you that the report of actual events which I have selected to describe the attitudes of colleagues carries much more favorable weight for judging the atmosphere of helpfulness where it exists than the rather neutral and non-committal statement that friends might ask advice.

Details charge a:

> "Item 27 shows that where respondents knew someone who was 'blacklisted', only 6 stated that the employer fired him without concern and only 4 stated that his fellow artists didn't try to help him."

Refutation:

The table from which you made this entirely misleading selection of figures is discussed in the text. The report states the employer's attitude as follows:

"Actual help from the employer was mentioned as frequently as that from colleagues (14%). Sympathetic attitudes were attributed to employers, however, only by another 16%." p. 17

The second half of your sentence is misleading because it is incomplete. It is true that 4 stated that fellow artists did not try to help him but it is also true that 2 said they wanted to avoid him, and an additional 15 that they wanted to but could not help him.

Details charge a:

"All these data show a rather remarkable picture, quite different from that emphasized in the text. I use the word 'remarkable' because it must be remembered that we are dealing with creative people who by their very nature should be, and are, sensitive and individualistic. It is not surprising that creative people have pride of authorship and resent any interference. Yet by its very nature the broadcasting industry must be the product of many people. It is a licensed industry subject to the FCC. It is a complicated and technical business to get a program on the air. We have very grave responsibilities as a vast medium which comes into the homes of 34 million families which include not only adults but children. I am sure that you would not suggest that it would be desirable to turn over the air to individuals to say whatever they please in all circumstances. We have basic obligations to the public not only in terms of avoiding obscenity but in terms of taste, fairness, balance and objectivity. A licensee can exercise these responsibilities only as an organization.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that creative people have some resentment against 'outside interference'. It is surprising that you have failed to recognize the components of much of this 'outside interference' and its justification. And it is surprising that you find and report a picture of very low morale in data that appear to report substantial satisfaction with the job by the creative people, confidence that ability and hard work are the main ingredients of success, and a rather general belief that loyalty and friendship are important elements in personal relationships among people in the industry.

I do not for a moment mean to leave the impression that we are indifferent to those of the answers which are unfavorable and which indicate a morale problem. We are concerned, and we will continue to seek to improve morale although where the population (as you have noted in the report) is floating, so to speak, and is not a part of our regular staff, this is exceedingly difficult. But I want to emphasize that the comments I have made about the responses are intended only to indicate what I believe to be false in the text and not an excuse for our own self-satisfaction."

Refutation:

In view of the fact that the text, in fact, does not present the picture you allege it presents, your summary statement contrasting this imaginary image with the "remarkable picture" you see in the data needs no comment. However, I shall note those parts which you again present as if the report had not mentioned them:

Re creative people: "It may well be that creative people will feel cramped in any organization, and that artists resent restrictions more than other people." p. 19

Re industry's responsibility: "It would be wrong, however, to assume that the limitations inevitably imposed by the financial structure of industry are so severe that no other considerations enter into the formulation of policy. Not only are most responsible people concerned with the quality of entertainment, but - as network executives have pointed out - controversies of various kinds are actually presented on the air. Within the last year or two, the nation-wide controversy about the manner in which internal security problems are handled by certain individuals, committees and groups has found its place in radio and television; a few commentators can look back on an even longer record of dealing on the air with this most controversial issue. What controversies are treated by radio and television, and at what time, must of course be decided by general policy decisions. The issue then becomes one of drawing the line, which here - as everywhere else - hardly ever separates black and white but different shades of grey." pp. 6,7

Charge b: "Text vs. data: The role of 'blacklisting' in morale. As in the case of general questions of morale, I think that the data also not only do not support, but rather negate, the emphasis which the text places upon the question of 'blacklisting' and its effect on morale."

Refutation:

The implication of your statement is that the report overemphasizes blacklisting in view of what the data show. The closest the report comes to giving blacklisting a relative emphasis is on p. 15:

"Many of the industry's employees regard 'blacklisting' as just another possible source of insecurity in employment, to which they often attach no more importance than to others. When respondents were asked to compare the importance of the blacklisting problem with that of other problems

they had discussed in the interview, only about one-third of those who expressed an opinion felt that it was very important. The rest regarded it as of minor or no importance." p. 15

The details with which you support the charge of overemphasis of blacklisting - an overemphasis which has not occurred - have been included in the text when relevant. The remainder are either misleading or of dubious relevance.

Detail charge b:

> "Thus, item 5 discloses that of 139 responses to the specific question of what the 64 respondents 'dislike most about working in' radio or television, only 6 responses identified 'blacklisting' -- and this in spite of the fact that the question was one of dislikes and presumably each respondent knew that the focus of the study's attention was on 'blacklisting.'
>
> Even more significant is the reply to item 7 -- 'What do you consider the most difficult problem facing the (Radio) (TV) industry today?' There were 85 responses from 64 respondents. Only one response out of 85 identified 'blacklisting.'"

Refutation:

Your assumption is wrong: No respondent knew in advance that "blacklisting" would form part of the interview.

Furthermore, let me give you a well-known example to indicate the meaning of spontaneous answers. Public opinion polls have asked questions such as: "In your opinion, what religious, national, or racial groups are a menace to America?" Only 10% of the respondents mention the Jews. If the Jews are mentioned in the question ("Do you think the Jews have too much power and influence in the United States?") 50% answer affirmatively. Most people are unwilling to interpret the first answer as showing that anti-semitism is unimportant.

why Jewish example you are

Detail charge b:

> "Item 24 discloses that 10 of the 64 respondents thought that a very small percentage or number are handicapped in getting jobs because they are 'blacklisted,' while 41 either replied that they didn't know or they didn't answer."

Refutation:

Item 24 also discloses what you neglected to mention, namely, 9 of the 64 respondents thought that more than 100 persons are affected by blacklisting. I made use of no figures derived from this question since I took the large proportion of "don't knows" to mean that the respondents had difficulty in estimating the number of people who are handicapped in getting jobs because they are blacklisted.

Detail charge b:

> "Item 33 shows that of the 64 respondents, 40 thought that the situation in regard to 'blacklisting' was getting better and 17 replied that they didn't know or gave no answer."

Refutation:

You will find this point made on p. 1 in the following form: "Gradually, the exchange of accusations and counter-accusations has begun to subside, and given way to a more rational approach to the problem of security."

It would probably have been a good idea to document this point with these data.

Detail charge b:

> "Even after an extensive series of questions which focused the entire interview on 'blacklisting' and inevitably raised all sorts of spectral suggestions in the respondents' minds, item 36 shows that 18 of the respondents felt that 'blacklisting' was very important in relation to other problems in the industry while 25 felt it of only minor importance, 6 of no importance, and 15 had no opinion."

Refutation:

Once again, you give facts as if they had not been treated in the text. To the contrary, the relevant passage from p. 15 which gives these same data has just been quoted.

Detail charge b:

> "These data seem to me to establish conclusively that even if morale were as bad as the text would indicate, 'blacklisting,' which after all purports to be the focus of your study, has minimal significance. This seems to me in the light of the subject matter of your study to be of paramount importance. Yet these data are, to say the least, elided in the text."

Refutation:

In earlier paragraphs I have already commented on the data which appear to you to indicate that blacklisting has minimal significance. In addition, may I call your attention to the views of top officials in the field, including the representative from CBS whom I interviewed. They do not share your view that the matter has minimal significance.

The report states:

"Yet the respondents' views of cynicism in management, to which they react in the same kind, are not verified when one discusses the situation with executives of networks, advertising agencies and packaging firms. In all but one of these interviews the existence of certain procedures to check on the views and political associations of radio and television personnel was discussed; in no case with either enthusiasm or cynicism." p. 44

"Those who have worked out procedures have given considerable thought to them and have undoubtedly spent thousands of working hours and much money on this, by their own standards, unenviable task. Nonetheless, nobody claimed to have found the right procedure that would avoid possible injustice to individuals.

"In the beginning of the interviews with executives, they were first acquainted with the results of the morale survey and asked if they cared to comment on it. With one exception where the attitude was completely non-committal, the findings of the morale survey were not brushed aside as of no importance to the industry. One or two executives felt it hard to believe that morale should be as low as indicated; several said they had expected it to be low. None took it lightly.

"All but one of the executives were ready to discuss means and ways of improving the situation...." p. 45

Charge c: "Text vs. data: The effect of 'blacklisting.' Nor do the data support the picture in the text of the specific constrictive and other evil effects of 'blacklisting.'"

Refutation:

To the extent that specific effects of blacklisting are referred to in the report they are supported by the data, as a reading of the report will show. Nor are these data negated by the details you cite, as the following paragraphs will make clear. However, in the event that you gained the impression that a black and white picture was presented, let me first quote from p. 47:

"...no one argues seriously that the content of radio and television programs has been affected by 'blacklisting', for better or for worse. The industry itself seems convinced of two facts: subversive ideas were not propagated over the air before 'blacklisting' started; and the accusation that the very best people were eliminated from the air by 'blacklisting' is for the most part without foundation."

Detail charge c:

> "Item 10, asked before there was specific focus on 'blacklisting,' shows that 38 of the 64 respondents gave an unqualified yes to the question whether they would contribute their services without pay to a benefit show; only 1 said no and 23 said it depends. Under conditions of refusal, it is significant that only 3 responses

> listed 'not for any political cause', 2 'not if left-wing cause', and 14 'not if possibly communistic, subversive, un-American cause'. The great plurality of the reasons had nothing whatever to do with fear but were rather for such obvious reasons as lack of time, belief that contributed services were abused, lack of sympathy for the cause and possibility of political exploitation."

Refutation:

In this instance the data are given in the Appendix only. You realize of course that this is true also of other data which suggest a clear effect of blacklisting. For example: Of 53 persons who answered question 29 about things a person should or should not do in order to avoid being criticized on political grounds, 51 feel the need for some precaution. (I shall quote other relevant data from the Appendix later on.)

The answers to question 8 were not included because it is difficult to make an unambiguous interpretation of them. At this point in the interview the interviewers were instructed not to probe about hesitation related to blacklisting.

Detail charge c:

> "Item 23 shows that only 4 of the 64 respondents believed that a listed person was totally unemployable."

Refutation:

You are technically correct in stating that 4 out of 64 respondents so believed. However, you are completely misleading in quoting only one type of answer. The full story is that at least 36 of the 42 respondents who answered believed that employability was affected adversely.

Detail charge c:

> "Item 29 discloses that of the 64 respondents only 9 felt that because of the temper of the times and in order to avoid being criticized on political grounds it was necessary to 'be careful' about 'being friendly with certain types of people'; a minority of the 64 felt it was undesirable to discuss political matters around the studio, 18 thought it was necessary to be careful about joining organizations."

Refutation:

You are again technically correct but the full story is very different from the one you give. The 9 persons who answered that they thought it necessary to be careful about being friendly with certain types of people are 35% of the 26 who gave any answer at all. The "minority" of persons who did not feel free to discuss politics around the studio are 30 of the 37 who gave any answer. The 18 who felt it was unwise to join organizations are 75% of the 24 who answered.

Detail charge c:

> "These answers were answers given by the respondents in terms of the behavior necessary for 'others in the industry'."

Refutation:

You misread the tables. The figures you quote are from columns marked as referring to self, not to "others in industry".

Detail charge c:

> "Item 30 more vividly indicates a greater lack of restriction when the question is cast in terms of the respondents' own behavior: Of the 64 respondents, 11 stated that they find themselves hesitating to buy a certain (unidentified) book or magazine (including, presumably, everything from Homosexual to The Cross and the Flag) or hesitating to leave it around where it can be seen -- a reply which incidentally should be contrasted with the hair-raising example in the text at page 39 where the old 'It is said' is used to create the impression that it is unwise to walk into an advertising agency with a copy of The Nation or the New York Post. A substantial majority of the respondents stated that they do not think people in the industry ever hesitated to buy a certain book or magazine or leave it around where it could be seen and a substantial majority also did not answer in the affirmative the very broad question whether there was any subject matter that it was felt wise to avoid so that the program could not be criticized for containing an unpopular political slant -- a question which presumably would have elicited a 'yes' even if the respondent felt that it was wise not to write a play designed to show the alleged advantages of the Christian National Party."

Refutation:

If you will look again at item 30 and its counterpart, item 31, you will find the actual picture to be different from the one you present. It

is true that 11 persons answered that they found themselves hesitating to buy a certain book or magazine. This is 20% of the 54 who gave an answer - hardly to be brushed off. But in item 31 it develops that 28 of the 41 who answer - i.e. 68% - believe that other people in the industry hesitate to buy or be seen with certain reading matter. This is not too far from the "It is said" illustration, after all. As for the respondents who answered the question about avoiding subject matter which might be seen to have an unpopular political slant, more than half, 16 of 30, said they felt this would be wise. (The 23 "talent" respondents were not asked this and 10 others did not give an answer.) If this proportion, slightly over 50%, could be generalized to the industry as a whole (and I have not said that it could) it would present a picture that thoughtful people might find quite disturbing.

I now turn to your numbered charges.

"This, then I think is the major, and indeed fatal, general defect of the report as disclosed, at least to me, by the raw data which are included in the appendix. I turn now to some specific criticisms of material in the report, many of which may be minor but which seem to me nevertheless to have a serious cumulative effect. I will take them in order."

Charge 1: "I still quarrel with the accuracy of the effect which I am sure is created by the sentence at page 5: 'Not to antagonize any section of the population, however small, has thus become the leading idea for many who set the policy of the industry.' This simply is not so. I am reasonably certain that every single program will doubtless antagonize somebody. If the program shows somebody drinking, it will offend the Prohibitionists. If a news report quotes an acid comment of Adlai Stevenson, it will offend some Republicans and if it quotes an acid comment of Vice President Nixon, it will offend some Democrats. Westerns antagonize some people; murder or mysteries antagonize other people; anti-Communist plays antagonize some people; trivial love stories antagonize some people; old movies antagonize some people; so does Milton Berle; so does Jackie Gleason. I could go on, but a sentence like that is so demonstrably foolish that, like A.P. Herbert's clock which at the stroke of midnight tolls thirteen times, it destroys the credibility of the entire performance."

Refutation:

While I am not sure what you mean by the "accuracy of the effect" of my sentence at page 5, there can be no doubt about the accuracy of the statement. All but one of the executives to whom I talked - including the executive of CBS - indicated to me that the policy of not offending is a leading idea in the industry.

However, what you say after quoting the sentence is entirely misleading. You incorrectly imply that the report says that TV and radio never do anything which risks controversy. Quite to the contrary. If you will reread pages 6 and 7 you will find the following:

"Not only are most responsible people concerned with the quality of entertainment, but - as network executives have pointed out - controversies of various kinds are actually presented on the air. Within the last year or two, the nation-wide controversy about the manner in which internal security problems are handled by certain individuals, committees and groups has found its place in radio and television; a few commentators can look back on an even longer record of dealing on the air with this most controversial issue. What controversies are treated by radio and television, and at what time, must of course be decided by general policy decisions. The issue then becomes one of drawing the line, which here - as everywhere else - hardly ever separates black and white but different shades of grey." p. 6-7

Charge 2:

> "At page 5 it is stated that 'In this situation, any spontaneous communication from members of the audience by mail or telephone assumes considerable importance.' Surely, public opinion is important to us, but the implication of this sentence is wholly unwarranted. In fact, it is refuted at page 22 of the text where it is stated that a number of letters received by both the producer and sponsor of a show, threatening boycott of the goods because an alleged subversive actor appeared on the program, were ignored. And again at page 22 of the text, it is reported that 8,000 letters of protest came in when a program shifted its time. But the program did shift its time."

Refutation:

The report makes a general point on page 5, as you say. It later qualifies the general point by indicating on page 22 conditions under which audience response has very little impact. Something suggested to you that the material on page 22 refuted rather than qualified and limited that on page 5. This leads you to quote my qualifications as though they were your own.

Charge 3: "The same sort of easy and obviously inaccurate generalizations appear on page 6 in the sentence 'Stripped to its bare essentials the assumptions underlying the industry's effort not to offend any member of the audience can be presented in the following manner' and the portion of the sentence 'since they can entertain the public without taking the risk of antagonizing one person, there is no reason to depart from the policy of trying to please many millions of people, without exception.' See my comments under 1 above."

Refutation:

Taken as isolated sentences out of context, the words you quote seem too strong. However you failed to note that the point is qualified in the paragraph following the sentence you mention thus:

"It would be wrong, however, to assume that the limitations inevitably imposed by the financial structure of the industry are so severe that no other considerations enter into the formulation of policy. Not only are most responsible people concerned with the quality of entertainment but-as network executives have pointed out - controversies of various kinds are actually presented on the air." p. 6 - 7

Nevertheless, I agree that the sentence ending "....without taking the risk of offending one person..." could be improved by the use of other words.

Charge 4: "Again, at page 6, I believe that the rather facetious dismissal of the possibility of how the housewife thinks, as is there indicated, is unjustified. How does the housewife proceed? What are the difficulties, except oversimplification, with the three-point formula set out in the paragraph? Can it be proven or even reasonably be argued that at a pre-conscious or unconscious level the entire gestalt of the show does not function in the decision-making, even if it looks superficially like random impulse?"

Refutation:

On page 6 I am reporting discussions with executives, <u>not</u> asserting any conviction or generalization on my part. When I return to the "three point formula" on page 49 it is discussed in the following terms:

"With regard to the general public, the fundamental assumption is that the public treats shopping as a political act. It has already been pointed out that this is unlikely. But much the same idea, less extremely formulated, appears to carry weight in the industry. The assumption is made that an unquestioned reputation of a sponsor will lead the public to choose his brand rather than that of a producer about whose policies questions have been asked; furthermore, that the public actually does ask questions about employment policy, or is aware of procedures in that area. To the best of our knowledge these assumptions about the public have never been definitely proved either right or wrong. But there is some fragmentary evidence to the effect that they are questionable. In those cases where networks and sponsors have chosen to ignore a threat of boycott, mentioned earlier in this report, no unfavorable public reactions ensued. Moreover, there does not appear to be an unfavorable response to the efforts of the companies that use more lenient standards and employ persons excluded by other companies for political reasons." p. 49

Charge 5: "At page 8, the footnote states that a copy of the interview schedule is included in the appendix together with the answers received to every question. I call to your attention that answers are not included to items 12 or 18 or the second half of 36.

Refutation:

As the appendix indicates, questions 12 and 13, and 18 and 19 have been coded together. ("Answers combined") The answers to question 36 have not been coded.

Charge 6: "While I think that the report makes fairly clear the limitations both in numbers and otherwise of the sample of 64 respondents, it seems to me that the problem is not quite so difficult, as the text at page 11 would indicate. It is relatively easy, for example, to find the total number of talent, producers, directors, writers and 'commentators' (of which CBS has none) which are on the staff of the networks; it also should not be too difficult to find the number of different people in these categories who appear with a fair degree of regularity but are free-lance. This would give some frame of reference by which to judge the adequacy of your sample.

"In any event, it seems to me that there is some rather substantial external evidence that the group is not typical. Thus, it is stated at page 30 that 94% of those who answered stated they thought that 'blacklisting' did more harm than good and this is re-emphasized at page 43 of the text in the statement, 'Overwhelmingly, the persons in the sample are of the opinion that no one should be excluded from work in the industry because of his political beliefs; qualification for the job is the only criterion in which they seriously believe.' These data cannot be reconciled with the actions of the creative people in broadcasting, acting through their unions -- which we must assume fairly represent membership sentiment. On August 10, 1955, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists completed a referendum on the question of adopting a rule authorizing the local boards to take disciplinary action against a member who refused to tell a Congressional committee whether he is or was a member of the Communist party. The rule was adopted in a national referendum by a vote of 3,967 to 914. The American Federation of Musicians has long had a by-law on its books which provides that no local or its officers shall 'suffer a known Communist, Nazi or Fascist' to be a member of the local and that membership in Communist front organizations shall be deemed sufficient cause for expulsion. The Screen Actors Guild adopted a provision similar to that of AFTRA, while the Writers Guild has provided that anyone who 'could be convicted' under the Smith Act shall be ineligible for membership in the union. Since expulsion from any of these unions makes employment difficult, if not impossible, it would seem that the percentage of creative people in the industry who believe

that some political tests for eligibility to employment are desirable or wise for one reason or another is vastly higher than that which your sample would indicate. I think this throws very considerable doubt on the results of the study."

Refutation:

I am afraid you don't appreciate the complexity of the sampling problem. I can only suggest that you reread more carefully pages 10 and 11 where this is clarified.

The union action most related to the content of the study is one which you do not cite: the repudiation of Aware, Inc. by the AFTRA membership. Aware, Inc., as you know specializes in propagating political information regarding individuals in the entertainment field.

Charge 7: "The last sentence of page 13 states that 'For the ordinary justification of competitiveness: "let the best man win", is not generally applicable to radio and television.' Here, again, is a rather vivid example of the disparity between unfavorable generalizations in the text on the one hand and specific data in the appendix on the other hand, which are ignored. For as noted, the responses to item 8 of the questionnaire show a rather striking belief among respondents that ability is the main reason for success in the industry."

Refutation:

The disparity results not from a discrepancy between text and data but from a misreading of the text. The data in item 8 are from a question about the "most successful" individual in radio or TV. The sentence you quote is from a context in which minor roles are being discussed. The star is specifically excepted from this discussion in the first paragraph on page 14:

"The limited visual scope of the television screen and the shortness of the time available for rehearsals make it extremely difficult for all but star performers to demonstrate superior abilities." p. 14

Charge 8: "The statement at the top of page 14 that there are no objective criteria for selection in the industry is simply not true. Producers know who is good and the 'limited visual scope of the television screen and the shortness of time available for rehearsals' are completely irrelevant factors. Producers don't watch actors on television screens; they watch them in the studies. And the shortness of rehearsal emphasizes ability. So, too, the number of shows -- often once a week -- brings many evaluative experiences. Again, item 8 with its remarkable testimony of belief that merit and ability are the central criteria, refutes this material in the text."

Refutation:

Again, as I have indicated in my comment on your charge 7, you have confused the answers to question 8 dealing with "the most successful" person with my discussion of job qualifications for minor roles.

Charge 9: "The Hollywood movie illustration appearing in paragraphs 3 and 4 on page 14 is irrelevant and is inconsistent with the data under item 4. As tabulated, 'the money' is the most frequent response, but I do not believe that it is justifiable to separate 'creativity' from 'work is challenging' or from 'superior medium for expression.' Any two of these total to more than the 'money' responses. So also do 'work is enjoyable, fun, interesting' and 'camaraderie; nice interesting people' total more than the 'money' responsess. I wonder whether you have any comparable figures from other occupations that show as small an emphasis on money in response to this question. I doubt, from examination of item 4, that one could hypothesize a culturally richer, or more self-realizing distribution of responses from any occupational group except such purely social service groups as, for example, teachers, ministers and social workers."

Refutation:

In commenting on your charge (a) I have already demonstrated that your charge of a one-sided picture of poor morale is incorrect. On the specific point you repeat here I consider your statement misleading because you fail to take note of answers to question 5, which show what people dislike most about working in the industry. There are 26 comments to the effect that the respondents have no sense of personal accomplishment, that they dislike low standards and the fact that techniques are more important than talent and quality; 32

comment that the control of the medium is in the hands of non-creative people, and that these persons have a desire to please everyone; 25 comment that the nervous pressure on the job is most disliked.

I do not consider it an insult to the industry to state that employees are concerned with money. In any case, the point made in my text is the symbolic value of money in an occupation in which other qualitative comparisons are difficult.

Since the same respondents are coded under more than one category, it is not legitimate to add the frequencies for two or more categories; the frequencies for combined categories can only be obtained by recoding. Your statement, "Any two of these total to more than....," is, therefore, misleading.

Charge 10: "The phrase 'this context' at the top of page 15 is puzzling. I suggest that 'this context' which presumably refers to the irrelevant Hollywood story, is not supported by the data and so it is doubly dangerous to interpret differences between top, middle and low level personnel a) which you do not report and b) which are very small sub-samples."

Refutation:

I agree that the sentence "In this context it is interesting to note that top and low-level personnel talk more frequently about insecurity in employment than those on a medium level" must be interpreted with caution; I fail to see in what sense it has derogatory implications for the industry. The "context" which puzzles you is clearly defined in the preceding sentence, which refers to money as "the major symbol of prestige and achievement" and goes on to indicate that money "conveys a sense of professional security far beyond the matter of security from want." The point of the sentence with the, to you, puzzling phrase is that the function of money as symbol of security is not simply in terms of the absolute amount of money, but operates differently at different employment levels.

Charge 11: "As I have already noted in my general remarks earlier, the second paragraph of page 15 is actually an understatement of the responses in items 5 and 7. 'Blacklisting' appears to be one of the least important disliked things. The clause '...compare...with other problems they had discussed...' seems difficult to defend when this item on 'blacklisting' was immediately preceded by some twenty other items on 'blacklisting.' What you appear to have here is the real maximum of concern when perception is highly structured with reference to 'blacklisting.' No other problem was discussed or focused in comparable fashion."

Refutation:

As I have already noted in discussing your charge (b) the relatively minor importance attached to "blacklisting" by many respondents was fully discussed at an early stage in the report.

Charge 12: "'The communication between management and employees' is referred to at page 15, paragraph 2. Yet an important aspect, emphasized when it suits the report's convenience at page 10 in discussing the difficulties of sampling, is ignored at this point -- namely that a substantial part of the talent and creative people is free-lance so that normal employer-employee communication is impossible. This accentuates the difficulties of the problem although it may not excuse what poor communication and bad morale there may be. But fairness to the industry would seem to compel some notation of the extraordinary problems which inhere in the transitory relationship between particular broadcasters and so many of the people of whom your respondents are supposed to be typical."

Refutation:

I make the assumption that the reader may be relied upon not to have forgotten what was said on page 10, by the time he arrives at page 15.

Charge 13: "The findings in the first full paragraph of page 16 are presumably based on item 12. As I have noted, no data for item 12 are furnished in the appendix."

Refutation:

As I have noted, the appendix clearly indicates that answers to questions 12 and 13 have been coded together.

Charge 14: "Are the comments at page 17, first incomplete paragraph, spontaneous? If so, they should be identified as such. And it is significant that while almost half the respondents thought that a friend of theirs would come and ask for advice, most others said 'maybe.' When the text merely states that half would ask for advice, the clear implication for the reader who does not turn to the appendix is that half would not. Yet item 15 demonstrates this implication to be false."

Refutation:

I do not understand your comment. The questions asked are listed in the appendix. No question appears there, or was asked, whether blacklisting affected solidarity. Of course, this comment was spontaneous, though everyone had a chance, and many respondents did, elaborate on reasons for helping or not helping colleagues in "blacklisting" troubles under question 27.

As to the sentence about "almost half the respondents," the way you refer to it makes it sound as though I was trying to create an impression of low solidarity, an impression I could achieve only by suppressing some of the data. The context, however, makes it perfectly clear that the function of the sentence is diametrically opposite to the one you impute to it. I had just quoted a remark which indicated fear of giving assistance and went on to say, in counter-argument, "But almost half...etc."

In any case, the reader cannot come away from page 17 with the interpretation that the respondents believe that almost half the colleagues of a person who is "blacklisted" would remain coldly indifferent to his plight. I state on the same page 17 that "help from colleagues was reported only by 14% of those familiar with such a case, though sympathetic attitudes among colleagues without active help was mentioned by another 30%." Even the quotation referred to above made the point of a widespread desire to help one's friends.

Charge 15: "I do not believe that it is accurate to state that the conclusion that 'relations to employers are often experienced as poor' is supported by such answers as 'the nervous pressure' (last paragraph, page 17). The nervous pressure may well have nothing to do with relationship to employers. It much more probably relates to such intrinsic characteristics of show business as dependence on audience approval and the demands of rigid scheduling."

Refutation:

I can only interpret the charge as a misreading of the paragraph. Here it is:

"In general, relations to employers are often experienced as poor. This emerged spontaneously in answer to the question as to what a person disliked about his job in radio or TV. Many factors are mentioned here: the insecurity of the job (20%); the nervous pressure (41%); the blacklist (10%); the lack of standards and talent (42%); and others. But no other factor is regarded as frequently the cause of dissatisfaction with the job as network and advertising executives, and sponsors: fully 52% of the respondents take the question as an occasion to describe the frustrating lack of understanding between the creative people in the field and those on the business and administrative end."

It is clear that the "here" of the third sentence refers not to "relations to employers" but to dislikes about the job. Hence, the "Many factors" of that sentence are not in the context of "relations to employers". The support for the statement about poor relations to employers is given in the next sentence, "But no other factor is...."

Charge 16: "I feel that a rather colorful example of imbalance in the text is presented by the material at pages 18 to 21. Here three full pages are devoted to quotations from responses to one sub-category of item 5. Other responses to that item, reported by 20, 41 and 42% of the respondents (hardly insignificant), are not given proportionate attention. Then, having presented this three page, skewed report of what is disliked, we find what is liked reported in a single paragraph at page 23, introduced by a rather supercilious 'To round off this picture'. Neither percentages nor quotations from responses appear to be in order here. Perhaps I am prejudiced; indeed, I am. But my prejudice against this report is fed by the solid facts of such unbalanced reporting which is wholly at odds with the data in the appendix. If, as you say in your letter of October 3, you have not tried to give your own views of the industry, but 'rather to present what people working in the industry say about it,' I think it might be well to reconsider whether you have accomplished this objective."

Refutation:

The "other responses to that item" to which you refer are insecurity of the job (20%) which has already been discussed; nervous pressure (41%) and lack of standards and talent (42%). My quotation of answers dealing with employment policies and not with nervous pressure, etc. is simply a function of the fact that the study deals with the former, not the latter.

Charge 17: "I question whether page 19, lines 4-6, is good research reporting. Out of 136 responses from 64 people (item 5), there are only six mentions of 'blacklisting' even though the respondent was asked to recite his dislikes. In that situation you give verbatim excerpts from two of the six in which mention of 'blacklisting' occurs close to mention of constriction by employers. I question whether you are justified in reporting an association or a linkage on the basis of this evidence."

Refutation:

One of the uses of direct quotations in social research is precisely the one which you question, namely to demonstrate how ideas are linked with each other. The paragraph makes this clear in emphasizing, on occasion spontaneously. It reads: "And the general dislike of policies presumably established in the interest of good business is on occasion spontaneously linked to those employment policies which are referred to as 'blacklisting'." p. 19

Charge 18: "The reference at page 19, last paragraph, to the urgency of communication and clarity of relation between policy makers and employees fails to take into account the extremely perplexing factor which I have already mentioned, that many of these people are not employees at all except on an extremely irregular basis and hence communication and clarity become difficult."

Refutation:

Nowhere has the report denied the difficulty of the task, it has only emphasized its urgency. It states: "...communication and clarity in the relation between policy makers and employees would be particularly urgent to keep such inevitable resentment within manageable limits." p. 19

Charge 19: "I have already commented on the factors so heavily emphasized at pages 19 and 20 relating to the resentment of creative people toward all outside interferences. Nowhere is the rational necessity for such interferences suggested and nowhere is it emphasized that it would be extraordinary were it otherwise. Again, the important point is that despite these wholly natural outbursts most of the people in your sample like what they are doing."

Refutation:

In clear contradiction to your charge that the necessity for some interference is nowhere mentioned are the following statements from the report: "What controversies are treated by radio and television, and at what time, must of course be decided by general policy decisions. The issue then becomes one of drawing the line, which here - as everywhere else - hardly ever separates black and white but only different shades of grey.

"Not only with regard to content but also in questions of employment policy with which this report is mainly concerned, the limitations imposed by the financial structure of the industry require complicated and immensely difficult policy decisions." pp. 6,7

Charge 20: "What is the meaning of the last two lines on page 23? Is it necessarily bad for many people to like the financial rewards of a job? This finding is reported as if 50% of the respondents mentioned only money as the 'most liked' thing. But the 165 responses to item 4 suggest that even those who mentioned 'the money' mentioned it among other 'most liked' things."

Refutation:

What is actually said in these two lines is: "But about one-third said they would rather work in the theater or in movies than in radio or television; and 50% of the respondents mention 'the money' when asked what they like best about their jobs." p. 27 This sentence elaborates upon the phrase, "occasionally qualified" in the opening sentence of the paragraph, "But this enthusiastic identification with the world of entertainment is occasionally qualified when it comes to TV and radio proper." The intended implication of the citation of the "the money" response is that the high incidence of this

response suggests that the "enthusiastic identification" is not always so all absorbing as to preclude the awareness of an extrinsic factor as a major value.

Charge 21: "Obviously everything which I have already said indicates that I quarrel most strongly with your last paragraph at page 24 where you state that 'These, then, are some of the major aspects of morale in the industry. It is against this background that the views on "blacklisting" must be appraised.' The word 'some' carries a rather heavy burden. I do not believe that you have done an objective job of reporting the morale in the industry. You have strained hard even before you get to 'blacklisting' to dramatize its role despite its relative unimportance in items 5 and 7. Although 'nervous pressure,' for example has four times the prominence of 'blacklisting' in the responses to item 5 the former is not discussed. As I have noted, there is no proportionate emphasis on the positive data in item 4."

Refutation:

You completely ignore the purpose of the report which clearly is stated thus on p. 7: "In this area it is hardly surprising to see the entertainment industry - with its sensitivity to the climate of opinion, its concern for public favor, and its existing machinery for barring from the air anything assumed to be detrimental to the business purposes of the industry - becoming enmeshed in a variety of procedures, commonly referred to as "blacklisting", which reflect the developments initiated by the country's concern with internal security. It is the purpose of the present study to explore what these practices mean within the industry." (underlining supplied)

If I ever do a study on general working conditions in the industry, I shall certainly deal fully with the question of "nervous pressure" and other matters. In the last three sentences you repeat charges regarding the treatment of data from questions 4, 5 and 7 which have already been repudiated.

Charge 22: "I believe that the second paragraph of page 26 quoting but not translating Baudelaire is wholly unfair to the executive who is quoted. Exhibitionism is not a substitute for objective and careful thought.

"In addition, in all fairness to the executive who is quoted, I wonder whether you do not agree that our judicial authorities

dealing directly with this very issue are somewhat more relevant than M. Baudelaire who wasn't faced with the problem at all. The California courts have explicitly held that their statutes which forbid discrimination in employment because of political belief afford no protection for employees who are dismissed or not hired because they are Communists. The Federal courts also support the executive. In American Communications Association v. Douds, 339 US 382, dealing with the constitutionality of a provision of the Labor Management Relations Act which withdraws the services of the National Labor Relations Board from any union which has failed to file a non-Communist affidavit, the late Mr. Justice Jackson (who was certainly not indifferent to individual liberties), in his concurring opinion sharply distinguished between the Republican, the Democratic and the Socialist Parties on the one hand, and the Communist Party on the other. He stated that 'the Communist Party is something different in law...Congress could rationally conclude that, behind its political party facade, the Communist Party is a conspiratorial and revolutionary junta...' In United States v. Dennis, 183, Fed 2d 201, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit -- one of the most respected courts in the land -- speaking through Judge L. Hand upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act on the precise ground that the American Communist Party was a 'conspiracy.' In upholding this decision the Supreme Court speaking through Mr. Chief Justice Vinson (Dennis v. United States, 341 US 494) adopted Judge Hand's rationale. It refers to the members of the party as constituting 'a highly organized conspiracy.'

"In these circumstances it seems to me that you have done a serious injustice to the executive whom you deride."

Refutation:

"The most beautiful ruse of the Devil is to persuade us that he does not exist." The translation of the quote was omitted since the phrase happens to be composed almost entirely of words with a clearly recognizable Anglo-Saxon meaning.

I do not deride any one or several executives. I am puzzled to see how a misunderstanding about "deriding one executive" could even arise. The Baudelaire quote follows a discussion of the tendency among top executives to deny that there is such a thing in the industry as a blacklist.

Your legal quotations are completely beside the point. They refer to cases of known communists. The report does not deal with such cases, nor with the conspiratorial nature of communism.

Charge 23: "The quotations at pages 26 and 27 are not typical of the quantitative data appearing in the items. Again, there are no offsetting quotations or references to conflicting data."

Refutation:

In contrast to your assertion, the report states, "Let us first consider two contrasting views on the situation" (p. 26; underlining supplied), clearly implying that they are not meant to be typical.

Charge 24: "In the response to item 4, page 31, it is stated that 28% of the sample which answered said that they thought that listers were 'sincere but crazy.' I would doubt very much that this many people should have coincidentally seized on such a curious word as 'crazy.' My doubts are bolstered by turning to item 26 in the appendix where the same question appears but the answer is 'sincere but misguided, crazy.' Standing alone this is a small thing, but I cannot help the feeling that the omission of the far less vivid word 'misguided' which in fact belongs there should give the reader pause on the care and objectivity with which the text was drawn from your data."

Refutation:

As you say, this is a small thing. About the only comment worth making is that the interviews are full of the "curious word...crazy", which apparently occurs to many persons spontaneously, even though the question was phrased in highly positive terms: "Are the listers sincere and patriotic?"

Charge 25: "Item 6 at page 31 appears to be incompletely reported."

Refutation:

The full details are given in the Appendix. What is shown there is that only one respondent believed that creative people were for the "blacklist", while the modal category - 17 - reported that creative people were against it.

Charge 26: "I have already commented on the fact that the material at pages 33 to 46 relating to the consequences of 'blacklisting' is not supported by the data. The pattern of quoting statements in the text without balance or without reference to the actual data is continued throughout this section."

Refutation:

I have examined the details of what you felt to be a "pattern of quoting statements...etc." for the material prior to page 33 and, as you now realize, have found it to be a misrepresentation of what is actually in the text. Since you do not detail the evidence for the "pattern" you find in pages 33 to 46 I am unable, of course, to continue my effort to clarify the report for you. Were this possible, you may be sure that your sweeping accusation would again be demonstrated to be due to misconception and misunderstanding.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

November 18, 1955

Dear Ed:

1. Enclosed find, for your eyes alone, copy of letter received from Pat Weaver. I thought you would be interested particularly in the last line.

2. It was fun the other evening. I have jotted down a few samples of items which I thought could visually portray the pace of change which I think must be the springboard for conditioning people into looking at the future.

Since I believe that dreams make history I am unashamed to ask you or anyone else to help spread my dreams. Let me know if I can help you on any portion of any future dream program.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Extra set enclosed for Fred.

EXEC-304

PAT WEAVER

Dear Morris:

I didn't see 1976, TV, being globe-rounding. That also makes me mad-going from duties right now, but let me know if you call a mass meeting of Upward-and-Onward Utopians, count me in.

Hope you're $elling book$ like crazy.

Best -

Pat

Tidbits to show pace of change so as to get myself ready for the prophesy of the future.

1. Length of life -- picture Founding Fathers - average 41 at Constitutional Convention. U. S. Senate now about 56.

2. Agriculture - trees without limbs; no cotton for womens stockhings; synthetics for mens clothes; sheep shearing finished by 1976.

3. Parm 1787 and present mechanical farms -- picture of a fish farm in interior of the nation; one bull sire of 1000 cows by artificial insemination; picture of herd.

4. Male teachers up to 1850. Female teachers 1915. Increase of male teachers by 1955 and increasing.

5. Kitchen - outside privy; no water in sink; washing machine, incinerator, etc.

6. Heat by logs in Philadelphia at Convention -- 14 Negroes supplying wood daily -- now house heated by solar heat in Boston for several years -- Lewis Strauss' statement: light and power so cheap it won't pay to have meter. Thus end of telephone and light poles and wires.

7. Clothing -- hoop skirts out when train comes in; now nylon for airplanes; length of womens skirts for 40 years directly up or down with stock market quotations. Economics and clothing.

8. Churches shifting from leisure in Heaven to leisure on earth; new church building near Washington Square for hobbies.

9. Langmuir and rainmakers.

10. Madison, with quill, kept minutes of Constitutional Convention; then stenographer took dictation, already now many stenographers never see people who dictate.

11. Size of families.

12. Hours of labor; Gary quote on steel industry and 12 hour day; now factories closed on Saturday, etc. Vacations.

13. Father - son fishing together; daughters always had adult female symbol before them.

14. 50 Years ago man dominant in home; never washed dishes or changed diapers; see young couples today.

15. Lancashire riots about 1820 because of machines - automation now.

16. Show in picture form past and present which conditions audience, for interview about the future.

17. See UNESCO film of peasant taken in Helicopter to Paris to interview scientist; see Bill Leonard's script of year 2000, as to gadgets.

18. Health - tuberculosis sanatorium closed down in Saranac; it was killer number one in my youth; soon old age will be the only disease. Franklin quote.

19. Possible contrast with the Orwell film shown in England on television.

20. Food -- size of apples, tomatoes, etc. Production per acre or man by pictograph a la Newrath.

21. Exhibit of a great quantity of synthetically produced items.

22. Exhibit recently in Washington of 300 new metals and materials resulting from atomic research.

23. See new cities such as near Trenton.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

November 15, 1955

Dear Ed:

In playing your wonderful Churchill record, I find the printed index was less than accurate. You may want to change it in the next edition.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Ernst

October 18, 1955

Dear Morris:

I have your "Utopia 1976" and hope to immerse myself in it next week-end. If it doesn't depress me to the point of suicide, you will be hearing from me within ten days.

I think we both want to live in the same kind of world, but I think we aren't going to.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

rh

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

October 11, 1955

Dear Ed:

Did you see Pat Weaver's Utopia show? It was worse than Orwell because Orwell had as a purpose a desire to make people hate the orthodox regimental world of 1984. Pat seems to want us all to love the super-orthodox world of gadgets and things which he foresees in 1976.

I am sending you a copy of my own "Utopia 1976 (publication date on shelf November 3rd). You said several times that you thought there might be a television serial in it. Won't you let me know if you are at all interested.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City

For Ei Burrow

Who should do a real series

est-loved vermouth?

d for? Love! Love of the best
means CINZANO, the best-
nce 1816! Taste the reasons —
rmouth, imported from Italy,
Cinzano French Extra Dry
nce. They *make* your best
nzano, Inc., New York, N. Y.

Crystal Gazing at NBC

NBC purported to give viewers a "sixty-minute look at the world of tomorrow" in yesterday's "1976" (4:30 p. m.), but in retrospect it was a very tiny world that concerned the network.

Basically, it revolved around the pushbutton existence we may all enjoy in our homes twenty-one years from now. With several wide-eyed people beside him, Dave Garroway served as a guide through a 1976 home, which frankly seemed neither comfy nor private. It had walls made of air, or something, an electronic heating system, television phone, a shopping device built into a sinkless kitchen, and, for junior, a house all to himself in the yard, complete with food storage, washing and ironing machine, music area, etc.

NBC stars were called upon to illustrate life in 1976, among them Sid Caesar and Nanette Fabray, who portrayed "The Commuters" as they would behave twenty-one years from now. Sid complains that it took "twenty minutes to come home to New York from his job in Saipan." Later a contraption called "The Fight Decider" was used to settle an argument between Sid and Nanette.

The idea of "1976" is a good one, but in execution it resulted in a dull and ponderous venture that projected an empty world. Viewers were spectators rather than participants in NBC's crystal gazing, which did not touch on an over-all way of living in 1976.

As some one at my house said: "Outside of Caesar and Fabray, almost everything on the show can be seen in a modern furniture store." M. T.

'Show Biz' Spectacular

A mild-mannered calvacade of show business from 1900 to the present was shown last night (7:30 to 9) as an NBC spectacular under the title of "Show Biz," based on the book of the same name by Abel Green and Joe Laurie jr.

Featuring a host of entertainment notables, "Show Biz" provided a series of old and new acts in a concert presentation, devoid of any rousing highlights. It contained much singing and dancing and vintage jokes. It also was reminiscent of radio in that it as possible both to view this urri of talent and not the

medicine shows to the honky tonks, the nickleodeons, speakeasies, vaudeville, Broadway, radio and video. To illustrate the many phases of "Show Biz" he had support of such able personalities as Buster Keaton, Bert Lahr, Eartha Kitt, Rosemary Clooney, Dennis Day, Beatrice Kay, and Jay C. Flippen. Art Linkletter's participation was mainly limited to extolling the virtues the sponsor's products.

The program Hollywood mom

Quilico in At City Cen

The season's first of Verdi's "La Travia day afternoon at the brought with it the Germont, of Louis the New York City the first local appe Barry Morell in the fredo. Rounding out t cast, conducted by E were Eva Likova as Vi Mary LeSawyer, Mar Kay, Richard Wentw John Reardon.

Mr. Quilico, a 1955 the Metropolitan Op tions of the Air, is tainly something of has a rich, voluminou voice and his control not impeccable, is secure to enable him lines with a minimun He is, in addition, a singer who wisely hu climaxes and vocal steadfastly refuses to the breast-beating an ging that plagues th most Germont interpr

If there is any def present skill it resid area dealing with to Mr. Quilico's timb mite grey and i Shades of var are rarely ap that tends ness of h Quilico he use his w

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

September 8, 1955

Dear Ed:

I had an advance try-out on the radio on the Ted and Jinx program in regard to "Utopia 1976". I am sending you the record. Do take five minutes and listen to my nonsense and let me pick your brain as to whether my approach seemed to be an interesting, and if I may say so, a selling one.

I have it. RM

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Listen sometime

September 7, 1955

Dear Ed:

I did a very foolish thing. I took you at your word. I think I have started a movement to have you invited to be president of Haverford College. Give me a ring if you want to know more about it.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City

Ernst Morris
(March 9, 1955)

Mr. Murrow: Miss Campbell has deciphered Mr. Ernst's letter as follows:

Ed:

While roaming the planet I had a couple of days with I.L.O. and W.H.O. It occurred to me that one of your braintrusters might develop a program dealing with each of the dozen or so operating arms of the UN. Talks over here in Europe with heads of Petal? Union, Lighthouse, UNESCO, Food in Rome, etc. For example I. L. O. just regularized working pay and conditions for boats etc. on the Rhine, that's better than we have done in Mississippi.

The panel of representation of outlandish -- to us -- lands, all speak English -- including repulsive Russians, may be a good show.

Best

Morris

P.S. And what scandals you unearth what with lethargic newspaper reporting -- example, U.S. employed delegate to I.L.O. thinks UN is subversive.

R. H.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 9, 1955

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing herewith letter from Mr. Ernst addressed to you, which was enclosed in his letter to me and received this morning, with the request that I mail it on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Paula Gross

Secretary to Mr. Ernst

Enc

Paula
pass this to Thurston

HOTEL BAUR AU LAC ZURICH
ADRESSE TÉLÉGR.: BAURLAC · TÉLÉPHONE: (051) 23 16 50
PROPR. H. KRACHT'S ERBEN

Ed -

While roaming the planet I had a couple of days with I.L.O., + W.H.O. It occurred to me that one of your brain trusters might develop a program -, dealing with each of the dozen or so operating arms of the U.N. Talks over here in Europe with heads of Postal Union, Light House, Unesco, Food in Rome etc. For Example - ILO just regularized working fag conditions for boats etc on the Rhine - that's better than we have done along the Mississippi -

The panel of representatives of outlandish tongues - lands -, all speak English - including recalcitrant Russians (or empty chairs if they refuse - maybe good show.

Best

Tom

Also what scandals you will unearth - what with lethargic newspaper reporting. Example - U.S. Employer delegate to I.L.O. thinks U.N. [illegible] + says as [illegible]

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

February 14, 1955

7

My dear Ed:

I have seen W.B. for brief chats since we met at your house. The more I hear of the situation, the more I am convinced that from the C.B.S. viewpoint the proposed strategy can eventually be most hurtful. I am quite sure that men like Robert Morris, former counsel to the Jenner Committee, would be in agreement on this score.

Although I am mighty busy between now and the end of the week when I go abroad, you can tell Danny that, whereas I would not enter the situation because of your collateral relation to it, I would come up as a general friend of the situation and talk to him if he so desires. He and C.B.S. can get one hell of a beating if the company proceeds as it intends. As a matter of fact, this may be the kind of situation which the Committee of the Republic would concern itself with in its exploration of so-called "blacklisting".

If you saw Brandon in London, give me a ring. Is there anything I can do for you in the East -- or anywhere?

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:js

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

February 9, 1955

Dear Ed:

If your initial hunch that my Utopia might be converted by a skilled person into a television program has been proven false, do send back to me the volume or let me know where I can call for it.

I have received an offer from a radio station to try a novel idea for a 13 week program, in effect talking the content of a utopia of hope in detailed terms, to a radio audience. They are toying with the idea of having questions from the public each week, to be answered at the start of the next week's program. Such a radio audience would probably be larger than any book audience and I am quite sure that the book publishers will capitalize on the weekly sales pitch which will be made on the radio program.

All of this intrigues me and it certainly is a new gimmick in connection with the marketing of book ideas to the people of our Republic.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Who "Collaborated" with Russia?

By PAUL WILLEN

IN SEPTEMBER 1944, three months after the invasion of France and eight months before the final capitulation of the Third Reich, a nation-wide poll was taken of the American people in which the following question was asked:

> Do you think the kind of government Russia has at the present time is about the same kind she had five years ago, or do you think it is different?

Thirty-six per cent of those polled thought Russia had "the same kind of government." Twenty-nine per cent did not know. Five per cent thought it had "changed for the worse." But thirty per cent believed that it had changed "for the better."

In other words, almost a third of the American people acknowledged that between 1939 and 1944 they had come to hold a more favorable view of the Soviet system. This is to say nothing of those whose picture of the USSR had altered in the same period but were unconscious of the change. Another poll, taken at the same time, asked

> From what you have heard, do you think the kind of government Russia has is as good as she could have for her people at the present time, or do you think a different kind would do better for the Russians?

Twenty-eight per cent thought a different type of government might be more beneficial. Twenty-six per cent did not know. But forty-six per cent thought that the type of government Russia then enjoyed was "as good as she could have for her people."

At the same time the people were also asked, "Do you think the kind of government Russia has will have any effect on other countries?" Only twenty-one per cent stated that Russia's governmental system would have an "effect on other countries," and of that twenty-

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PAUL WILLEN has written for *Commentary*, *The Reporter*, *The New Republic*, and for the State Department's *Problems of Communism*, mostly on the subject of the Soviet Union. He is a graduate of the Russian Institute at Columbia University.

Reprinted from the Fall, 1954 issue of *The Antioch Review*, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Copyright 1954 by The Antioch Review, Inc.

one per cent two-thirds believed that the effect would be indirect and emulative. Only seven per cent of the American people, in other words, foresaw an aggressive Russia in the postwar period.

Recalling these facts in 1954, ten years later, may startle some Americans, especially those who have, to one degree or another, accepted the now-popular theory that the postwar expansion of Communism in Europe and Asia was largely the result of White House capitulation to Communist advisors. This theory, which portrays the American people as innocent victims of a vast international conspiracy, is one of the basic ingredients of the trend in American politics which we now label McCarthyism. Indeed, the basic justification for whatever suspension of civil liberties has occurred in the past five years is the assumption that China would not have fallen to the Communists had Hiss, Lattimore and Harry Dexter White been removed from the government many years ago.

McCarthy's accusation of "twenty years of treason" is the most crude and exaggerated expression of this viewpoint. More sophisticated observers, unwilling to accuse Roosevelt and Truman of outright and conscious betrayal, attribute the loss of China to the "softness" of the New Deal toward Communism as the result of which Hiss and Lattimore assumed positions of such great influence.

I cannot take up either the accuracy (in terms of fact) or the realism (in terms of world politics) of these charges; rather I aim *to question their very pertinence*. If it is true, as the above-cited polls suggest, that the American people themselves were "soft" on Communism in the wartime period, the question of the undoubted gullibility of the White House politicians loses much of its weight and seriousness. But it is not my purpose here to apologize for the diplomacy of the Roosevelt administration; nor is it to deny the influence of Communist agents and spies in the American government; nor is it, incidentally, to embarrass politicians like McCarthy, who accepted Communist support in his 1946 campaign for the Senate, or McCarthyites like Walter Winchell who told millions in 1944 that the "fear of Russia" is a "bogey." (Both men have survived such embarrassing revelations.)

My purpose is to show that wartime pro-Soviet feeling was far more widespread, had much deeper roots, received encouragement from much more respectable quarters, than it is discreet to remember

now in the year 1954. Once the American people realize that the "softness" allegedly responsible for the fall of China was not confined to the White House and not the result of a conspiracy, they may begin to look for the real and deep-rooted causes of the tragic absorption of China into the Communist Empire.

II

In 1942 the excellent New York *Times* journalist, James Reston, came out with a book, *Prelude to Victory*, in which he discussed, among other things, the responsibilities of a newspaper toward the war effort. He was disturbed by the Washington *Times-Herald* which, in an editorial sharply attacking Russia for its failure to join the struggle against Japan, had written that "we cannot expect too much of Russia. The bear that walks like a man does not always think like a man." Reston commented:

> Now I ask you, what is the point of that kind of scurrilous criticism . . . It is not alone that editorials like this have a negative quality. They can do positive harm, as any reporter who has ever stepped inside a Russian embassy will tell you. . . .

He explained that while he was not in favor of a "moratorium on criticism of our allies" he was against anything but "constructive criticism." He urged journalists to consider the political and military effect of their correspondence. Objective reporting which was "negative" and did not contribute to the winning of the war was more than unnecessary, it was harmful, "as any reporter who has stepped inside a Russian embassy can tell you."

James Reston, who was acutely conscious of the problems of a newspaper editor, voiced the wartime philosophy of journalism consciously. But for others the new demands were incorporated into the daily copy unconsciously. In a totalitarian country such alterations of "line" are made overnight by governmental decree and there are no loose ends—such as the *Times-Herald*—sticking out. But in the United States the changes demanded by war occurred slowly, with a certain degree of spontaneity. For some, however, it was too slow. Bishop Manning thundered on August 24, 1942: "Anything in the nature of anti-British propaganda or anti-Russian propaganda . . . is a dangerous and peculiarly despicable form of sabotage." This was an exaggerated

expression of a general feeling which gripped America as the war consumed more and more of its energies.

The problem was deeper than that of maintaining cordial relations between the allies. The problem of the maintenance of public morale under increasingly difficult conditions was even more pressing. Our soldiers were soon to risk their lives; our citizens were paying enormously high taxes and submitting to an ever-tightening rationing. Would the American people have permitted the shipment of billions of dollars of goods and war materiél to the Soviet Union had they felt a measure of the hatred they now feel toward the Soviet Union, even with the menace of Hitler's legions before them? Clearly it was necessary to create and intensify feelings of good will toward our allies and to sustain a mood of optimism generally toward the future. Henry Wallace's naive platitudes on the "century of the common man" were front-page stories in this era because, among many sections of the population, these words represented "something worth fighting for." Under these slogans men would fight with a valor and heroism which more stodgy and realistic slogans could hardly hope to elicit. In those days, when the nation itself seemed at stake, nothing was spared, not even inherited misgivings about the unnatural offspring of the Bolshevik revolution.

In November 1941, *Collier's* magazine ran an editorial in which it asked: "Why all these efforts to pretend that Russia is something which we know it is not? Russia is not a democracy . . . why kid ourselves otherwise?" Two years later, in December, 1943, *Collier's* again posed the question: "What kind of country is Russia, anyway?" It is surely neither Socialistic nor Communist, *Collier's* replied, but rather it has a "modified capitalist set-up," with wide wage differentials, industrial piece-rates, savings' banks, and well-paid industrial managers living at standards "enjoyed by leaders of private industry in this country." Therefore, *Collier's* concluded, Russia was "evolving from a sort of Fascism . . . toward something resembling our own and Great Britain's democracy."

The astounding political metamorphosis revealed in these two editorials was also evident in *Collier's* feature articles. Quentin Reynolds' article, "A Russian Family," published August 7, 1943, is a good example of *Collier's* wartime output. The central point of his correspondence was that Russian families were quite like American

families, "much like the Smiths or the Jones on your block." Many homey touches were introduced to reinforce his point:

> Grandma Starotsin looks much like any other grandmother, whether you'd meet her in Sevenoaks, Kent; Londonderry, Ireland; or Middletown, Ohio.

Reynolds assured his readers that the only reason the Starotsins had to share a kitchen with another family was that the building program had been interrupted by the war—as if crowded living conditions were unusual in urban Russia! As it was, the "average" Russian family Reynolds visited occupied three rooms!

Reynolds' article was typical of hundreds. Harrison Salisbury wrote up Eric Johnston's trip to Russia and noted with approval Johnston's observation that there was "no reason why close, friendly and cooperative business relations" could not be established between the two nations. Salisbury's technique for ingratiating Russia to his audience was impressive:

> Mike Kulagin . . . boss of the [Urals] section . . . built like a Golden Gloves champ . . . tough as one of Zane Grey's Texas gunmen . . . could stand up and slug it out toe to toe with such American pioneers as Jim Hill, Jay Gould or Jim Fiske.

Collier's also published Donald Nelson's account of his trip to Russia in which Nelson concluded "we are both interested in the same thing —raising the standard of living and prosperity of our countries. . . . You do it your way. We'll do it in our way." Another issue of *Collier's* contained an optimistic account of TWA's plans for an air-route across Alaska and Siberia by Fred R. Neely. Siberia was portrayed as a rugged frontier land, with great wealth, and unlimited opportunities for enterprising men. Neely made no mention of the slave labor camps in Siberia about which much was already known.

For a magazine which had declared in 1941 that it was unnecessary "to pretend that Russia is something which we know it is not" this was an extraordinary journalistic performance.

But *Collier's* was by no means alone. *The Saturday Evening Post* competed with it in pro-Soviet effusions, despite the fact that its chief political writer, Demaree Bess, in an analysis published in March 1943, displayed a remarkable awareness of the impending struggle. The *Post*'s correspondent in Russia was Edgar Snow, whose pro-Soviet

sympathies were unmistakable. Between 1943 and 1945 the *Post* printed twenty-four of his articles and made him an associate editor.

On December 14, 1942 Snow described the "People of Russia," and quoted a collective farmer as saying that "compared to old Russia, it is heaven compared to hell." Another collective farmer, borrowing a phrase from Stalinist propaganda, told Snow that "we are beginning to have a wonderfully rich life." Another article dealt with Russian military men. The generals were "men of the people . . . an example for his men in every respect . . . clean minded . . . free from Freudian complexes"; in some ways a typical general "reminds you of a good YMCA secretary," but not, however, a "prude." Summing up the Soviet military caste, Snow wrote ". . . all his training and experience have made this man democratic."

With the exception of an analysis by Peter F. Drucker, Snow's ecstatic correspondence was all the material the *Post* published on the Soviet Union during the last three years of the war.

The outstanding contribution of American journalism to the growing wartime pro-Soviet mood came from *Life* magazine, which devoted its entire March 29, 1943 issue to "Soviet-American cooperation." Without this cooperation, *Life*'s editors explained, "there can be no stable, peaceful world."

Life's editors gave an account of the difficulties encountered in putting this special issue together due to Soviet restrictions and secrecy. "They live under a system of tight, state-controlled information." And then followed this extraordinary passage:

> But probably the attitude to take toward this is not to get too excited about it. When we take into account what the U.S.S.R. has accomplished in 20 years of its existence we can make allowances for certain shortcomings, however deplorable.

And furthermore:

> If the Soviet leaders tell us that the control of information was necessary to get this job done, we can afford to take their word for it.

Life acknowledged some difficulties in American-Soviet relations: "Though we both have the same aims . . . the methods we employ are in many cases diametrically opposed." Their conclusions: The Russians should be less suspicious of us, and we, in turn, should put more confidence in them.

This editorial was followed by a multi-colored photographic essay on the Soviet Union, describing the "vast achievements in the first two decades of the U.S.S.R.," picturing our ally as a robust and healthy nation. The collective farms shown looked neat and prosperous. The Russian farmer: "though he grumbles sometimes like farmers everywhere, for the most part he is content." Soviet collective farmers "elect their governing body," and "whatever the cost of collectivization . . . the historic fact is that it worked . . . the system satisfies both socialism which abhors private ownership . . . and the peasant, who wants to own land."

Life's condensation of Russian history followed the well-known pattern set by Soviet historians, lauding the great and brutal Czars who welded together the Russian state. Their history is climaxed by Lenin, the "well-balanced" leader of the Bolsheviks who "made the Revolution make sense and saved it from much of the folly of the French Revolution."

Adhering to the popular wartime glorification of the Great Russians, *Life* described them as "one hell of a people" who "look like Americans, dress like Americans, and think like Americans." Stalin is recognized as a dictator, but *Life*'s editors seemed not especially disturbed by the fact. On the contrary, a formalistic discussion of Soviet election procedures leaves the impression of a large degree of self-government in the Soviet Union. A chart is included of the Soviet government, with arrows, designating lines of power, leading from the masses to the higher organs of power.

In order to familiarize the American people with the work of the NKVD (the successor to the GPU) *Life* refers to it as "a national police similar to the FBI" whose job is "tracking down traitors." The popular theory that all the objects of the NKVD's widespread and interminable activities were "traitors" and German spies was given thorough respectability by Joseph Davies, the former American envoy to the Soviet Union, whose analysis of the Russian role in world affairs appeared in this issue of *Life*. Davies, who was introduced by *Life* as a foremost expert, answered a series of questions, among them the following:

> Can we assume that the rulers of Russia are men of goodwill toward other nations and that they desire a peaceful, stable world? . . .

"Yes," Davies replied, ". . . the Soviet Union is not a predatory power like Germany and Japan. . . ." Davies' postwar forecasts were without exception optimistic; he expected complete Russian cooperation in building a strong postwar China under Chiang Kai Shek's leadership. *Life* registered no complaints on any of these judgments.

Davies was much in demand throughout America at this time. Three weeks after *Life*'s memorable Russian edition appeared, Warner Brothers released its cinematic version of Davies' book *Mission to Moscow*. Critics found the movie even more favorable to the Soviet Union than the book. *Life* itself remarked, in a somewhat critical vein, that the film made the Russians "look and act like residents of Kansas City, and the American standard of living appears to prevail throughout the Soviet Union." Bosley Crowther, the New York *Times*' critic, was not impressed with the movie, but observed that "still it should be a valuable influence to more clear-eyed and searching thought."

Davies was so popular that the *Reader's Digest* published *Mission to Moscow* in condensed form in one of its issues. The condensation included Davies' unforgettable analysis of the great purges of 1936-38:

> "What about the fifth columnists in Russia?"
> I replied, right off the anvil, "There aren't any—they shot them."

In the same article Davies explained away the Nazi-Soviet pact, justified the Stalinist dictatorship, and lionized the dictator himself.

The *Digest*'s coverage of wartime Russia was not, in fact, very much more restrained than *Life*'s. Its correspondent in Moscow was Maurice Hindus who reported enthusiastically on the vigor and resourcefulness of the people brought up under Soviet rule. Hindus's accounts were written with a great deal more knowledge and discretion than those by reporters of Reynolds' calibre, but with essentially the same purpose and result.

The *Digest* also published a condensation of Sumner Welles' *Time for Decision* in which Welles predicted that "Russia will act on the theory that her prosperity can be assured only through an international organization capable of maintaining peace." Welles maintained moreover that Russia was "entitled to take such steps as it may judge best to create a regional system of Eastern Europe." As for the Soviet system itself, Welles expressed the view that it was "superficially true . . . from the standpoint of our Western tradition" that it was a

dictatorship, but that "from the standpoint of the Russian people, it is a hopelessly inadequate appraisal." Like *Life* in the case of Davies, the *Digest* printed these views without editorial objection or qualification.

Early in the war—1942—the *Digest* condensed a book called *The Problems of Lasting Peace* by Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson. Their extensive survey of postwar possibilities was in no way distinguished, and is mentioned here only for one reason: the Soviet Union was not even considered by the authors as one of the "problems" involved in achieving a "lasting peace." Indeed, the Soviet Union is hardly considered at all, and one can assume that the authors entertained few fears about postwar Soviet designs on the rest of the world. Of course, the book was written early in the war when only the most far-sighted observer could foresee the enormous power with which the Soviet Union would emerge from the war. But that fact merely underlines the hypothesis of this essay by indicating how unprepared the American people were for the postwar years, even an American who was one of three Republican Presidents who refused to extend diplomatic recognition to Soviet Union during their terms of office.

In all fairness, it should be pointed out that in the middle of 1944 both the *Digest* and *Life* recovered a portion of their balance with regard to the Soviet Union. In the latter half of 1944 *Life* published William Bullitt's sharply critical analysis of the emerging Soviet policies in Eastern Europe, and the *Digest* published William L. White's controversial *Report on the Russians*. But the recovery, even late in 1944, was not complete. In the very same issue—October 1944—in which the *Digest* offered its readers Alexander Barmine's warning of the nefarious designs of his former Kremlin employers, it also published Eric Johnston's glowing account of his recent trip to Russia.

In this same period Johnston himself was evidently regaining his own equilibrium. After praising the Soviet Union in traditional wartime fashion to a Seattle audience on August 24, 1944, he departed from the "text" to observe that the Soviet Union was a land where "civil liberties are only a vague promise" and where, "if there is any religion, it is the worship of Stalin." And then he added this curious remark:

> In my travels I have rediscovered America. Never before did I realize the importance of our freedom, our standard of living, our right of habeas corpus, our Bill of Rights. Don't sell America short.

Did Johnston realize that he himself had come close to "selling America short?" Apparently so; the "travels" had served as a healthy corrective to impressions received abroad, and he had, perhaps belatedly, "rediscovered . . . the importance of our freedom."

But Johnston was not alone in his temporary flirtation with Soviet apologetics. On the contrary, those who did not pass through such a stage were in the minority, isolated and useless to America at war. The pro-Soviet mood pervaded almost all our publications. The *Rotarian*, for example, printed very sympathetic portrayals of the Soviet Union by Leland Stowe and Sir Bernard Pares. Pares explained that "unlike Trotzky, who thought in terms of communizing the world, Stalin has but one big yet simple idea. It is to develop his country. . . ." Leland Stowe concurred. Another *Rotarian* writer, Harland H. Allen, forecast a rapid expansion of Soviet-American trade in the postwar period, made possible by the "peace-loving character" of the Russian people. The *Rotarian*'s book reviewer offered the following reading list on Russia: Davies' *Mission to Moscow*, Pope's *Maxim Litvinov*, Edelman's *How Russia Prepared*, and Lesueur's *Twelve Months that Changed the World*. These books, all pro-Soviet, were becoming part of the national reading list.

Even nonpolitical magazines such as the *National Geographic Magazine* were caught up in the pervasive pro-Soviet atmosphere. The November 1943 issue contained an informal tribute to the Russian people by Eddy Gilmore which stressed the common characteristics of the American and Russian people.

> I don't mean the way we comb our hair or wear our clothes, but the way we work and play and fight. Our impulses. Our emotions. Our loves and hates. Our violences and our greatnesses.

The May 1943 issue featured an excellent description of Magnitogorsk by John Scott, who had participated in its construction. Scott's objectivity was not, however, apparent in the captions (selected presumably by the editors) under the photographs accompanying the article. Beneath a photograph of three Russian peasant girls standing with shovels the editors wrote: "Such stalwart, smiling girls taught the

Nazis the meaning of total war . . . these girls lent a hand digging a canal." Another photograph showed a man and his son reverently gazing at the Kremlin from one of the Moscow River bridges. "There, son," the father is alleged to be telling his son, "lives Marshal Stalin, Head of the Government."

III

To understand what had happened to American public opinion during the war one must reconstruct in one's mind the whole atmosphere of the period. America was engaged in "total war." The newspaper headlines daily described the ebb and flow of battles on a front stretched across several continents. By 1944 the nation was spending 100 billion dollars a year to maintain the military forces that pushed that front ever closer to the German and Japanese borders.

From the low point of 1942, when victory was an uncertain goal in a very hazy future, the allies had slowly gathered sufficient force to narrow the war to the long-awaited invasion of France and the encirclement of Japan. The invasion of the continent was the subject of ceaseless speculation, and considerable anxiety. Many thought that hundreds of thousands would be lost in the undertaking.

This was a time when the American people needed every kind of emotional reassurance which could be supplied to them. To sustain fighting morale, to justify huge sacrifices, men had to be infused with great hatred of their enemies and, at the same time, great confidence in their allies. To have questioned the intentions of these allies—upon whom so much of the war strategy depended—would have been to have jeopardized the entire national morale.

Hence it came to be that the war bred so many illusions; but this was nothing new. War inevitably encourages men to dream, to entertain vast and spectacular hopes. One of these dreams was that the war would be followed by a long period of world peace; this dream was based upon the assumption that all evil in the world had its roots in the demented personalities who directed the German and Japanese war machines. The very idea that evil lurked anywhere else had implicit within it the possibility of future battles. For this few men were prepared.

Hence the destruction of the German and Japanese armies became synonymous with the ushering in of a world of peace and plenty.

Hence the popularity of the term "unconditional surrender" which, despite its diplomatic awkwardness, neatly captured the intense feelings of hatred generated by the war.

For the very same reason that our propagandists distorted German history so that it became nothing but a series of military adventures, our propagandists expunged from Russian and Soviet history everything that might cause apprehension. Foster Rhea Dulles' book *The Road to Teheran, The Story of Russia and America* (1944), was a labored effort to demonstrate the historical precedents for Russo-American friendship. Summarizing the book, one critic wrote, ". . . as international relationships go, those between the United States and Russia have been exemplary . . . there is only one Great Power against which the United States has never taken up arms: Russia."

This was indeed true: but was it relevant? The question was not asked. The success of an effort such as the Russian War Relief—to which many distinguished Americans lent their names—depended upon the ability of our scholars and journalists to sell the idea of the basic compatability of Soviet and American policies and war aims. As we have seen, they set about this task with great zeal.

They were joined by politicians and statesmen too numerous to mention. It was impossible to overpraise the contribution of the Red Army to the common effort. For example, on the 24th anniversary of the Red Army, February 23, 1942, General Douglas McArthur issued this typical statement:

> The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, followed by a smashing counterattack which is driving the enemy back to his own land.

His modest conclusion:

> The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history.

Many of Eisenhower's tributes were no less restrained, and his personal expressions of confidence in the Russian military and political leaders were very much in keeping with the spirit of the times.

A very typical tribute was the one the Utah Senator Elbert Thomas delivered at a New York dinner on February 23, 1943 in which he compared the Red Army with the forces of George Washington. "Freed by the people's army, Russia today knows what she is fighting for. Men, women, and even children, have tasted freedom. They call it good." The very same day the New York State Senate passed a special resolution commending the Red Army.

On the second anniversary of the German invasion of Russia the governors of twenty-five states took the trouble to issue a proclamation extolling "our heroic allies of the Soviet Union," declaring that it was "eminently appropriate, and in the American tradition, that the American people should pay public tribute to such gallant and effective allies." A mass rally in New York on the same day heard the former Mayor of New York, James J. Walker, describe the "heart-warming gallantry" of the Red Army as an inspiration to civilization.

As if in reply to these gestures, two weeks later the Fourth of July was celebrated in the Soviet Union with American music, jazz, and laudatory speeches. The Soviet tributes to Anglo-American military achievements—since wiped from Soviet history texts—almost equalled the fervor of the Anglo-American tributes to the Red Army. This partial reciprocity of compliments naturally stimulated further expressions of admiration from the West. On the 26th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army (1944), Churchill dispatched a message to Stalin which included the following:

> . . . I send you . . . this expression of my profound admiration of [the Red Army's] glorious record. Inspired and guided by your leadership and by their love of the soil of Russia, trusting their skillful and resolute commanders, they will go forward to victory and through victory to peace with honor.

Poet Laureate John Masefield composed an "Ode to the Red Army" which was read at celebrations of the Red Army's memorable foundation throughout England.

Every device was used to deepen friendship with the Soviet allies. Russian music became enormously popular; Russian dances and folk songs were in great demand; symphony orchestras vied with each other to play Shostakovich's new works. The Philadelphia Orchestra was honored with the task of introducing the new Soviet national anthem, the "Hymn to the Soviet Union," to the American people at a special

1944 performance attended by Andrei Gromyko. The "Internationale" was also frequently heard.

The demand for increased cultural interchange provided an excellent arena for a variety of Communist-sponsored front organizations such as the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship. American opinion was so sympathetic to the Soviet Union that it was impossible to detect direct Communist manipulation. Indeed, the New York *Times* officially "welcomed" the commemoration meetings held in 1943 on the anniversary of the October Revolution "under the auspices of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship."

On this occasion the "Congress" organized a great demonstration at Madison Square Garden in New York at which thousands heard speeches by Paul Robeson, Claude Pepper and Corliss Lamont, and applauded enthusiastic messages from politicians such as Sam Rayburn, Daniel Tobin and Jan Masaryk. Donald Nelson told the crowd that "the Russians who I met understood the meaning of a square deal and a firm agreement." Joseph Davies spoke too, stressing the common idealism of the Soviet and American peoples. William Green, President of the AFL, also addressed the gathering, and though his remarks lacked the blind enthusiasm of the other speakers, he too lauded the recent Moscow Conference upon which so much of the diplomacy of Yalta and Teheran was to be based.

The middle of 1943 was a period which *Life* labeled, apparently with some justification, "the era of good feeling," because the comradery between the Allies reached its highest pitch during those months. *Life*'s Russian edition appeared in March, followed shortly by the Warner Brothers' version of *Mission to Moscow*. In April Wendell Willkie's widely read account of his good-will tour of our Allies, *One World*, appeared. Walter Lippmann said at the time that *One World* contained one of the two finest analyses of the Soviet Union that had reached the public (*Mission to Moscow*, incidentally, was the other). Willkie was conscious of potential sources of friction between the United States and Russia, but he had great confidence in our ability to overcome them because, as he put it

> The Russians, like us, are a hardy, direct people and have a great admiration for everything in America, except the capitalist system. And frankly, there are many things in Russia that we can admire—its vigor, its vast dreams, its tenacity of purpose. . . .

Willkie's confidence did not waver in the early months of 1944 when, with the growing dispute over Russian plans for Poland and the timing of the Second Front, Russo-American relations cooled a little. In an article in the *Times* published January 2, 1944 Willkie wrote that while "some persons have suggested that Mr. Roosevelt has gone too far" at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran, "in my judgment, he has not gone far enough." At the same time, Willkie confessed that Soviet activities in the newly liberated regions of Eastern Europe were not absolutely clear.

The wartime American infatuation with things Soviet took a variety of forms. One tack was well represented by the aviator-turned-airlines-executive Eddie Rickenbacker, who upon his return from a trip to the USSR, told a *Times* reporter that he was "particularly impressed" with the "iron discipline in [Soviet] industrial plants, the severe punishment for chronic absenteeism, incentive pay, compulsory overtime work and 'no labor difficulties.'" In other words, like many Americans, Rickenbacker was delighted to find that, contrary to his fears, the Soviet Union did not pamper its working class. Indeed, the Russian workers did not even enjoy the basic rights and privileges accorded to the American workers, and Rickenbacker was "impressed."

The absence of anything resembling workers' control and the existence of a well-paid and privileged managerial class in the Soviet Union were frequently cited during the war as factors favoring Russo-American friendship. Walter Duranty wrote a series of articles in the *Times* showing exactly how far the Soviet Union had come from the utopian hopes of Lenin's days. For many, of course, this progression was not altogether welcome. But for Rickenbacker, Davies, and many others the reactionary character of Russia's industrial relations was something of a relief.

Rickenbacker did not, however, confine his enthusiasm to Soviet industrial relations. He stated that Stalin's dissolution of the Comintern (1943) was, in his opinion, "sincere and permanent." And he added that

> Stalin's failure to respond to repeated invitations to meet with President Roosevelt and . . . Churchill should not be misunderstood, since the Soviet leader has been extremely busy. . . . Let us keep an open mind. Let our great leaders, if necessary . . . visit Russia and Mr. Stalin with the hope of a more complete and better understanding not only during the war, but for the postwar period as well. . . .

Stalin's refusal to meet Roosevelt and Churchill abroad was not the only incident which brought forth apprehensions of the type decried by Rickenbacker. In 1943 our ambassador in Moscow, Admiral Standley, publicly expressed his irritation with the Soviet refusal to publicize the amount of American aid it was receiving. His sudden outburst caused something of a flurry, and brought forth considerable concern lest the incident offend the Kremlin. Senator Tom Connally, speaking on the Senate floor, deplored the possibility "that there should be any incident to provoke friction between the United Nations," and said he couldn't understand "why he [Standley] should make such a statement." Senator Alexander Wiley from Wisconsin was just as vigorous in his rebuke of Standley:

> All this fuss and feathers is just a tempest in a teapot. Stalin appreciates what the United States has done for Russia . . . we must recognize that there is not going to be any selling short by anyone. We must paddle together or the boat will go down.

Senator Vandenberg was equally alarmed by the "fuss and feathers" that threatened the quiet of Wiley's "teapot": ". . . I am amazed," he said, "by Admiral Standley's remarks. . . ." The Texas Representative Luther Johnson remarked that "the Admiral probably got his facts mixed up a bit. I think it is unwise, when we are engaged in war, to make faces at our allies."

Admiral Standley was, as a matter of fact, replaced in Moscow not long after his outburst. This action evidently made him realize that the American public would not tolerate skepticism toward its allies from its officialdom, for after his return he took a stand fully conforming to the wartime cast. Speaking in New York on September 15, 1944, when the Second Front had been established and another "era of good feeling" had set in, he told a group of business executives that

> . . . after victory, security is the Soviet Government's next consideration. I feel confident that we are on the threshold of a postwar period of collaboration in the fullest sense of the word.

The concern for postwar "collaboration in the fullest sense of the word" was so great that even authentic reports of Soviet atrocities could not break through the solid front of inter-allied cooperation. In 1943 the German radio announced the uncovering of proof of Soviet responsibility for the slaughter of 10,000 Polish officers in Katyn Forest.

The Polish Government-in-exile broke off relations with Moscow, and there was considerable disturbance in Allied quarters. The concern, however, was not over the authenticity of the report, but over the possible harm its issuance might have on Allied unity. The New York *Times* called the termination of diplomatic relations between Poland and Russia a "victory for German propaganda," implying that the Katyn Forest massacre itself was only "German propaganda." *Newsweek* also scoffed at the German report: "The worst feature of the situation was that the immediate break was caused directly by German propaganda." *Newsweek* explained that the "violence of the Russian reaction" to the report was due to the "sensibility of [the] Soviets in dealing with foreigners"; and it referred to the "mistaken . . . unrealism" of the Polish-exile Government's request that the International Red Cross be permitted to investigate Katyn Forest.[1]

During the war our propagandists and politicians were on continual alert lest a piece of "German propaganda" turn the American people from its allies. In March 1943, Gardner Cowles, Jr., publisher of *Look* magazine, and director of the domestic service of the Office of War Information (the OWI), demanded that the people make an "unequivocal commitment" to postwar cooperation. Stalin, he reassured the people,

> . . . wants just what the United States wants—security and peace . . . we need to get over the strange notion which too many Americans have that we will have to fight Russia in another twenty or twenty-five years.

In June 1943, James Farley said that it was the "obligation" of all of the allies to band together in the postwar world, and it was therefore necessary to allay the fears of those who still suspected the "ultimate aims of our Russian ally." This general line of reasoning continued until very late in the war. Late in 1945 General Eisenhower told a House committee, after his trip to Moscow where he had reviewed a Red Square parade from atop Lenin's tomb, that "nothing guides Russian policy so much as a desire for friendship with the United States."

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[1]A House Committee which investigated the Katyn Forest massacre in 1952 declared that the suppression of information about the massacre was a product of the "strange psychosis" of the Roosevelt administration, a "psychosis" which apparently extended to *Newsweek* magazine.

It was in the spirit of these times that the New York *Times* published a number of articles by the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, articles which stressed cooperation and community of aims. Also in this spirit was Cyrus Sulzberger's report on his trip to Russia. The report was objective by wartime measures, but contained nothing critical of the Soviet Union.

But the *Times'* concern for postwar collaboration was mild compared to that of the New York *Herald Tribune* which wrote editorially in the following fashion as late as January 26, 1945:

> There are no greater enthusiasts for "Uncle Joe's boys" today than our troops in the Ruhr and in the Ardennes. . . . Here is one aspect of the international relations too often overlooked by the theorists. "Uncle Joe's boys" may inspire alarm in some sections of the armchair brigade, but to the man in the street they are "ours," and to the fighting soldier they are heroes. . . .

The *Tribune*—despite the obvious bias—made a very valid point, one which was very evident in the aftermath of the terrible "battle of the bulge"; the Soviet Army had borne the brunt of the ground struggle with Germany, and, without it, there would have been many more "battles of the bulge" for the American Army. As the two armies raced across Germany in the early months of 1945 it was indeed natural that some sense of mutual indebtedness was felt.

But what was surprising about the *Tribune*'s editorial stand was that it exulted in that indebtedness and attempted to exploit it for political purposes. Still the *Tribune* was only an exaggerated expression of a national trend. The bulwark of national thinking on international relations, the Foreign Policy Association, had little else to offer. At its annual luncheon in 1942 its members had listened to Vera Micheles Dean's statement that America and Russia had "two fundamental things in common . . . a boundless optimism . . . an inherent desire to improve human welfare." The FPA report in 1943 declared that there was "little evidence as yet to indicate that Russia would want to dominate Europe."

To the annual dinner in 1944 the FPA invited Sir Bernard Pares and Vera Micheles Dean, who delivered customary pro-Soviet addresses, and Alexander Kerensky, the man who had since 1917 symbolized the struggle against Bolshevism. But apparently not even Kerensky's fervent anti-Bolshevism could withstand the impact of American

wartime enthusiasms. The main burden of his address was to justify Stalin's reabsorption of the Baltic States and eastern Poland. Though he could not support Stalin as the leader of "international communism," he did recognize him, he said, as the present leader of the Russian people, and as such, congratulated him upon his triumphs. He assured his audience, furthermore, that the annexation of eastern Poland was in no manner in conflict with Stalin's concern for "international security," but rather an expression of it.

Another veteran of the old struggle against Bolshevism who now believed in the sincerity of Stalin's professions was Winston Churchill who in a House of Commons' address of May 24, 1944 offered this analysis:

> Profound changes have taken place in Soviet Russia. The Trotzkyite form of communism has been completely wiped out. The victory of the Russian armies has been attended by a great rise in the strength of the Russian state and a remarkable broadening of its views. The religious side of Russian life has had a wonderful rebirth.

And, in particular, so far as postwar aims are concerned, he told Commons after the Yalta conference early in 1945:

> The impression I brought from Crimea . . . is that Marshal Stalin and the other Soviet leaders wish to live in honorable friendship and democracy with the Western democracies. I also feel that no government stands more on its obligations than the Russian Soviet Government.

Thus Churchill gave expression, in his eloquent prose, to the hopes of the peoples of the Western democracies. These same sentiments were expressed, in humbler language, by the American Gold Star Mothers when, on September 30, 1943, they presented a plaque entitled "What America Means to Me" to the Soviet Government in appreciation of the "magnificent" fight of the Red Army and in token of the "common aims of the youth of Russia and of this country." Juri S. Okov, secretary to the Soviet Consul in New York, accepted the gift in the name of his government in a solemn ceremony at Rockefeller Center.

IV

As I have already indicated, resistance to the wartime enthusiasm in America for the Soviet Union was neither extensive nor powerful. But throughout the war a steady undercurrent of resistance—isolated,

confined, and subdued—did exist, and continued to produce sideline hecklers. The resistance came from two widely separated centers of political thought.

On the one hand, there was the anti-Communist left, and on the other there was the isolationist and anti-Communist right. As might be expected, the immunity of these two groups was based upon distinct and mutually exclusive premises and experiences. The isolationist right had fought America's entrance into the war and even in war was not altogether resigned to many of its political implications, particularly the degree to which the war compromised America's sovereignty. The anti-Communist left, on the contrary, had led the fight for American involvement in the anti-fascist struggle, and supported the military struggle wholeheartedly. It had, however, great misgivings about the collaboration with the Soviet Union, an uneasiness which had its roots in the genuine knowledge and hatred of totalitarianism of the anti-Stalinist left.

"Begging nobody's pardon," the New York *Daily News* recently boasted in an editorial, "this newspaper never did get suckered into believing that Bloody Joe was fighting for anything but eventual Communist domination of the world." The boast is largely accurate, even though the *News* and other reactionary newspapers published their share of praise for the "gallant and mighty Red Army" as well as the correspondence of journalists sympathetic to the Soviet Union. They published few full-scale attacks on the Soviet Union, and respected, to some degree, James Reston's strictures. But neither did they glorify the Soviet social system or forecast everlasting cooperation and peace between the wartime allies. The conservative *Reader's Digest*, as we noted before, published the optimistic analyses of Welles and Johnston; but at the same time when friction between the allies began to grow ominous, it published Barmine and White's attacks.

The approach of the anti-Communist left was different in character, much more positive and forthright. It did not control any mass media, and was therefore under no compulsion to muffle its suspicions. When Davies' book *Mission to Moscow* was issued as a movie in April 1943, Norman Thomas organized a protest memorandum which was signed by 52 people most of whom were anti-Communist liberals, leftists and New Dealers. The statement asserted that the film "falsifies

and glorifies dictatorship . . . creates the impression that the methods of Stalin were not incompatible with genuine democracy."

Members of the same general grouping organized a meeting to protest the Kremlin execution of two prominent Polish Socialist Bundists early in the war. While the *Times* buried the report of the execution in a back page, the Social Democratic *New Leader* displayed it prominently. The protest meeting reached the front page of the *Times*, but Litvinov's lame explanation of the execution was again given an insignificant niche in the *Times*.

The same pattern was followed when the story of the Katyn Forest massacre was made public by the Germans. *Newsweek* ridiculed the German claims; but the *New Leader*, the *American Mercury*, *Commonweal* took it seriously, and tried to warn others of its meaning for America. These groups were composed of both Socialists who had fought Communists at home and ex-Communists who had gained a first-hand knowledge of Communist techniques; the war-time excitement could not dull their memories, and they tried to give America the benefit of their unique experiences with Communism.

For this group the wartime period was one of intense frustration. They saw their country engulfed by the slogans and rationale of Soviet apologetics which they had fought in the labor movement for so many years. They watched painfully as our major organs of expression absorbed the arguments and atmosphere of the Popular Front. They looked on in anxiety as Communists infiltrated agencies of propaganda and public opinion, unnoticed because their own "line" so nearly coincided at the time with that of *Life*, *Collier's* and the Office of War Information.

Indeed, in this period in American life, the Communists were in a far better position to serve American interests, as they were visualized at the time, than the anti-Communist liberal. The Communists were ready, indeed eager, to provide America with that type of rationale for Soviet injustices which America required for emotional reassurance. The Communists supported the war effort with a vigor and certainty which was compelling, and urged only that more of America's resources be given to the pursuit of victory. In the labor movement they advanced and supported the "no strike pledge"; they tolerated no serious criticisms of the American system; and indeed, they opposed the efforts of Negro leaders to organize a march on Washington to protest segregation in the armed forces.

So well indeed had the Communists harmonized themselves with the wartime political atmosphere that Earl Browder, then the American Communist leader, told a reporter that he saw "nothing strange" about the resemblance of the Communist program to that of the NAM! Browder's reply to the reporter's question reveals a great deal about both the Communists and the general milieu of American politics during the last war.

V

The causes of the extraordinary success of world Communism in the postwar years lie in social and economic conditions which this essay cannot deal with in any comprehensive fashion. In some places the powerful and victorious Red Army was the direct agent of social change; in others spontaneous and indigenous forces fed the growing Communist parties; in still others it was a combination of the two which, in the chaos that followed the destruction of the Japanese and German empires, toppled already shattered kingdoms.

Overnight—so it seemed—600 million people vanished behind the Iron Curtain, and Communist parties of immense strength in Europe and Asia were clamoring for entrance. Most of America still awaits an explanation for this shattering experience.

A small minority examines political systems, standards of living, economic doctrines, fading classes and cultures; and seeks an answer. The vast majority are convinced that the terrible onslaught was due to the policies of the American government.

Yet this essay should make it clear that hardly anyone in America was prepared for the aftermath of World War II. Had we been prepared, it is doubtful that we could have, short of war, denied the Russians the "fruits" of their military victory. But were we?

A nation-wide poll taken in 1942 asked the American people, "If you had to choose, which would you rather see in control of Europe—Germany or Russia?" Six per cent replied Germany; twenty-three per cent did not know; and seventy-one per cent answered Russia! This was early in the war; and the possibility of Russian control was then extremely remote. But the statistics nonetheless indicate the gulf between wartime attitudes and those which were necessary for a full-scale counter-offensive against the Russians. In January 1945 the people were asked, "Do you think that we shall get along better with Russia

in the future than we did in the past, not so well, or about the same?" Ten per cent did not know; twenty per cent foresaw relations "about the same"; forty-eight per cent envisaged improved relations; and only twenty-two per cent believed relations would deteriorate. Twenty-two per cent was not a very large margin within which politicians could conduct a resolute and forceful foreign policy to counter the emerging Soviet designs. And among those twenty-two per cent—how many were ready to risk war in order to retrieve Yugoslavia or hold Prague?

There can be no doubt on this score: the overwhelming majority of the American people were favorably disposed toward the Soviet Union at the end of the war. It is clear too that this sentiment was not the product of conspiratorial left-wing manipulations. A *Fortune* magazine poll conducted by Elmo Roper in 1943 indicated that of various segments of the American population the group designated as "executives" had the greatest confidence in Soviet postwar intentions! Forty-eight per cent of the "executives" were convinced that "after the war . . . Russia . . . will not try to bring about Communist governments in other countries." On the other hand, according to Roper, only thirty-one per cent of the entire population was of the same belief. Roper's poll indicated a greater degree of uncertainty regarding Soviet postwar intentions than the polls taken in 1944, a discrepancy which is not altogether understandable. But, for our purposes the importance of his poll lies in the fact that it suggests that the most responsible citizens in America were the very ones most imbued with the wartime confidence in the Soviet Union.

Roper's breakdown only reinforces our conviction that the pro-Soviet feelings were not primarily the product of Communist manipulations. "Executives" are hardly a class traditionally vulnerable to Communist propaganda; on the contrary, they are most nearly immune to it. But they are the group most attentive to the complex demands of the American national interest, and during the war a degree of "sympathy" with the Soviet Union was apparently in the American national interest.

The first discernible shift in American attitudes toward the Soviet Union came in the first six months of 1945, when the war with Germany was brought to an end, and when the Soviet intention to absorb all of Eastern Europe into her orbit became clear. Pro-Sovietism was

no longer in the American national interest; and to many it was already evident that Russia had replaced Germany as America's chief protagonist for mastery of Europe. Polls taken in September reflected this shift, but also indicated that the mass of American people were far from ready to commit themselves to the costly and difficult struggle with the Soviet Union which was later to consume so much of their energies. Indeed, as late as 1948 the residue of wartime illusions was so great that only the Communist *coup* in Czechoslovakia insured the passage through Congress of the Marshall Plan.

The wartime illusions affected all segments of the population. But the only group which continued to act upon these illusions after the war was that portion of the labor movement and radical intelligentsia which the Communist Party could organize into the Wallace movement. Employing all the slogans and apologies which *Life* and other magazines had popularized during the war, this movement was a direct outgrowth of the wartime atmosphere. Its size should not be underestimated; it was calculated in the spring of 1948 that Wallace would have received close to five million votes. That he did not was only because of the impact of the *coup* in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin Blockade, and the extraordinary campaign Truman subsequently waged.

But in long-range terms the failure of the Wallace movement may be attributed to the failure of his gloomy economic forecasts to stand up before the dynamic expansion of American business activity in the postwar period. In Italy and France, where no such boom had occurred, the Communist parties were able to consolidate the hold on the labor movement they gained during the war. As a result, the illusions born of the wartime alliance still flourish in France and Italy. Only America's amazing industrial machine prevented a similar development here.

VI

Yet, despite the rapidity with which America recovered from her wartime illusions, she paid dearly for them, not as dearly as many of our contemporary politicians would have us believe, but the price was high nevertheless. Could it have been otherwise? It is difficult to say; no glib and simple answers are possible. The design here has been to show how irrelevant is the very suggestion that the failure to respond

more resolutely can be pinned on any particular group of ignorant or neglectful people.

Our extreme reactionaries today declare that there was an alternative to pro-Soviet wartime enthusiasm: We should never have been in the war in the first place, and should have, instead, either allied with Germany and Japan against Russia, or permitted Russia and Germany to have exhausted themselves in a long war of mutual attrition! That this is the most fanciful thinking is obvious: but it provides an insight into their line of reasoning, and their present view that America should either destroy Russia by sudden atomic attack or withdraw from all our foreign commitments and turn America into an isolated fortress like Gibraltar.

In both cases they oppose an alliance with democracies in a war against totalitarianism because they instinctively realize that such an alliance, and such a war, has an essentially democratic foundation and would have democratizing effects both upon America and the world. Such a price is so high they would rather risk losing Europe and Asia to Fascism or Communism than pay it.

The wartime alliance with Soviet Russia had a similar role in the general political layout. The Soviet Union is a reactionary and totalitarian power; but the world does not see her so. On the contrary, her entrance into the Second World War gave hope to millions that a better world would result from the war; and millions fought inspired by this hope. Therefore any power that participated in the Second World War had to compete with the Soviet Union in the struggle for a "better tomorrow," and this meant the slogans of social progress. The same is the case today with regard to American alliances with the semi-socialist powers of England, India, France and Italy.

Certain analysts—George Kennan is foremost among them—have deplored the lack of political realism in the slogans with which America has fought its wars. And certainly the cynical manipulation of emotions which accompanies every war is deplorable. But perhaps it is even more cynical to expect the American people to go to war without great feelings and passions. Should we be so harsh with the American people because they dared to hope that a better world was going to emerge from the terrible holocaust of the last war? These hopes were based upon many illusions; but the hopes themselves should be treasured, for without them our civilization is surely doomed.

Ernst, Morris

February 1, 1955

Dear Morris:

Here is a copy of the letter to Brendan.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

rh

E. R. MURROW

February 1, 1955

Dear Brendan:

Morris Ernst, whom you have met several times, is shortly coming to London. He has a project to cause Americans to produce funds for a statue of Sir Winston to be placed in Grosvenor Square. Needless to say, I am enthusiastic about it providing the Prime Minister concurs. There would be no difficulty in raising the money.

As ever yours,

Rt. Hon. Brendan Bracken
Princes House
95 Gresham Street
London, E.C. 2
England

rh
bc: Mr. Ernst

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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ARTHUR JOEL KATZ
RICHARD M. ADER
MIMI OBSTLER

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

January 18, 1955

Dear Ed:

1. Would you see fit to write to Brendan Bracken, whom I have met on many occasions during the war ? A word from you that you would enjoy cooperating in the raising of funds for the statue to W. C. to be placed facing the FDR statue in Grosvenor Square, might be of great help. I arrive in London on February 20th and will be staying at the Connaught Hotel.

2. Did you ever get a chance to look over my "Utopia". I am most anxious to chat with you a few minutes about it, although for the life of me I still cannot see a television show.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Hope I was helpful last night

Ernst

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

7

January 25, 1955

Dear Ed:

In Louisville last night I heard two items: (1) they thought your speech was good, or great, or something; and (2) Kennedy walked out of the room in protest. This latter story I got from Mark Ethridge.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

January 18, 1955

Dear Ed:

1. Would you see fit to write to Brendan Bracken, whom I have met on many occasions during the war? A word from you that you would enjoy cooperating in the raising of funds for the statue to W. C. to be placed facing the FDR statue in Grosvenor Square, might be of great help. I arrive in London on Februath 20th and will be staying at the Connaught Hotel.

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Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Ernst, Morris
7

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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

January 17, 1955

Personal

Dear Ed:

If you are ever interested in reviewing the S & S book by the Alsops, I write in confidence that you should keep in mind that the Harper's article contains material which was edited out of the S & S book. I have not made the comparisons since our office acted for Harper's but I have been told that matters we thought to contain no danger of libel seemed to frighten the S & S attorneys.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

1

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

December 20, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Enclosed find a batch of memos which, if you were a top executive, you would burn before reading or distribute to brain trusters to carry out.

Let me know as soon as possible just what day next week we are to get together. And incidentally, the pivotal moment of moments of my life will probably come in the next ten or twenty years. I ain't had it yet.

Wednesday January 5

Yours,

Encs

Morris L. Ernst

lay
f 5

From the Desk of DATE Dec. 20/54

Morris L. Ernst

Re:Security:

1. Telephone Col. Kenneth Belieu, Liberty 5-6700, Ext. 53214

2. No former member of the communist party should resign unless he still has guilt, an emotion not to be confused with regret. We are now living by symbols and a resignation will be a symbol of guilt. Some day you should read the dissenting opinion of Judge Field in 1896 (he was originally appointed by Lincoln) who held that the Fifth Amendment applied to being held up to disgrace in one's community and that all of us had the right to live down prior errors.

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3432-3.

From the Desk of DATE Dec. 20/54

Morris L. Ernst

Re: March 4/54 visit to H. S. T.

1. Remember that he learned directly from living, as for example his sight of the Klan in 1920 resulted in the appointment of the Committee on Civil Rights.

2. Went broke as haberdasher -- attitude toward inflation.

3. Interesting attitude toward chief magistrate and the Cabinet. Very different than F. D. R. or Ike.

3. Check in amount of reading. My guess is 50,000 words a day of which a third was newspapers and magazines.

I can give you more tips if you want them.

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3432-3.

From the Desk of DATE [illegible]

Morris L. Ernst

Re: Tobacco:

Take a look at the tax situation, its high proportion of consumer purchase cost, its relation to playing cards, liquor, etc., where taxes are levied not for revenue but as an attempt to reform the human animal and more particularly note that if tax on cigarettes were graded by number of packages produced by a company, every town would have a little cigarette machine with a manufacturer turning out packages within the limited number at seven or eight cents in competition with the giant who presumably could stand per package tax rate since he brags about the economies of bigness. A bill along this line was introduced in Congress a couple of years ago.

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3432-3.

From the Desk of DATE Dec 20

Re: Budget of Brains:

Morris L. Ernst

If you are ever interested in my proposal of a budget of brains, I have a preliminary report which I can send you, showing present output by professions, turn-over, and the absence of any wise planning as to the amount needed in each profession.

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3432-3.

From the Desk of DATE Dec 20

Morris L. Ernst

Next time we meet explain why Ireland and Sweden come in for no criticism because of their stand-off positions, whereas India and Switzerland are pointed out by the American people.

Incidentally, why doesn't your Ford Foundation Committee send me to India to examine the very limited subject of the analogy between U.S.A. 1787 and India 1950, with respect to the need for consolidation of national independence and indignity before being pushed too far into an alliance with outside nations.

Thanks for the tip.

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3432-3.

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

December 15, 1954

Burn Before Reading

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Gossip has it that you were considering interviewing Annie Lee Moss. If so, I suggest that you have one of your Washington representatives see Col. Kenneth E. Belieu, who is a good friend of mine. He is in the office of the Secretary of the Army.

Likewise, if you are contemplating doing anything on the proposals for Universal Military Training, I can give you some non-public angles.

More important -- if you can make the distinction between the use of reason and logic on the one hand, and imagination and intuition on the other, I suggest that you, in the near future, relax with me for a few minutes.

You can draw any dirty implications you want from the last sentence!

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Lunch

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to **Greenbaum Wolff & Ernst**

November 11, 1954

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue, New York City

Dear Ed: I wish you luck in stepping deep into the middle of the Jewish factional fight tonight forgetting all about the Arabs.

Morris

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JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 21, 1954

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue, New York City

Does the next meeting of the Murrow - Ernst Friday Dinner And Solve The World Club meet at 8 o'clock at Barberry Room? Have someone telephone me because these Friday nights can be an enjoyable function evidencing clash between pessimism and optimism.

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

October 20, 1954

Dear Morris:

About Grandma Moses -- it's just too much trouble to go around that track again. We make deals that are simple and we think fair, but her representatives in the past have complicated matters beyond all understanding. If you, or someone else, is in a position to talk for her, we would be glad to talk.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolf & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

rh
cc: Mr. Friendly

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MUrray HILL 5-1582

October 4, 1954

Dear Ed:

You may recall that some time ago I outlined my Utopia - 1976 and you, out of your pessimism, seemed to enjoy my optimism. I finished the job and this might be at least an excuse for getting together for lunch. I have just gone over the October - December CBS "Man's Right to Knowledge" outline, and my look at the future may be a good followup to such program.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

will talk
phone
next week

speak 10/13
dinner 10/15

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915 1951)

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GEORGE VICIAN, JR.
CHARLES E. HEMING
ARTHUR JOEL KATZ
RICHARD M. ADER

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 18, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

On behalf of Judge William Clark, I today instituted suit against John Foster Dulles and other members of the State Department. I am enclosing herewith copies of the papers which were filed in Washington this morning. Perhaps you will find this matter of interest and importance to the American people and, therefore, worthy of comment.

Sincerely yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:eb

Contact - you & Janet - when?

June 18, 1954

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT BY MORRIS L. ERNST, REPRESENTING JUDGE WILLIAM CLARK

The issue in this case boils down simply to this: May the State Department require a citizen to surrender his constitutional right of freedom of speech as condition for the issuance of a passport?

We hold that in so doing, in the case of Judge Clark, the action of the Department is arbitrary, capricious, without any authority in law and unconstitutional in that it deprives a citizen of his freedom of speech and freedom of movement without due process of law.

Man's right to freedom of movement stems from the Magna Charta, which stated that "any freeman may leave the realm and return thereto." It is interesting to note that one of the cases in which the Supreme Court has upheld freedom of movement as a constitutional right was that in which it affirmed the ruling of Judge Clark, then sitting as a United States District Judge, which prevented Mayor Hague of Jersey City from forcibly deporting to New York persons who were attacking Hague's anti-union activities.

Now the State Department apparently holds that freedom of movement stops at the water's edge.

The facts in this case are simple:

Judge Clark, an American citizen with an outstanding record of public service, has been trying since January to obtain a passport for a trip to Europe, the purposes of which are unobjectionable to the Department.

Solely on the ground that he might make remarks in Germany differing from positions of the Department, the Department

refuses to grant Judge Clark a passport, or even to grant him a hearing. Noting Judge Clark's loyalty and devotion to the U.S., Under Secretary Bedell Smith has indicated that Judge Clark would be issued a passport only if he would amend his passport application to make clear that he would not make such remarks while in Germany.

Judge Clark insists on maintaining his constitutional right, in Germany, to voice his opinions if asked to do so. He insists on his right to state, for instance, his belief that the West German courts should acknowledge the rights of American citizens to bail and speedy trial, all guaranteed by our own Constitution. The State Department's attitude in preventing him from speaking out on these matters while in Germany is particularly curious because Judge Clark, as legal consultant to General Clay, assisted in the removal of a great many German judges whose actions the Department now prevents him from criticizing.

The bizarre aspect of this case is that if Judge Clark were accused of subversion, he would be entitled, under State Department regulations, to a hearing before the Board of Passport Appeals. As he happens to be a loyal citizen, he is accorded no hearing. Thus admittedly loyal people become legal waifs - their freedom of movement restricted without hearings. So, also, our great Republic, preaching as it does freedom of speech, press and movement, to the peoples struggling under the weight of dictatorship abroad, appears to deny those same freedoms even to our most honorable citizens.

IN THE

United States District Court

District of Columbia

WILLIAM CLARK, *Plaintiff,* *against* JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State, *Defendants.*	Civil Action No.....

COMPLAINT

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 Madison Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

JACK WASSERMAN
Warner Building
Washington, D. C.

MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
ARTHUR JOEL KATZ
Of Counsel

807 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3482-3.

IN THE

United States District Court

District of Columbia

WILLIAM CLARK, *Plaintiff,* *against* JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State, *Defendants.*	**COMPLAINT** Civil Action No.....

The complainant, William Clark, complaining of the defendants, respectfully alleges as follows:

1. This is an action for declaratory judgment under Title 28, United States Code, §2201, for an injunction and for review under the Administrative Procedure Act §10.

2. (a) The plaintiff is a citizen of origin of the United States, entitled to all the rights and privileges of such citizenship. Except for his services in World War II and a year as legal consultant to General Lucius D. Clay, American Governor of the Western Zone of Germany, the plaintiff has served as a member of the judiciary continuously since 1923, having been successively a Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals of the State of New Jersey, the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, and Chief Justice of the Military Gov-

ernment Courts and of the Allied High Commission Courts for Germany. Plaintiff held the latter post from on or about September 15, 1949 until on or about his enforced return to the United States in December, 1953.

(b) The defendants have conceded the plaintiff's devotion and loyalty to the United States.

3. The defendant, John Foster Dulles, is Secretary of State and as such has been charged by statute (22 U. S. C. 211a) with the duty of granting and issuing passports under rules designated and prescribed by the President. The defendant, Walter Bedell Smith, is Under Secretary of State. The defendant, Scott W. McLeod, is Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State. The defendant, Ruth B. Shipley, is Director, Passport Office, Department of State. The defendants, Smith, McLeod and Shipley have acted on behalf of the Department of State and as agents for the defendant, John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, in respect to the matters alleged in this complaint.

4. On or about January 21, 1954, the plaintiff made application to the Department of State for a passport on the Department's regular passport application form in order to visit Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain. (A copy of this application is attached hereto as Exhibit "A" and made a part hereof.) In response to a question contained in the application form, plaintiff stated the purposes of his intended visit in substance as follows:

a) Completion of the plaintiff's studies for the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence for which he matriculated at the University of Munich;

b) The gathering of evidence to be submitted to the Congress if it should see fit to investigate any of the issues between the plaintiff and the Department of State regarding plaintiff's judgeship;

c) Visiting an ailing aunt in Scotland and the plaintiff's son in Paris;

d) Attending to certain personal affairs, which plaintiff was unable to wind up in view of the fact that the usual time accorded to officers of the United States prior to their return to the United States was denied the plaintiff.

5. As part of the aforesaid application, plaintiff included the following statement:

"I would be less than frank if I did not state that I reserve to myself my fundamental right of free speech. I shall, accordingly, if I am asked to do so, make such comments as I see fit upon the recent controversy between me and the State Department. I shall feel free to object again to the State Department's having dismissed me and having me deported from Spain. I shall feel free to explain again my defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany. I shall not refrain from stating my well-known position on the right of bail and speedy trial in general, and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and my equally clear position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, in this instance particularly the Jews of Germany."

6. The aforesaid statement was made necessary because plaintiff had and has reasonable grounds to believe, in view of his differences with and public criticism of State Department attitudes on the matters mentioned in the statement set forth in paragraph 5, that unless in his passport application plaintiff expressly reserved to himself his right as a citizen of the United States to express views contrary to those held by the State Department on such matters, his passport, if granted, would be revoked, as had been his diplomatic passport, if he should, while abroad, express such views.

7. The defendants have refused and continue to refuse to issue the plaintiff a passport not under their purported right to refuse to issue passports to subversives, to those convicted of crimes, in ill health, avoiding taxes or under subpoena, but solely upon the ground that plaintiff might while in Germany comment, if asked, on the controversy between plaintiff and the State Department, object to his dismissal from his judicial position and deportation from Spain by the State Department, explain his defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany, state his position on the right of bail and speedy trial in general, and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and state his position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, particularly the Jews of Germany. The defendants have refused and continue to refuse to issue the plaintiff a passport except on the implicit understanding or condition that the plaintiff, if granted a passport, will refrain from such utterances while in Germany.

8. The plaintiff's application for a passport was proper in all respects and in conformity with law, the facts stated therein are true and, accordingly, the plaintiff is entitled to a passport on the basis of his application without the imposition of the aforesaid condition.

9. The defendants, although requested to do so, have refused to grant the plaintiff a hearing on his passport application.

10. Under Title 8 United States Code, Section 1185, and the regulations issued by the defendant Dulles (22 Code of Federal Regulations, Section 53.1) and the Proclamation of the President of the United States dated January 23, 1953 (18 Federal Register 489), it is unlawful for plaintiff or any other citizen of the United States to leave or enter or attempt to leave or enter the territory of the

United States to or from the continent of Europe without a valid passport issued by the defendants.

11. The defendants have no right under the passport statute (22 U. S. C. Section 211a) or the regulations thereunder, to refuse the plaintiff a passport solely on the ground mentioned in paragraph 7 hereof, or, in granting a passport to the plaintiff, to impose the condition mentioned in said paragraph 7.

12. The defendants have construed the passport statute (22 U. S. C. 211a) granting them power to issue passports as authorizing them to withhold passports in their absolute, unqualified discretion without specific standards limiting such discretion. As so construed and applied by the defendants, the passport statute violates constitutional prohibitions of the First and Fifth Amendments against abridgment of freedom of speech and deprivation of personal liberty and property without due process of law.

13. The action of the defendants and each of them in refusing and continuing to refuse to issue the plaintiff a passport solely upon the ground mentioned in paragraph 7 hereof, and their refusal and continued refusal to issue the plaintiff a passport, except on the implicit understanding or condition mentioned in the said paragraph 7, is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law, and an abuse of the discretion, if any, vested in the defendants to refuse to issue passports.

14. The aforesaid action of the defendants and each of them

a) has deprived and is depriving the plaintiff of his right of "freedom of speech" and his "right to petition the Government for a redress of his grievances" (in that he may not go abroad to

collect material to support such grievances) as secured to him by the First Amendment and the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution;

b) has deprived him of his "liberty" (in confining his freedom of movement) and "property" (in his right to educate himself), "without due process of law" as secured to him by the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and

c) has created an actual controversy between plaintiff and the defendants as to plaintiff's right to the issuance of a passport and the defendants' right to refuse the plaintiff a passport on the ground, or to impose the condition mentioned in paragraph 7 hereof.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff prays this Honorable Court:

1. To render a declaratory judgment, pursuant to the provisions of Title 28 U. S. C. §2201 et seq., declaring and adjudging (a) that the action of the defendants and each of them

(i) in refusing plaintiff a passport solely on the ground that plaintiff might, while in Germany, comment, if asked, on the controversy between plaintiff and the State Department, object to his dismissal from his judicial position and his deportation from Spain by the State Department, explain his defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany, state his position on the right of bail and speedy trial in general, and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and state his position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, particularly the Jews of Germany, and

(ii) in imposing, as a condition to the granting of a passport that plaintiff, if granted a passport, refrain from such utterances while in Germany

is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law and in contravention of the First Amendment and the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and (b) that defendants may not continue to refuse plaintiff a passport solely on the aforesaid ground nor impose the aforesaid condition.

2. That the defendants and each of them and all persons acting by, for or under any of them be enjoined from continuing to refuse plaintiff a passport on the aforesaid ground and from continuing to impose the aforesaid condition on the ground that such action by defendants is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law, and unconstitutional within the meaning of the aforesaid Amendments.

3. That in view of the premises, the defendants be directed to issue the plaintiff a passport on the ground that their refusal so to do is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law and unconstitutional under the First and Fifth Amendments, or, in the alternative, that the defendants be directed to grant plaintiff a hearing in conformity with the Administrative Procedure Act.

4. That the defendants and each of them and all persons acting by, for or under any of them be enjoined from revoking the plaintiff's passport, when issued, solely on the ground that plaintiff has made any utterances of the kind mentioned in paragraph 1 of this prayer.

5. That plaintiff have such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

Respectfully submitted,

JACK WASSERMAN

Jack Wasserman
Warner Building
Washington 4, D. C.

Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

By MORRIS L. ERNST
A Partner

STATE OF NEW YORK,
COUNTY OF NEW YORK, } ss.:

WILLIAM CLARK, being duly sworn, deposes and says that he is the plaintiff herein; that he has read the foregoing complaint and knows the contents thereof and that the same is true to his own knowledge.

WILLIAM CLARK

William Clark

Sworn to before me this
15th day of June, 1954.

PAULA GROSS
Notary Public, State of New York
Qualified in New York County
No. 31-1586000
Cert. filed N. Y., Kings Co., Westchester
Clerks and Registers
Term Expires March 30, 1955

[4445—A]

Form DSP-11
(5-6-47)

CONFORMED COPY

Budget Bureau No. 47-R051. 2.

The legal fee for a passport is $9, in currency or postal money order, and $1 for execution of application.

The total fee is $10. It is unnecessary to pay any other fee to any person in connection with the filing out or execution of this application or for obtaining the passport. All necessary information and guidance will be given applicant by the clerk of court or Passport Agent before whom this application must be executed. An application executed before any other official is not acceptable.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
PASSPORT APPLICATION

FORM FOR NATIVE CITIZEN

[EDITION OF 1947]

Execute and attach PART TWO if members of family are to be included in passport

(Do not use this space)

130

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
STATE OF NEW YORK
COUNTY OF NEW YORK } ss:

I, WILLIAM CLARK (Name in full), a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, do hereby apply to the Department of State, at Washington, for a passport. I solemnly swear that I was born at Newark (Town or city), Essex County (Province or county), New Jersey (State or country) on February 1, 1891 (Date)

I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being at Rosedale Road (Street address) in Princeton (Town or city), State of New Jersey

I have resided outside the United States as follows:
(State name of, and period of residence in, each foreign country)

France and Germany, from 1917 to 1919
Germany, from 1947 to 1953
(Names of countries)

CLARK (Surname) WILLIAM (First name) _____ (Middle name)

(To be printed in full by applicant for passport)

My father, John William Clark (Name), was born at SEE ATTACHED STATEMENT on or about _____, and is now {deceased / ~~residing at~~}

I am not entirely certain as to my father's birthplace. He may have been born in Scotland. If so, it was while his parents, my paternal grandparents, naturalized American citizens, were on a visit there. My father resided continuously in the United States from his birth or shortly thereafter until his death in 1928.

ie United

, 1_____ (Year)

My mother, Margaretta Cameron (Name), was born at Harrisburg, Pa. on or about July 1, 1869, and is now {deceased / ~~residing at~~}

(The following portion in this block to be filled in only by a person whose mother was not born in the United States)

My mother emigrated to the United States on or about _____ (Month), 1_____ (Year), resided _____ years continuously in the United States from 1_____ to _____ She acquired citizenship in the United States by _____

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT

Height 6 feet, 3 inches.

Hair Auburn

Eyes Gray

Distinguishing marks or features _____ (Note any marks or scars on hands or face by which applicant may be identified)

Place of birth Newark, New Jersey (City and State)

Date of birth February 1, 1891 (Month, day, and year)

Occupation Jurist

MAILING ADDRESS
(Print complete address plainly)

Rosedale Road
~~Princeton, New Jersey~~

(Do not use this space)

My last American passport was obtained from Madrid, Spain (Insert Washington or location of issuing office) on Dec. 27, 1953 (Date)

and is submitted herewith for cancellation _____ (Give disposition of passport if it cannot be submitted)

I was {[redacted] / last married on October 4, 1947 to Sonia Tomara

who was born at St. Petersburg, Russia on Feb. 26, 1897; who {is / is not} an American citizen,

and who is now residing at Rosedale Road, Princeton, New Jersey

Our marriage {has not been terminated. / ~~was terminated by (death) (divorce) on~~ .....

(Date of death or divorce)

A WOMAN APPLICANT WHO IS OR HAS BEEN MARRIED MUST FILL IN THIS PORTION

My maiden name was ..... (Name) ....., and

I {was not previously married. / was previously married to ..... (Full name of former husband)

on ..... (Date) ....., at ..... (City and State) ....., who was born

at ....., and the marriage was terminated by {death / divorce} on ..... (Date)

(If married more than twice, set forth facts in a supplemental statement)

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS REQUIRED ONLY IF HUSBAND OR FORMER HUSBAND WAS NOT BORN IN THE UNITED STATES

My {husband / former husband} emigrated to the United States on .....

and {his father ..... (Name of father) / he} was naturalized as a citizen of the United States before the

..... Court of ..... at .....

(City and State)

on ..... (Month, day, and year) ..... as shown by the Certificate of Naturalization {submitted herewith. / previously submitted.

MY TRAVEL PLANS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Port of departure Idlewild Airport, N. Y.

Approximate date of departure Feb. 5, 1954

Proposed length of stay abroad Indefinite

Means of transportation TWA

Countries to be visited Germany, France, Italy, Great Britain

Purpose of trip See Attached Statement

PASTE PHOTOGRAPH HERE

Passport photographs must be on thin photographic paper; have a plain, light background; show full front view of applicant, and have been taken within 6 months of date submitted. Photographs that are not a good likeness of the applicant will not be accepted by the Clerk or Agent.

The Clerk or Agent will not accept the application unless he is fully satisfied of its bona fides and the identity of the applicant.

Seal of Court or Passport Agency must be impressed, on the lower portion of the photograph attached hereto, in such a manner as not to obscure the features of any person included therein.

(The Clerk of Court or Passport Agent should not impress seal on loose photograph)

I solemnly swear that the statements on both sides of this application are true and that the photograph attached hereto is a likeness of me.

I {have / have not} been naturalized as a citizen of a foreign state; taken an oath or made an affirmation or other formal declaration of allegiance to a foreign state; entered or served in the armed forces of a foreign state; accepted or performed the duties of any office, post or employment under the government of a foreign state or political subdivision thereof; voted in a political election in a foreign state or participated in an election or plebiscite to determine the sovereignty over foreign territory; made a formal renunciation of nationality before a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in a foreign state; been convicted by court martial of deserting the military or naval service of the United States in time of war; been convicted by court martial, or by a court of competent jurisdiction, of committing any act of treason against, or of attempting by force to overthrow, or of bearing arms against the United States.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation, or purpose of evasion: So help me God.

..... (Signature of applicant)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of January, 19 54

[SEAL OF COURT] .....

Clerk of the ..... *Court at* .....

AFFIDAVIT OF IDENTIFYING WITNESS

I, the undersigned, solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States; that I reside at the address written below my signature hereto affixed; that I know the applicant who executed the affidavit hereinbefore set forth to be a citizen of the United States; that the statements made in the applicant's affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief; further, I solemnly swear that I have known the applicant personally for ..... years.

If witness has been issued a passport, give number if known and date or approximate date of issue.

..... (Signature of witness)

No. ..... Date of Issue .....

..... (Relationship to applicant; if not related, so state)

No lawyer or other person will be accepted as witness to a passport application if he has received or expects to receive a fee for his services in connection with the execution of the application or obtaining the passport.

..... (Residence address of witness)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of January, 19 54

[SEAL OF COURT] .....

Clerk of the ..... *Court at* .....

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. GPO 83-52289

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1952 O - 213455

PURPOSE OF TRIP

1. To conclude my studies for the Degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence for which I matriculated on or about June 28, 1951, including preparation of my doctoral thesis, the subject of which is "A comparison of the Common Law and German Law of Murder". These studies require the examination of German legal textbooks and other authorities obtainable only in libraries at Munich and Frankfort. To obtain the degree, I must submit the completed thesis to the Chancellor of the University of Munich and offer myself for personal examination thereon.

2. To gather further material in aid of the Congress should it see fit to investigate any of the issues between me and the State Department regarding my judgeship.

3. To visit my Aunt, who is a resident of Scotland and in bad health, and my son, who is connected with Columbia Broadcasting System in Paris.

4. To attend to personal affairs which I was unable to conclude because of the seizure of my previous passport, its validation only for return to the United States, my arbitrary removal from Spain where I was vacationing, and the consequent prevention of my return to Germany from Grand Canary Island, as was my original intention.

I would be less than frank if I did not state that I reserve to myself my fundamental right of free speech. I shall accordingly, if I am asked to do so, make such comments as I see fit upon the recent controversy between me and the State Department. I shall feel free to object again to the State Department's having dismissed me and having me deported from Spain. I shall feel free to explain again my defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany. I shall not refrain from stating my well-known position on the right of bail and speedy trial in general and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and my equally clear position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, in this instance particularly the Jews of Germany.

IN THE

United States District Court

District of Columbia

WILLIAM CLARK, *Plaintiff,* *against* JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State, *Defendants.*	Civil Action No.....

POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 Madison Avenue
New York 27, N. Y.

JACK WASSERMAN
Warner Building
Washington, D. C.

MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
ARTHUR JOEL KATZ
Of Counsel

307 BAR PRESS INC., 54 LAFAYETTE ST., NEW YORK 13 — WA. 5-3432-3.

IN THE

United States District Court

District of Columbia

WILLIAM CLARK,
Plaintiff,
against

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State,
Defendants.

POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

I

STATEMENT OF FACTS

On January 21st, 1954, the plaintiff, an American citizen of origin, made application to the Department of State for a passport to visit Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain. His purposes in going abroad, as stated in his application, were unobjectionable to the Department (see Exhibit A-9*). As part of his application the plaintiff included a statement (set forth at length in the Complaint) which honorably notified the Department that in making application the plaintiff was reserving to himself his "fun-

* The reference is to the Exhibits attached to plaintiff's affidavit in support of this motion.

damental right of free speech'' and accordingly, that he would ''feel free to comment, if asked, on the recent controversy between the Department and [himself]''. These comments, the plaintiff stated, might possibly include his objection to his removal from his judicial position and deportation from Spain by the State Department, his defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany, his position on the right to bail and speedy trial in general, and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and his position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, in this instance particularly the Jews of Germany.

The Department of State refused the plaintiff a passport. In the correspondence which followed between the plaintiff and his counsel, on the one hand, and the defendants on the other, the Department made clear that its refusal was based on the Department's fear that the plaintiff would speak his mind as indicated in his statement. It appears to be the Department's position that it can compel United States citizens going abroad to remain mute on the important issues of our time and that in so doing it is protecting what it considers to be ''the best interests of the United States''. The Department also made clear that no question of the plaintiff's devotion or loyalty to the United States was involved, and, accordingly, that the plaintiff would be granted a passport if he withdrew the statement from his application, and would not, while in Germany, make the utterances mentioned. No question was raised that the plaintiff would engage in any activity other than speech, or use speech for any unconstitutional end. Neither was it contended that the plaintiff would in any way violate German law. The matter thus reached an impasse and the plaintiff was obliged to institute this action to protect his rights.

II

QUESTIONS OF LAW PRESENTED

The principal issue in this case is: May the Department of State require a citizen to surrender his constitutional right of freedom of speech as a condition for the issuance of a passport?

The defendants claim the power to refuse the plaintiff a passport under Title 22 U. S. C. §21a, which provides that "The Secretary of State may grant and issue passports * * * under such rules as the President shall designate and prescribe for and on behalf of the United States * * *". The only regulation directly applicable to this case was issued by the President and provides that "The Secretary of State is authorized in his discretion to refuse to issue a passport * * * [and] to withdraw or cancel a passport already issued * * *" (22 Code of Fed. Regs. §51.75).

It is the plaintiff's contention that the Department of State may not, under existing law and under the Constitution, impose the condition sought to be imposed in this case as a condition of the issuance of a passport. It is submitted that the action of the Department in so doing is arbitrary, capricious, without any authority in law and unconstitutional, in that it deprives the plaintiff of his freedom of speech and freedom of movement without due process of law. It is submitted that if the passport statute (22 U. S. C. §211a) be construed as the defendants construe it, it provides, in the language of Justice Douglas, for that "Absolute discretion * * * (which) * * * marks the beginning of the end of liberty" [*New York* v. *United States,* 342 U. S. 882, 884 (1951)] and is therefore unconstitutional. Should it be determined, contrary to plaintiff's contention, that the plaintiff may, under the passport statute, constitutionally be refused a passport, then Section 1185 of Title 8 U. S. C., is unconstitutional as it deprives plaintiff of his freedom of movement guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

III

JURISDICTION

This Court has jurisdiction to grant the relief sought.

Where the ground assigned for administrative action is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law or unconstitutional, this Court has jurisdiction to review that action and grant the relief required, including a mandatory injunction. *Perkins* v. *Elg,* 307 U. S. 325 (1939); *McGrath* v. *Kristensen,* 340 U. S. 162 (1950); *Mastrapsasqua* v. *Shaughnessy,* 180 F. 2d 999 (C. A. 2, 1950); *Siegel* v. *United States,* 87 F. Supp. 555 (1949); *Goldsmith* v. *Board of Tax Appeals,* 270 U. S. 117 (1926). Since the Department of State's action is an abuse of the discretion (if any) committed to it by law, review may also be had under §10 of the *Administrative Procedure Act,* 5 U. S. C. §1009; *Heikkila* v. *Barber,* 345 U. S. 229 (1953); *National Labor Relations Board* v. *Guy S. Atkinson,* 195 F. 2d 141, 149 (C. A. 9, 1952); *Chavez* v. *McGranery,* 108 F. Supp. 255 (D. C. S. D. Cal., 1952). Even were it unnecessary for the Department to assign reasons for its refusal, where it in fact appears that the Department's discretion was exercised on an illegal or unconstitutional ground, this Court has jurisdiction to review. *S. E. C.* v. *Chenery Corp.,* 318 U. S. 80 (1943); *Virginia Stage Lines* v. *United States,* 48 F. Supp. 79, 83 (D. C. W. D. Va., 1942).

IV

The defendants have refused plaintiff a passport on a ground which is arbitrary, capricious, illegal and unconstitutional and they have deprived him of his rights without due process of law.

The refusal of the Department of State to issue the plaintiff a passport was based solely upon the ground that the plaintiff might make remarks in Germany on the subjects mentioned in his application. These subjects include what plaintiff believes can properly be characterized as helpful criticism of the judicial institutions of Western Germany. No other grounds were relied on, and, indeed, the Department indicated that the plaintiff would be issued a passport if he amended his application so as to make it clear that he would not make such remarks while in Germany.

A. As construed and applied by the defendants, the Passport Act (22 U.S.C. 211a) is unconstitutional because it contravenes the First and Fifth Amendments to the United States Constitution.

(1) As construed and applied by the defendants, the Passport Act violates the First Amendment and deprives the plaintiff of his liberty secured by the Fifth Amendment.

The Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution provides that "No Person * * * shall be * * * deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law * * *" U. S. Const. Amend. V. "Undoubtedly the right of locomotion, the right to remove from one place to another according to inclination, is an attribute

of personal liberty * * * " *Williams* v. *Fears,* 179 U. S. 270, 274 (1900); *Allgeyer* v. *Louisiana,* 165 U. S. 578 (1897); *C. I. O.* v. *Hague,* 25 F. Supp. 127 (D. N. J., 1938); *Bauer* v. *Acheson,* 106 F. Supp. 445 (D.C.D.C., 1952); 1 *Blackstone's Com.* *138. The right of locomotion has been recognized as one of the natural rights of man (see *Reale, Le Probleme des Passeports,* Recueil des Cours, Academie de Droit International, 1934, Vol. 14, pg. 89 *et seq.,* 100-1), and grew and was reiterated as man freed himself from the feudal chains which bound him to the lord and land of his birth. *Diplock, Passports and Protection in International Law,* 32 The Grotius Society 44 (1946); 1 Crosskey, Politics and the Constitution 427 (1953). The right does not stop at the water's edge. Magna Charta, Chapter 42. That great instrument proclaimed: "It shall be lawful, for the time to come, for anyone to go out of our Kingdom and return safely, by land or water, saving his allegiance to us." Freedom of movement is part of the right of expatriation and includes, in our time, the right to leave the country, for "The distinction between restriction to a jail, to a city, to a state, or to a nation is merely one of degree." *Note,* 61 Yale L. J., at p. 190 (1952); *Talbot* v. *Janson,* 3 Dall. 133 (U. S., 1795); *9 Op. Atty. Gen. 356* (1859); *Lapides* v. *Clark,* 176 F. 2d 619 (D. C. App., 1949), cert. den., 338 U. S. 860 (1949); *Walker* v. *Chief Quarantine Officer,* 89 F. Supp. 980 (D. Canal Zone, 1943); *Hague* v. *C. I. O.,* 25 F. Supp. 127 (1938), mod'f and aff'd, 101 F. 2d 774 (C. A. 3, 1938), aff'd as mod'f, 307 U. S. 496; *Universal Declaration of Human Rights,* Art. 13, para. 2 (adopted by the United States). As it is now a crime to attempt to leave the country without a passport (8 U. S. C. 1185; *Proclamation of the President,* No. 3004, U. S. Cong. & Admin. News, 1953, p. 915), the denial of a passport is the denial of this freedom of locomotion. *Han Lee Mao* v. *Brownell,* 207 F. 2d 142 (D. D. App., 1953); *Bauer* v. *Acheson, supra.* Accordingly, if the plaintiff may, under the statute, be denied a passport, 8 U. S. C. 1185 is unconstitutional.

Of course, even this liberty may be restricted when the requirements of "due process" are met (*Nebbia* v. *New York,* 291 U. S. 502 (1933)), but "a deprivation of liberty to which the government is a party is unconstitutional when it is 'arbitrary or without reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the state to effect.' *Meyer* v. *State of Nebraska,* 262 U. S. 390, 400." *Pollock* v. *Public Utilities Comm. of the D. of C.,* 191 F. 2d 450, 457 (D. C. App., 1951), rev'd on other grounds, 343 U. S. 451 (1951); *Publix Cleaners* v. *Florida Dry Cleaning and Laundry Bd.,* 32 F. Supp. 31 (1940); *North American Securities Co.* v. *S. E. C.,* 327 U. S. 686, 705 (1946). Even where the legislative purpose is to achieve a permissible end, the power to regulate must be so exercised as to not unduly infringe the protected freedom. *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut,* 310 U. S. 296 (1940). And the rational connection between the remedy provided and the evil to be curbed must be much greater where freedom of speech is involved than is otherwise necessary. *Thomas* v. *Collins,* 323 U. S. 516, 530 (1945).

In this case, the plaintiff has asserted the right possibly to differ with positions taken by the Department of State while the plaintiff is in Germany. This the defendants have denied, although restrictions on freedom of speech are *prima facie* invalid and "ordinarily irrelevant to permissible subjects of governmental action." *American Communications Ass'n* v. *Douds,* 339 U. S. 382, 391 (1950); *Bridges* v. *Wixon,* 326 U. S. 135 (1945). The prevention of criticism of State Department positions in Germany is not a permissible legislative end, as the basic purpose of the First Amendment is to bar governmental authorities from silencing their critics. *Near* v. *Minnesota,* 283 U. S. 697, 716-20 (1931). The fact that the restriction on freedom of speech sought to be imposed in this case is not direct, but involves the government's control of passport facilities, does not make the deprivation any less unconstitutional. *Bauer* v. *Acheson, supra.* As the Supreme Court said:

> "We must recognize that regulation of 'conduct' has all too frequently been employed by public authority as a cloak to hide censorship of unpopular ideas. We have been reminded that 'It is not often in this country that we now meet with direct and candid efforts to stop speaking or publication as such. Modern inroads on these rights come from associating the speaking with some other factor which the state may regulate so as to bring the whole within official control.' " *American Communications Ass'n* v. *Douds, supra,* at p. 399, quoting Mr. Justice Jackson, concurring in *Thomas* v. *Collins, supra.*

Freedom of speech may not be denied absent a showing that there is involved some "clear and present danger" of a substantive evil which is both "extremely serious" and of an "extremely high" degree of imminence. *Bridges* v. *California,* 314 U. S. 252, 261-2 (1941). "Mere talk" does not give rise to such an evil (Black, J., dissenting in *Carlson* v. *Landon,* 342 U. S. 524, 556 [1951]), nor does the protection of speech bear, as the defendants imply, "an inverse ratio to the timeliness and importance of the ideas seeking expression." *Bridges* v. *California, supra,* at p. 269.

In effect these authorities require that a balance of interest be struck between the liberty to be protected and the end to be achieved. The end to be achieved here is what the Department conceives to be the protection of our foreign policy. The plaintiff does not contend that this is an unimportant or illegitimate end. He contends rather that the liberty to be protected is so vital to our national well-being, especially in the way plaintiff seeks to exercise it, that it must be given greater weight in that balance than even so important an end. This is especially true because the liberty seeking protection is the essence of our way of life. The denial of this liberty cannot be, as the defendants contend, in "the best interests

of the United States", for it represents us to the world as denying at home the very right which we represent ourselves as seeking for all peoples everywhere.

The fact that it is in Germany in which the plaintiff seeks to speak (if asked), as distinguished from other foreign countries, is not of significance. Germany's defeat did not put to an end her independent existence under international law. *Clark* v. *Allen,* 331 U. S. 503 (1947). The Department of State has no greater right to control who may go to or speak in Germany than it has to control those rights in any other foreign country, unless such rights were "specifically reserved" in the Occupation Statute. See *Occupation Statute, Documents on the Creation of the German Federal Constitution,* Office of Military Government for Germany (U. S.), p. 116 (1949); *Letter Defining the Powers of the Federal Government in the Police Field, Documents, etc.,* pp. 137 *et seq.* The Department did not reserve to itself that right, but rather, reserved to itself the power to enforce respect for the Basic Law of Germany which includes the right of freedom of speech. *Occupation Statute, §2(f), Documents, etc., supra; Letter of Approval of Basic Law, May 12, 1949, Documents, etc., supra,* at p. 138; *The Bonn Constitution,* Article 5.

Even if the courts should hold that there is no right as such to a passport, the statute as construed and applied by the defendants would be unconstitutional, for the government may not make the use of government facilities dependent upon the surrender of a constitutional right. See, *e.g., West Virginia State Bd. of Ed.* v. *Barnette,* 319 U. S. 624 (1943); *Hannegan* v. *Esquire, Inc.,* 327 U. S. 146 (1946); *Western Union Tel. Co.* v. *Kansas,* 216 U. S. 1, 35-6 (1910). Even privileges or "acts of grace" granted by the government may not be revoked or denied on unconstitutional grounds. *Pike* v. *Walker,* 121 F. 2d 37 (D. C. App., 1941); *Fleenor* v. *Hammond,* 116 F. 2d 982 (C. A. 6, 1947); *Standard Airlines* v. *C. A. B.,* 177 F. 2d

18, 20 (D. C. App., 1949) and the cases cited therein; *Barnett, Passport Administration and the Courts,* 32 Oreg. L. Rev. 193 (1953), at pp. 199-201, esp. nts. 43-45.

The statute, as construed and applied, also falls as a prior restraint of freedom of speech under the rule enunciated in *Near* v. *Minnesota, supra.*

(2) As construed and applied by the defendants, the Passport Act invalidly discriminates against the plaintiff thereby denying him "due process" under the Fifth Amendment.

To deny the plaintiff a passport because he insists on reserving to himself his constitutional rights while others do not (see Exhibit A-20) or because he may exercise those rights, is to discriminate against him unconstitutionally. Just as Congress may not "enact a regulation providing that no Republican, Jew or Negro shall be appointed to federal office" (*United Public Workers* v. *Mitchell,* 330 U. S. 75, 100 [1947]), so it may not deny passports, whether they be rights or privileges, to defenders of civil liberties. *Cf. In re Summers,* 325 U. S. 561, 571 (1945); *Wieman* v. *Updegraff,* 344 U. S. 183, 191-2 (1952); *Yick Wo* v. *Hopkins,* 118 U. S. 356 (1885); *Bolling* v. *Sharpe,* U.S. , 98 L. ed. (Advance p. 591) (1954).

Another of the legal paradoxes of this case arises from the fact that the plaintiff is neither a subversive nor a person whose purpose in going abroad is to violate the laws of the United States. If he were such a person, he would be entitled to a hearing (*22 Code of Fed. Regs. §§51.135-8, 51.143*) before the Board of Passport Appeals of the Department of State. Precisely because the plaintiff is not tainted with subversion, he is not, under the Department's own regulations, entitled to a hearing (see *22 Code of Fed. Regs. 51.175*), and the Department refuses to grant him one. (See Exhibits A-17 and A-20.)

Moreover, although specific standards are provided for the denial of passports to subversives (*22 Code of Fed. Regs. §51.135 and §51.141*) and the criminally inclined (*§51.136*), the plaintiff, because the Department does not claim that he falls into either of these categories, becomes a sort of legal waif, entitled to neither the imposition of standards applicable to his case nor the right to a hearing. Administratively, the result thus obtained is to encourage the Department to refuse passports to persons thought to be subversives, not on the ground that they are in fact subversives, but rather on the ground that they are persons of unquestioned loyalty and therefore may be deprived of passports as the Department sees fit. Neither the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment, nor any free and rational society can countenance such a result.

(3) As construed and applied by the defendants, the Passport Act does not require that plaintiff be granted a hearing, thus depriving him of a procedural "due process" under the Fifth Amendment.

Whether a passport is considered a right or a privilege, it may not be constitutionally refused without a hearing, especially since its refusal represents a denial of the right to speak as set forth in plaintiff's statement, and plaintiff's right of freedom of movement. *Qwong Hai Chew* v. *Colding,* 344 U. S. 590 (1953); *Han Lee Mao* v. *Brownell, supra; Wang Yang Sung* v. *McGrath,* 339 U. S. 33 (1950); *Bauer* v. *Acheson, supra,* at p. 452; *Ng Fung Ho* v. *White,* 259 U. S. 276 (1922); *Fleenor* v. *Hammond, supra; Eisler* v. *Clark,* 77 F. Supp. 610 (D.C.D.C., 1948); *In re Carter,* 192 F. 2d 15 (D. C. App., 1951); *Goldsmith* v. *Board of Tax Appeals,* 270 U. S. 117 (1929). Even where a prisoner's pardon is revoked, elemental standards of fairness must be present and the prisoner given some op-

portunity to be heard, and the action based on evidence, not mere "whim or caprice". *Burns* v. *United States,* 287 U. S. 216, 223 (1932).

If this Court should construe the act, contrary to defendants' position, to require a hearing, then the plaintiff will be entitled to a hearing which conforms to the standards provided by the Administrative Procedure Act. *Wang Yang Sung* v. *McGrath, supra,* at pg. 49-50; *United States* v. *Libby, McNeil & Libby,* 107 F. Supp. 697 (D.C. Alaska, 1952); *Marine Engineers Ben. Ass'n* v. *N. L. R. B.,* 202 F. 2d 546 (C. A. 3, 1953); *Pinkett* v. *United States,* 105 F. Supp. 67, 72-3 (D. C. Md., 1952).

In fairness to the defendants, it may be said that the plaintiff contends that the defendants' position is, as shown by the correspondence attached to plaintiff's moving affidavit, that no factual issue is involved and that the sole reason for the refusal of a passport was based on defendants' fear that plaintiff might speak, as indicated in his statement, in Germany. If this is so, then the issue in this case is solely one of law and no hearing is required, although this Court nevertheless has the obligation of review. *Perkins* v. *Elg., supra; S. E. C.* v. *Chenery Corp., supra.*

B. The Passport Act (22 U.S.C. 211a) requires that definite standards be issued governing the refusal to issue passports; neither the President nor the Secretary of State has proclaimed standards which would support the refusal of the defendants to issue the plaintiff a passport in this case; accordingly, the refusal to issue the plaintiff a passport was without authority in law.

The Congress has made no law governing the issuance or refusal of passports, nor prohibiting any citizen from speaking freely in Germany, unless it be Title 22, U. S. C. §211a. As noted above, that statute provides that "the Secretary of State may grant and issue passports * * * under such *rules* as the President shall designate and prescribe for and on behalf of the United States * * *." (Emphasis supplied.) The President has not issued "rules" which relate to this case (see *22 Code of Fed. Regs. 51.1 et seq.*), but has merely delegated his function to the Secretary of State by a regulation which provides that "The Secretary of State is authorized *in his discretion* to refuse to issue a passport, * * * to withdraw or cancel a passport already issued * * *" (emphasis supplied) (*22 Code of Fed. Regs. 51.75; Proclamation of the President,* No. 3004, U. S. Cong. and Adm. News [1953], p. 915). The Secretary of State has also issued regulations (*22 Code of Fed. Regs. 51.135 through 51.143*) but these relate chiefly to procedural matters, subversives, and potential criminals. No regulations have been issued either by the President or the Secretary of State which announce any standards applicable to this case.

By the use of the word "rules" in the statute, Congress intended that definite standards should be promulgated governing the issuance or refusal of passports. *Cf. Lloyd Sabaudo Societa Anonima* v. *Etling,* 287 U. S. 329 (1932); *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* v. *McGrath,* 341 U. S. 123 (1951); *Bridges* v. *Wixon,* 326 U. S. 135 (1945).

The word "rule" has been defined as "an established standard, guide or regulation; a principle or regulation set up by authority, prescribing or directing action or forbearance" (*Black's Law Dictionary,* 4th Ed., 1951); "That which is prescribed or laid down as a guide to conduct" (*Ballantine's Law Dictionary,* 2nd Ed., 1948); "A regulation or formula to which conduct must conform" (*Bouvier's Law Dictionary,* 1941). Obviously, the President's regulation granting "discretion" to the Secretary of State is not "an established standard" or a "principle or regulation * * * prescribing or directing action or forbearance", nor is it a "guide to conduct" or a "formula to which conduct must conform." Congress plainly intended and was told that definite standards would be enunciated, as the legislative history of this act and former section 224 of Title 22 U. S. C. (now 8 U. S. C. 1185) shows. See *Report of the Senate Committee on Judiciary on H. R. 4973* (S. R. 444), 77th Cong., 1st Sess.; *Hearings, House Committee on Foreign Affairs on H. R. 11947* (69th Cong., 1st Sess., May 12, 1926); *Hearings, Committee on Foreign Affairs of House of Reps. on H. J. R. 205 and H. R. 9782* (66th Cong., 1st Sess., October 7-10, 1919); *Cong. Debates,* Cong. Rec., 65th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 6029 *et seq.,* 6063 *et seq.,* 6191 *et seq.,* 6246 *et seq.* (1918). The President's regulations, irrespective of Congressional intent, will be read as requiring that definite standards be issued. *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* v. *McGrath, supra,* at pp. 135-136. Even further support of this position may be found in the fact that were the statute to be construed as permitting the refusal of passports without sandards it would be invalid as an unconstitutional delegation of legislative power (*Panama Refining Co.* v. *Ryan,* 293 U. S. 388 (1935); *A. L. A. Schechter Poultry Corp.* v. *U. S.,* 295 U. S. 495 (1936); *Yakus* v *United States,* 321 U. S. 414 (1944); *Yick Wo* v. *Hopkins,* 118 U. S. 356 (1885); *Lloyd Sabaudo Societa Anonima* v. *Etling, supra*) a construction which the courts will avoid if at all possible to do so. *Wong*

Yang Sung v. *McGrath,* 339 U. S. 33 (1950). This view is in keeping with the frequent necessity, even in a democratic country, of leaving discretion in the hands of one or more persons, a discretion which would be contrary to the principles and history of our institutions if it could be exercised arbitrarily and without established standards. *Ex parte Young,* 209 U. S. 123 (1908); *Yick Wo* v. *Hopkins, supra,* at p. 362.

C. The action of the defendants was arbitrary and capricious.

The defendants contend that they have discretion to refuse passports when the issuance of a passport will not be "in the best interests of the United States." The defendants have never defined exactly what these "best interests" include but, assuming they have discretion to refuse passports when it is to the "best interests of the United States" to do so, it is clear that their action in this case is an abuse of that discretion. Perhaps that discretion may be used to prevent such persons as subversives, criminals, those likely to become public charges, tax evaders and the like from leaving the country (*Cf. 3 Hackworth, International Law,* 467 *et seq.,* 1942), but discretion can never be used, as it has been in this case, to suppress free and public discussion. *American Communications Association* v. *Douds,* 339 U. S. 382, 399 (1950). Administrative discretion, when carried so far, is arbitrary and capricious. *Hannegan* v. *Esquire, Inc.,* 327 U. S. 146 (1946).

The interference with freedom of speech in this case the Department of State says is "in the best interests of the United States". But the very President who issued the Proclamation (see *supra,* p. 6) prohibiting citizens from leaving the country without a passport, has recognized that the "best interests of the United States" require that "communication (be) permitted to flow, free and open, across international boundaries." *Letter of*

President Truman to Nikolai M. Shvernik, President of the Soviet Presidium, N. Y. Times, July 8, 1951, p. 5, col. 1. Indeed, the Department has bitterly complained that the Soviets have adopted the very course of conduct which the Department is pursuing in this case. See *Kohler, Soviet Isolation of the Russian Peoples,* 22 Dept. of State Bull., 430 (1950). What is sauce for the Soviet goose must be sauce for the American gander.

Without reference to the international effect of passport refusals, it cannot be said that the "best interests of the United States" require the stifling of the free voices of our citizens. On the contrary, these interests always require full and critical public discussion. Justice Brandeis put it best when he said:

> "They [the founding fathers] believed that freedom to think as you will and speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American Government." *Whitney* v. *California,* 274 U. S. 357, 375 (1927) (concurring opinion).

The Department of State may not be heard to say that its position contrary to this principle may be supported by its own administrative construction. "The doctrine of administrative construction never has been carried so far as to permit administrative discretion to run riot". *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* v. *McGrath,* 341 U. S. 123, 138 (1951). Nor is there here involved a question involving the foreign affairs of the United States. See discussion in *Barnett, Passport Ad-*

ministration and the Courts, 32 Oreg. L. Rev. 193 (1953). Even if the Department's supposed discretion be in a political matter, it must be exercised reasonably and with regard to the constitutional rights of citizens. *Bauer* v. *Acheson,* 106 F. Supp. 445, 451 (1952).

V

CONCLUSION

For the foregoing reasons, this Court should require the defendants to issue a passport to the plaintiff, or in the alternative, require the defendants to provide the plaintiff with an opportunity to be heard in conformity with the Administrative Procedure Act.

Respectfully submitted,

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MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
ARTHUR JOEL KATZ
Of Counsel

IN THE

United States District Court

District of Columbia

WILLIAM CLARK,
Plaintiff,

against

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State,
Defendants.

Civil Action
No.....

MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION WITH AFFIDAVIT IN SUPPORT THEREOF

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IN THE

United States District Court

District of Columbia

WILLIAM CLARK, *Plaintiff,* *against* JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State, *Defendants.*	**Civil Action No.**.....

Motion for Preliminary Injunction

Comes now the plaintiff in the above entitled cause and upon the complaint herein and the affidavit and points and authorities attached hereto, moves this Court for a preliminary injunction:

(a) restraining the defendants and each of them and all persons acting by, for or under the authority of any of them from continuing to refuse plaintiff a passport solely for the reason that plaintiff might, while in Germany, comment, if asked, on the controversy between plaintiff and the State Department, object to his dismissal from his judicial position and his deportation from Spain by the State Department, explain his defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany, state his position on the

right of bail and speedy trial in general, and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and state his position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, particularly the Jews of Germany, on the ground that such refusal is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law and unconstitutional under the First and Fifth Amendments and is resulting and will result in irreparable damage to the plaintiff;

(b) restraining the defendants and each of them and all persons acting by, for or under the authority of any of them from imposing as a condition to the issuance of a passport that plaintiff if granted a passport refrain, while in Germany, from utterances of the kind mentioned in the foregoing paragraph (a), on the ground that the imposition of such a condition is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law and unconstitutional under the First and Fifth Amendments, and is resulting and will result in irreparable damage to the plaintiff;

(c) restraining the defendants and each of them and all persons acting by, for or under the authority of any of them from continuing to refuse plaintiff a passport or, in the alternative, from continuing to refuse plaintiff a passport without a hearing, upon the ground that such refusal is arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law and unconstitutional under the First and Fifth Amendments, and is resulting and will result in irreparable damage to the plaintiff;

(d) restraining the defendants and each of them and all persons acting by, for or under the authority of any of them from revoking the plaintiff's passport, when issued, solely for the reason that plaintiff has made any of the utterances mentioned in paragraph (a) above, on the ground that the defendants threaten such action and such

action would be arbitrary, capricious, without authority in law, and unconstitutional within the meaning of the First and Fifth Amendments and would result in irreparable damage to the plaintiff.

JACK WASSERMAN

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By MORRIS L. ERNST
A Partner

Affidavit of William Clark in Support of Motion

IN THE

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WILLIAM CLARK, *Plaintiff,* *against* JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, WALTER BEDELL SMITH, Under Secretary of State, SCOTT W. McLEOD, Administrator, Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel, Department of State, and RUTH B. SHIPLEY, Director, Passport Office, Department of State, *Defendants.*	Civil Action No.....

State of New York }
County of New York } ss.:

WILLIAM CLARK, being duly sworn, deposes and says the following:

1. I am the plaintiff in the above entitled action. I am submitting this affidavit in support of a motion for a preliminary injunction against the above named defendants.

2. As stated in the complaint, the defendants have refused to issue me a passport. The alleged reasons for the defendants' refusal to issue me a passport are made clear in the correspondence which I and my attorney, Morris L. Ernst, Esq., have had with the defendants. Copies

of this correspondence are attached hereto and made a part hereof, marked Exhibits A-1 to A-22, inclusive.

3. The refusal of the defendants to issue me a passport has resulted and is resulting in irreparable damage and injury to me, for the following reasons:

A) In the summer of 1951, I matriculated at the University of Munich towards a degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence. I continued my studies until my forced departure from Europe. The obtaining of that degree is of great importance to me and its value to me cannot be expressed in monetary terms. In order to obtain that degree I must complete my Doctoral Thesis and submit myself to oral examination at the University of Munich. The refusal of the defendants to issue me a passport has seriously impeded my progress toward that degree in that most of the source materials which must be included in my thesis are located in Germany. Further delays in the issuance of a passport to me will make it impossible for me to complete my thesis as the material I have collected thus far will become out of date and many of the sources I intended to use will become unavailable. Should the material thus far collected become out of date and unuseable, it will result in my having lost countless hours of research, research which it would be practically impossible to duplicate in the time that I have available.

B) As stated in my passport application (a copy of which is attached to the complaint), one of my purposes in going to Germany was to collect information relating to my dispute with certain officials of the State Department and my removal as Chief Justice of the Allied High Commission Courts for Germany. It was and is my purpose to present this material to appropriate committees of Congress who may act on it and before whom I may

be called to testify. If Congress is to act intelligently on certain matters concerning Germany now before it, this material must be presented to it before the close of the present session. Moreover, the material which I wish to gather in Germany and present to Congress will become increasingly more difficult to obtain as delays continue and may, in fact, become entirely unavailable.

For these reasons, I respectfully urge that the motion for a preliminary injunction be granted.

WILLIAM CLARK

William Clark

Sworn to before me this
15th day of June, 1954.

PAULA GROSS
Notary Public, State of New York
Qualified in New York County
No. 31-1586000
Cert. filed N. Y., Kings Co., Westchester
Clerks and Registers
Term Expires March 30, 1955

Exhibit A-1

January 21, 1954

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Shipley:

We have this day filed at your New York office applications for Judge and Mrs. Clark's passports. They are most anxious to return quickly. I write this letter particularly because Mrs. Clark, after examining the Judge's private papers, advised him that she had handled the return of same and hence you will note that in the statement of the purpose of the trip, there is no mention of his need for procuring his private papers.

If your office requires any further information on either application, don't hesitate to get in touch with me. We will come down immediately since the Judge is most anxious to go back as indicated on the application.

Yours sincerely,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. The questions you asked regarding date of matriculation and father's birthplace are answered in the application as filed.

Exhibit A-2

January 25, 1954

Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

I have been reluctant to believe that you have been personally responsible for the treatment I have recently received from your Department. Apart from the fact that I have had an honorable career of 30 years on the bench of the Federal and State Courts, I established and headed for five years our Government's courts in Germany. Both Germans and Americans agree that their operation was efficient and successful. I feel therefore that I am entitled to hear from you face-to-face some explanation of what was done to me.

Let me review the facts briefly. By cable I was told that I would not be reappointed although I had accepted the original appointment only on Chester McLain's express promise of reappointment. I was given the reason that I was surplus. This was patently false. It is obvious that a Chief Justice can never be surplus to his own court and it is even more obvious that he cannot be surplus to a court which has 142 appeals pending and cases pending in lower courts totaling about 2,000.

I was ordered home for consultation. There was clearly nothing for me to consult about and, to avoid embarrassing the litigants by delaying their causes, I remained at my post. I was then suspended for insubordination. This is a word entirely inappropriate to be used to a judge.

During our brief vacation on the Grand Canary your Consul General at Madrid, Mr. Hale, was ordered to Los Palmas on Christmas Day and told to demand my passport. When I refused to give it to him, he advised me that he had the further instruction to notify the Spanish Police that I was the bearer of an invalid passport and that they should arrest me. I again refused. The next noon the Consul General and the Franco Police Commissioner of Los Palmas appeared at the Iberia Air Line Office in Los Palmas and again demanded my passport. I refused for the third time.

They then told me that the Police would search me and forcibly remove the passport from my person. I have plenty of witnesses to the facts. My passport was taken up and I was issued a one-way passport good only for travel to the United States.

I have written General Smith outlining the origin of my controversy with the High Commissioner in Germany. I did my best to help him carry out his statutory duty. This was to obtain the release of American citizens held by German police authorities without counsel, without trial and without reasonable bail. Instead of cooperating with me, Dr. Conant impeded my efforts. The Americans were not released, and he ended up by abrogating by executive fiat a decision of the High Court of Appeals which would, if allowed to stand, have contributed materially to making the Germans realize our democratic way of doing things. I have never heard of a judicial decision being reversed by express executive action, and it was a sorry example to the Germans.

I dislike troubling you in these serious times. I do not believe that your Department realizes what a dangerous course it is adopting. The constitutional right of an American citizen to "freedom of movement" has been up-

held by the United States Supreme Court![1] It is incorporated in express terms in the United Nations' Charter of Human Rights.[2]

When we were young, only Czarist Russia required a passport. Two wars have changed that, so a passport is essential to the right of freedom of movement and so all American citizens have a right to its issuance. There can be only one qualification to that right— that a particular applicant will use the freedom of movement given him by the passport for criminal or subversive purposes. That I am such a person will hardly be maintained. If such a contention were to be made, I am entitled to grounds for denial and a hearing under the decision of a three judge Constitutional Court.[3] Such a hearing clearly should be given before, not after, a forcible seizure.

My attorney, Morris Ernst, represents me in the matter of application for a new passport.

If you care to hear another side of the story than the one upon which you may have acted, I will be happy to see you in Washington at such time as you designate. I wish you success on your vital mission.

Sincerely yours,

William Clark (sgd)

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[1] *Hague* v. *C. I. O.*, 307 U. S. 496, 101 F. 2d, 774, 25 Fed. Supp. 127 (my opinion).

[2] International Declaration of Human Rights, Art. 11, Year Book, United Nations, 1947, p. 575.

[3] *Bauer* v. *Acheson*, 106 F. Supp. 445.

Exhibit A-3

January 28, 1954

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Director, Passport Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ruth:

I have had a further talk with Judge Clark and Mrs. Clark and I write to advise you as to the real urgency of getting the passports back in time for their departure on Fabruary 7th, for which date they have reservations. The date on the passport application was approximate and now has been firmed for the 7th.

I am sending to you herewith a copy of the letter which Judge Clark has sent to the Secretary of State. You will recall that at our brief talk in Washington reference was made to such a move on the part of Judge Clark.

I don't know why there should be any hesitancy in the immediate issuance of passports as requested but if perchance you want to see me at any time in Washington, I will rearrange my calendar to accommodate your busy hours.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Enc.

Exhibit A-4

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADMINISTRATOR

Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs, and Personnel

Washington

February 1, 1954

Dear Judge Clark:

The Department has given consideration to your application for a passport to visit Germany and other European countries. It is noted that in your application you make the following statement as to the purpose of your trip: "I would be less than frank if I did not state that I reserve to myself my fundamental right of free speech. I shall accordingly, if I am asked to do so, make such comments as I see fit upon the recent controversy between me and the State Department. I shall feel free to object again to the State Department's having dismissed me and having me deported from Spain. I shall feel free to explain again my defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany. I shall not refrain from stating my well-known position on the right of bail and speedy trial in general and particularly for American citizens residing in Germany, and my equally clear position decrying discrimination against members of minority groups, in this instance particularly the Jews of Germany."

Appropriate officials of the Department have discussed the question as to whether activities in Germany of the character indicated by you would not conflict with the foreign policy of this country. As you know, the United

States is still one of the occupying powers in Germany, and its relationship with the German Government and the German people is one of extreme importance.

It is the considered view of this Department that activities such as you indicated you would engage in in Germany make it inadvisable that a passport be granted to you under such circumstances, as they would be inimical to the best interests of the United States.

I wish to point out, however, that if upon giving further consideration to this matter you were to amend your application so as to make clear that you would not engage in activities of the character mentioned above while in Germany, the Department would be glad to reconsider the question of the issuance to you of a passport on that basis.

The Department also wishes to make clear that it has no desire or intention to prevent you from making whatever public representations you may desire with regard to the matters you mention in your application, but it is its view that the appropriate place for this is in the United States, and not in the area of Germany which is presently occupied by the United States Government.

Sincerely yours,

Scott McLeod /s/

Scott McLeod
Administrator

Judge William Clark,
Rosedale Road,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Exhibit A-5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Address Official Communications to
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

February 1, 1954

Dear Judge Clark:

Your letter of January 25, 1954 to Secretary Dulles has been brought to my attention. As you know, Secretary Dulles left for Berlin on January 21 and will be there for an indefinite period depending upon the duration of the Four-Power Talks now in progress. I will bring your letter to his attention upon his return. If you feel it desirable I will discuss with you the problems mentioned in your letter the next time you are in Washington. It would be most helpful if you would bring with you in written form such comments and observations on the matters dealt with in your letter as you consider appropriate for the consideration and guidance of the Department. Be assured that the matters which you set forth will be given full and appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Walter B. Smith /s/
Acting Secretary

Judge William Clark,
The Association of the Bar
of the City of New York,
42 West 44th Street,
New York, New York.

Exhibit A-6

February 9, 1954

Mr. Scott McLeod, Administrator
Bureau of Security, Consular Affairs and Personnel
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. McLeod:

I am writing in reply to your letter of February first in regard to my passport application. In the first place, you are obviously in error when you indicate that my reference to the preservation of rights to free speech was the purpose of my trip. A re-reading of my statement will show that without the paragraph quoted, I might well have been accused of being less than forthright. This is now evident from your present misconstruction of my application. You will note, if you read the statement carefully, that I am not going over to make speeches but that I preserve my rights "if I am asked" to comment on certain subjects. It is not irrelevant, however, to ask if you take the position that lecturers and their possible remarks are within the sanctions of your office.

I do not understand whether your letter is a rejection of the passport or merely a bit of diplomatic negotiation in order to have me remove what you deem to be an objectionable disclosure on my part. I do not intend to remove the paragraph. Had I not included it, or should I now remove it, I think I could be justly criticized by my government for either not having disclosed that I did not intend to be gagged if an inquiry is made to me, or that I had agreed in advance to be so gagged.

Under the circumstances, I ask that you promply advise whether the passport will be issued or not. If not, I ask that a hearing be set as required by your regulations, at the earliest possible date. Any hour of any day next week will be agreeable to me. As an American devoted to the matrix of our Constitution, our world famous Bill of Rights on which our nation has staked its all, I wonder if you really mean to take the position that whereas we have been trying to bring the German people back into the area of free men so that they, like us, will enjoy the benefits of free speech, nevertheless comments *in* Germany should be banned, whereas any statement made outside of the borders of Germany and picked up by the press or radio to be used inside of Germany would not be found objectionable to the Secretary of State. Are you sure that it would not be "inimical to the best interests of the United States", to quote your phrase, to let the German people know that our great State Department is so insecure and frightened that the ideas of one single human being uttered when and if asked for an opinion, provide a sound basis for our government to practice (over the German mind) a kind of censorship which would not be condoned in the United States.

I don't know that I will be asked for any comment, but in pragmatic terms, how silly can our government be if it distinguishes between an inquiry made of me outside of the borders of Germany to be picked up by the German press, and a statement uttered within the German borders.

I trust that you will reconsider your position of fright and timidity, scarcely a good international concept worthy of transmission to the peoples of the world.

In closing may I repeat that the purposes for which I want my passport issued for Germany and other countries are fully stated; the issue you have raised is clear-cut;

and if a passport is denied, a hearing be promptly set. Once more, I would be less than frank if I did not say that if the passport is denied by such hearing board, I intend to take the matter to court and I am advised by my counsel that in his judgment mandamus will lie based on the abuse of discretion predicated on the philosophy of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) William Clark

Please address reply to 5 Cleveland Lane, Princeton, N. J.

Exhibit A-7

February 9, 1954

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ruth:

I hope I am violating no propriety by sending you a copy of a letter which Judge Clark sent to Mr. McLeod this day. If in governmental terms this act of courtesy should not have been perpetrated by me, all you need do is destroy the enclosed, or, as I once saw on a letter "burn before reading".

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. As you know, Judge Clark received a friendly letter from Gen. Smith and he answered in equally friendly terms.

Exhibit A-8

February 9, 1954

Dear General Smith:

I have your letter of 1 February, (my sixty-third birthday). Senator Smith of New Jersey, an old friend, has suggested that I spend some time with him telling him my troubles. I shall call you for an appointment.

I still don't know what all this shooting has been about.

Yours sincerely

(signed) William Clark

Please address reply to:

5 Cleveland Lane
Princeton, New Jersey

General Walter B. Smith
Under Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Exhibit A-9

February 19, 1954

Dear Judge Clark:

In the absence of Mr. Scott McLeod, I have been asked to reply to your letter of February 9, 1954, concerning your application for a passport and statements in an addendum to your application.

Viewing your statements in the light of past actions, I think it was fairly to be inferred that it was your purpose, upon return to Germany, to continue a program of harassment of our offices in Germany without regard to the adverse effects which your activities would have upon relations between the United States and Germany and implementation of the foreign policy of the United States. The words "if I am asked" which you stress in your letter are not significant, since you undoubtedly would be asked or could arrange to be asked were you so disposed. In essence, it appeared to officers of the Department that you were willing to subordinate the interests of your government to your own personal interests in order to achieve some measure of vicarious vindication for humiliations which you brought upon yourself.

The Department would be glad to provide you and Mrs. Clark with passports to enable you to travel to Europe to visit your aunt in Scotland and your son in France, to complete your studies and prepare your thesis in Germany for the degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence, and to gather further material in aid of Congress should it wish to investigate the "issues" regarding your judgeship if it were your purpose to conduct yourself as a private citizen and avoid activities which could adversely affect relations between this government and the German

government and people. Obviously, it is possible for an American citizen who has occupied a position of prestige in a foreign country and has achieved a degree of notoriety in that country to do great harm to relations between the United States and the foreign country, particularly if he injects himself into political issues in the foreign country and takes positions in conflict with the foreign policy of the United States.

Sincerely yours,
R. S.
R. B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office

Judge William Clark,
5 Cleveland Lane,
Princeton, New Jersey

Exhibit A-10

20 February 1954
5 Cleveland Lane
Princeton, N. J.

Honorable Walter Bedell Smith
Under Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Smith,

It was pleasant to see you again after so long, even if it was to discuss a controversy. As I have written you before, I shall always have an affection and admiration for you. You must not wear yourself out.

No patriotic American, particularly one who has been in two wars, could refuse to agree to say nothing, either here or abroad, that would hurt his country. In my judgment, criticism of the imprisonment of Americans and of interference with the independence of the judiciary did not and could not hurt the United States. I have checked with the German Consulate in New York and find that a visa for Western Germany is no longer necessary. I do not see accordingly how Dr. Conant can be concerned in the issuance of a passport to me.

I think that I am entitled in fairness to four things: 1. To know who is to blame for causing the State Department not to live up to Mr. McCloy's General Counsel's promise to reappoint me by making the irresponsible and untrue statement that I was "surplus". I never thought that Dr. Conant was telling the truth when he said to me on the telephone that he was acting only as a conduit in transmitting the cable dismissing me. 2. If

that person or those persons had other reasons for not wanting me reappointed, he or they should come forward and confront me with those reasons, so that I may answer them. 3. If it should be found that no such reasons exist, I should be restored to some position in the Department in accord with the qualifications of a Judge of "my ability and experience" (your Mr. Suydam's words, not mine). 4. The person in the Department who ordered me given a one-way passport, without even the opportunity to obtain warm clothing, should apologize for an action both personally discourteous and in plain violation of the rule of law laid down in the Bauer case.

I am enclosing a clipping from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of February 16 (one of the best German papers today), which I have translated and which does not indicate any sympathy towards the State Department.

With kind regards and great respect,

Yours sincerely,

Judge William Clark.

Exhibit A-11

February 27, 1954

Mrs. R. B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Shipley:

I am in receipt of your letter of February 19, 1954 concerning my application for a passport.

Your various inferences, implications and accusations, in particular those set forth in the second paragraph of your letter, are wholly unwarranted and unfounded. I deny and resent particularly the implication that I ever did or ever would fail to subordinate my personal interests to those of my country. My service in two wars and my decorations therefor are some proof to the contrary. So much of my life has been in the public service and a matter of public record as to obviate, I trust, the need for any other or better documentation of my devotion and loyalty to this Republic.

Coming to the real issues, I respectfully request that you answer categorically the following questions:

1. Do you grant or deny my application for a passport? In this connection, please note that I will neither amend my application in the manner suggested by Mr. Scott McLeod in his letter of February 1st nor will I accept a passport granted subject to conditions. I know of no authority in law or morals which permits the State Department to require me or anyone else to accept a kind of second-class citizenship. This is exactly what I would be doing

if I were to accept the limitations you demand. This is particularly so since such limitations relate to the moral and legal doctrines embodied in the First Amendment—that matrix of our society that confirms that truth has its best chance of emergence in a public and open market place of thought.

2. If your answer to the first question is that you are denying my application, please advise me as to just what administrative appeal procedures are in your judgment provided for me as a rejected passport applicant. I must inform you frankly that I shall apply to the courts for recourse, if need be, but before doing so wish to be sure that I have exhausted all administrative remedies provided by our Department of State.

I would thank you for a very prompt answer as I am intent upon returning to Munich for the purposes indicated in my passport application at the earliest possible date.

Sincerely yours,

WC:jj

Judge William Clerk

Exhibit A-12

February 27, 1954

General Walter Bedell Smith
Under Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Smith:

I have received from Mrs. Shipley an abusive letter dated February 19th. My reply, a copy of which is enclosed, speaks for itself.

Has the technique of using unsubstantiated accusations and implications really crept and spread thus far into the executive branch of our government?

Yours sincerely,

Judge William Clerk

WC:jj
enc.

Exhibit A-13

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Address Official Communications to
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

March 16, 1954

Dear Judge Clark:

As I told you in my office recently, you certainly can have a passport, good for travel anywhere in the world that American citizens can go under the protection of the United States and without detriment to the interests of their country. The decision not to approve your current passport application to visit Germany, and the Department's views thereon as expressed in letters to you from Mr. McLeod on February 1, and Mrs. Shipley on February 19, 1954, were reached after a careful study of the information which you submitted. These views, in which as I told you I concur, were based on your own statements as to your intended activities in a country occupied by the United States, and as I explained to you the opinion of the Department is that these activities would be detrimental to the best interests of this country.

I told you in all friendship when we talked that there is no question of your right of free speech as an American citizen. However, the statement which accompanied your passport application is very clear, and I must make it equally clear that criticism of the political or judicial institutions of a foreign state by a private American citizen is neither politic nor in good taste, and may well affect the best interests of the United States. This is especially

true in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, where the United States is still in occupation and has a special and highly important relationship with the German Government and the German people. Your statement, as it stands, runs counter to these considerations and needs to be modified.

Aside from this, we know each other well enough so that I do not think I need to assure you that there is no one here who questions your devotion and loyalty to the United States, nor has there been any intention in previous correspondence by officials of this Department to reflect on this devotion and loyalty.

Sincerely,

/s/ Bedell Smith
Under Secretary

The Honorable
William Clark,
5 Cleveland Lane,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Exhibit A-14

March 19, 1954

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Ruth Shipley:

We have been retained by Judge Clark to contest the denial by the State Department of the passport for which he applied. You will note in his letter to you of February 19th a request for information as to "just what administrative appeal procedures are provided for * * * a rejected passport applicant". If I understand correctly, the Department takes the position that the applicant has had ample opportunity to set forth in his application or elsewhere the basis for his application for a passport, and that no machinery has been established for formal or other hearing except for persons who are denied passports because of allegations of subversion or kindred acts of misbehavior. I don't want to bother you with arguing about the proposition, but proper procedures, including a hearing, should be provided for *all* persons denied passports. All I request at this moment is a reply indicating whether there is any procedure for a hearing open to our client, Judge William Clark, and the details of such procedure.

Do rush through an answer, or rather a confirmation of your statement to me on the telephone, if I understood it correctly, that no further procedure is open for Judge Clark within the Department in the instant case.

It occurs to me that even Adam and Eve, if I read the Great Book correctly, got a full hearing before they were thrown out of the Garden of Eden. If I understand the State Department's present position, a kind of reverse rule has been laid down: a loyal American, without even being given an opportunity to be heard, can be denied the right to leave temporarily our Garden of Eden.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:jj

Exhibit A-15

20 March 1954.

Honorable Walter Bedell Smith
Under Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear General Smith,

I received your letter of 16 March with mixed feelings. I am pleased that you do not subscribe to Mrs. Shipley's theory that I am an unpatriotic person. I am disappointed, however, for two reasons:

First, I am astonished at your position that an American citizen can not criticize "the political and judicial institutions" of a foreign country in which he happens to be travelling or is stationed. It seems obvious to me that such citizen has the same freedom of speech as he has at home, provided always that he does not indulge in obscenity or blasphemy or offend against the laws of libel and slander. For example, I think that an American citizen should be perfectly free to say in England that he is opposed to a monarchical form of Government, or to say in France that he felt the multiple party system is inefficient, or to say in Italy that he thought that the laws against birth control should be repealed. On the other hand, I believe the citizens of all these countries would be perfectly entitled to come here and voice their objections to "McCarthyism".

I am particularly surprised that you should hold this view with respect to Germany. The whole purpose of the occupation was not only to criticize but to destroy its institutions. We have been disarming, dismantling, denazifying and decartellizing for the last seven years.

We not only criticized the courts but removed more than half of the judges.

In fact, I think we have gone quite beyond the limit prescribed by Art. 43 of the Hague Convention which limits the measure permitted to an occupying power to those conducive to "safety and good order". I remember my assistant Prof. Von Mehrens of the Harvard Law School and I arguing with General Clay that he had no legal right to annul a law of the Land Bavaria which limited the members of the legal profession on the ground that a lawyer had no innate right to starve. The General did annul the law but of course it has been repassed.

Second, you ignore the four conditions I suggested as reparation for my shabby treatment. I gave six years of my life to establishing and operating the Occupation Courts. It was generally agreed in Germany that we did a good job. In fact, the Courts and myself personally were praised in many German legal periodicals, although one might have supposed that the Germans would resent their presence in their country. As a reward for my work I was kicked out, publicly humiliated and my passport was lifted, as if I was a criminal or a communist. This was done apparently at the request of the pitiful Professor who resented my attempts to make him perform his sworn duties. I do not believe that the American people have approved of this way of acting towards a judge of thirty years' honorable service on the Bench.

I have shown your letter to my counsel, Morris Ernst, and we shall proceed to take all steps necessary to preserve what we believe to be my legal rights in the premises.

Sincerely,

Judge William Clark
5 Cleveland Lane
Princeton, N. J.

Exhibit A-16

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Address Official Communications to
The Secretary of State
Washington 25, D. C.

In reply refer to
130 — Clark, William

March 22, 1954

My dear Mr. Ernst:

I am sorry that I cannot give you the kind of letter you apparently want, because Judge Clark has not been denied a passport. On the contrary, General Smith, the Under Secretary, informed him in a letter of March 16, 1954 that, as previously stated orally, he certainly could have a passport good for travel anywhere in the world that American citizens can go under the protection of the United States and without detriment to the interests of their country. Before granting a passport to Judge Clark to include Germany, we are simply waiting for him to modify his statement concerning his intended activities in Germany. As has been stated before, the Department is of the opinion that these activities would be detrimental to the best interests of this country.

Sincerely yours,

R. B. Shipley /s/

R. B. Shipley,
Director, Passport Office

Exhibit A-17

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Shipley:

I am writing in reply to your letter of March 22nd. The kind of letter I believe our client, Judge William Clark, is entitled to is one which either grants or denies him a passport in pursuance of his application.

Our client is most anxious to go abroad for the purposes indicated in his application. He is peculiarly happy that he made the honorable and frank statement that his lips would not be sealed if he were interviewed. This is particularly so in view of the repeated requests made to have him remove this statement from his application. I think it is apparent that the removal of such statement would have put him in jeopardy had he gone to Germany without such honorable advance notice to his government and had he, while in Germany, done other than held his lips sealed if asked for an opinion on various subjects.

Since our client will neither amend his application as you suggest nor accept a passport excluding Germany or granted subject to conditions, please let us know promptly whether the application is granted or denied.

If you deny the application, we ask to be advised promptly as to what procedure there is for a hearing or review.

As we read the present regulations they obviously have no application to admittedly loyal citizens. Whether jus-

tifiable or not, they are framed to protect the security of our nation with respect to divulging of information, confrontation of witnesses, etc. I think I have previously indicated to you that proper procedures, including a hearing, should be provided for all persons denied passports. Please let us know promptly what procedure is open to Judge Clark and the details of such procedure.

Best,

Yours,

MLE:JJ

Morris L. Ernst

Exhibit A-18

WESTERN UNION

Greenbaum Wolff & Ernst

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Passport Office, State Department
Washington, D. C.

Since I am leaving for Europe toward the end of next week I would appreciate greatly an answer if State Department will grant application of Judge Clark for passport, or otherwise answer to my last letter. Can you expedite.

Morris L. Ernst

Exhibit A-19

WESTERN UNION

NA256 12 Collect —WUX Washington DC 1 537 PME —
Apr 1 1954

Morris L. Ernst, Answer Date 1218 PME
285 Madison Ave

Hope to reply your letter Judge Clark early next week

R B Shipley Director Passport Office

Exhibit A-20

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
130 — Clark, William

April 6, 1954

My dear Mr. Ernst:

It is difficult for me to answer letters from you and your client Judge Clark, since both of you, possibly by design, draw inferences from clear and reasoned statements of officers of this Department which are erroneous and unwarranted. Judge Clark has charged me with having implied that he is lacking in devotion and loyalty to his country and is unpatriotic. No such implication was made and I may say that I know of no one who questions his loyalty and devotion to the United States.

It is not yet clear to me why, of the millions of Americans who have applied for passports since the cessation of hostilities, only Judge Clark should consider it necessary to include a protective statement in his passport application. There is no reason that I can see why one citizen should receive a passport upon terms different from those that apply to all others. The case seems to resolve itself into these issues. Judge Clark professes to think that relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany would not be harmed if he should, in Germany, make such comments as he sees fit in explaining again his defense of the rights of American citizens in Germany, in stating his well-known position on the right of bail and speedy trial in general, and in setting forth his position in regard to minority groups in Germany. On the

other hand, officers of the Department are of the opinion that indiscreet talk on these subjects by one in Judge Clark's position, involving, as it would, criticism of the German government and its judicial system and processes, could very seriously affect relations between the United States and Germany and be detrimental to the best interests of the United States. Judge Clark considers that he may dictate the conditions upon which he shall be given a passport, whereas the Department feels that it need not be dictated to by any individual passport applicant. Consequently, the case is at an impasse. The Department has, however, stated its willingness to issue a passport to Judge Clark upon the same conditions as passports are issued to all other private citizens. Although no prior commitment is required, the understanding is implicit that, if granted a passport, the applicant will not inject himself into political issues in a foreign country nor publicly take positions in conflict with the foreign policy of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

R. B. Shipley

R. B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office

Mr. Morris L. Ernst,
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York.

Exhibit A-21

April 8, 1954

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Re: 130—Clark, William

My dear Ruth Shipley:

After years of more than admiring relationship, I am at a loss to understand your implication that I drew improper inferences from the Department correspondence. I thought we had both been frank and clear in enunciating our positions.

The reason for the addendum in the application becomes imperatively clear not only because of the prior relationship between the applicant and the Department but because of the special danger clearly seen in the Department's again reiterated position of imposing special sanctions on the applicant vis-a-vis his right of free speech. I never understood the law to be that our Government could condition its issuance of a passport on a loyal American citizen's giving up his constitutional right to take public positions in conflict with the foreign policy of the United States. Since the addendum is merely a statement on applicant's part of his constitutional rights, your insistence that it be removed, we take it, means that the granting of the passport would be conditioned upon his foregoing those rights. Our client of course asks for no terms different than those that apply to all others but the stand of the Department in this case called for the addendum.

The questions before the Department are simple ones. Does the Department grant the application as filed? Does the Department refuse the application as filed? Does the Department refuse to exercise its power in refusing or granting the application as filed? Does the Department refuse to exercise in this matter such discretion as it may lawfully possess?

Unless the application is granted or denied forthwith, we shall have no alternative but to conclude either that you are refusing to exercise whatever power or discretion you have, or that you are denying the application. In either event, we are instructed by our client to proceed to court.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE/mgk

Exhibit A-22

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
130—Clark, William

April 19, 1954.

Dear Mr. Ernst:

I have received your letter of April 8, 1954 with further reference to the passport application of Judge William Clark.

Judge Clark's passport application remains in a pending status until such time as he takes some action to remove the impediments to the issue of a passport as set forth in General Smith's letter of March 16, 1954 and in letters from other officers of the Department.

Sincerely yours,

R. B. Shipley /s/

R. B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office

April 8, 1954

Dear Ed:

Joel Katz, an associate in the office here, represents a fabulous youngster who proposed to go with a camera and sound track to Russia and there have interviews with all types of people. It looks as if Russia will let him in. The lad in question is only 19 years old.

I wonder if you could spare a few moments out of your totally idle life to have Katz of this office bring his client friend, Powers, up to see you to pick your brain as to how the project might be further developed and above all, your appraisal of whether the Soviet government will allow any product for export which would have any meaning or values.

I am off to England to chat with the Dean of Westminster and to cover a few other business chores.

Best to you,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

March 16,1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

1. I understand that the head of a communist union contributed to McCarthy in his campaign. McCarthy knew it was a communist union and that the official is now anti-communist and maybe never was personally a member of the party. This guy on television might be something!

2. Have you thought of the name McCommunist which might be considered in connection with the enclosed editorial.

3. What happened with the pamphlets.

4. I have got a lot of interesting stuff on the Westminster Abbey Fund which may even be used on a Person to Person show. Possibly Griffin, a co-chairman and an eminent Catholic who is a director of Time magazine, might give you an idea. In any event, I do hope that the Abbey Fund comes out on one of your programs.

Best,

Yours,

Enc

Morris L.Ernst

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March 9, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

There is a dramatic story in the Cabinet. Why not do a picture of the Cabinet in action and a separate War Cabinet picture. It may be peculiarly timely as a follow-up to your program of tonight as to which the town is quite agog.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MUrray HILL 5-1582

March 5, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I suspect that Senator John L. McClellan is on the same trail that you mentioned to me. Incidentally, I understand that Cohen was going on television but declined because he was afraid of certain questions.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. Let me know what happened to S & S. I am intrigued.

Democrats Ask Army How It Treats McCarthy's Ex-Aid

By the United Press.

WASHINGTON, March 4. — Sen. John L. McClellan (Ark.) senior Democrat on the the subcomittee headed by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.), said today he has asked the Army for a documented report on charges it is giving special treatment to Sen. McCarthy's former aid, Pvt. G. David Schine, of New York.

Sen. McClellan said he made the request about a month ago but has not received a reply. He said he understood Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), senior Democrat on the Senate Armed Services Committee, made a similar request.

There have been reports that the Army complained to some Senators that it had been "pressured" by staff members of Sen. McCarthy's investigating group into giving Pvt. Schine preferential treatment.

The private, scion of a hotel owner, was an unpaid research director for the subcommittee until he was drafted last year.

PTA Position Clarified

The World-Telegram and Sun was in error on Feb. 24 when it published an item declaring that the Tuxedo (N. Y.) Parent-Teacher Assn., was among the organzations circulating petitions protesting the draining of Wee Wah Lake at Tuxedo Park. The PTA has circulated no petitions in that connection.

March 5, 1954

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I suspect that Senator John L. McClellan is on the same trail that you mentioned to me. Incidentally, I understand that Cohen was going on television but declined because he was afraid of certain questions.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P.S. Let me know what happened to S & S. I am intrigued.

February 26, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

You said you would be interested in a memorandum outlining the idea I had with respect to the use of new symbols in the Austrian and maybe Berlin situation.

I go on the assumption that Russia intends to stay in Germany and Austria for possibly a complete generation and that in any event our tactic must be based on an assumption of that order. I also assume that the few thousand military that we have in Austria are, in realistic terms, worth about two and a half minutes of defense and that hence they are there solely as a symbol. I think our entire international position is, in part, defective because we have thought that commercial tooth paste salesmen were competent to advise on symbols to be used in the war to the mind of man. Symbols must not only be valid but repeated and many symbols have been phony, going on the theory that you could sell a face cream even if it contains vitriol. Also the symbols we have created have always aroused bewilderment in the minds of our best friends beyond our shores, since symbols are of little value unless the deeds behind the symbols correspond with the words. With this brief statement, I think you might explore the need of entirely new symbols, for example, in Austria. How about the following idea to chew over? We announce that Russia will not allow Austria to be integrated into the free world. We announce our resentment to the excessive contribution to Russia out of Austrian economy. Cooperation with Austria and after consultation with our allies in Austria, we withdraw all of our military -- all except one person, -- at the start a sergeant who will stand as the symbol of the United States in Austria. To the extent that we are really sincere and strong, the symbol of one man is as good as 10,000. The individual to be so used could be changed monthly -- a woman, a general, a high Negro officer, etc. This individual, in a prominently located place, would raise our flag daily at the one-man garrison; over a loud speaker he would recite in behalf of our Republic our pledge to return if needed. A ceremony should accompany the withdrawal of all the rest of our military forces.

To our sole representative should be sent the flag of Iwo Jima, the flag symbolizing victory. By arrangement with the Austrian government and out of the moneys we will save by the withdrawal of our military, this symbol of our

Republic would announce monthly the winner of a scholarship to be sent from Austria to some institution of learning in the United States. He and not we, will also announce the amount of newsprint which we would give to the newspapers, magazines and book publishers of Austria each month. This basic bullet of the cold war could be given so that we would be supplying free all of the paper needed to get to the minds of Austrians. I take it the bill for this First Amendment investment would be only a small part of our present expenses.

The above is just a sample of my thinking. In brief we should treat every situation in so far as possible exactly as if Russia had agreed to a free Austria. In view of the fortunate and odd reverse veto situation in Austria as compared to Berlin, we can go very far. If you find any interest in the above and a few adventurous and unfrightened minds left in Washington, I could easily arrange for a group of four or five psychiatrists to prepare a memorandum of suggestions.

In brief, isn't it true that man lives more by symbols than by reality and that maybe symbols are matrix of our only reality.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. In spite of the recent surrender of the White House to McCarthy, I hope that if there be anything to the above plan that the Chief Executive of our nation will not feel impelled to get clearance in advance from McCarthy via Nixon.

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February 24, 1954

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

On the Westminster Abbey project, if you will have someone call up Sidney Howell, at the English-Speaking Union, telephone Mu 8-9300, he can put you in touch with a film which he has recently seen, which is presently in the hands of BIS and parts of which may be good enough to use as depicting the Abbey. It is pre-war.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

Personal

February 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Here are a few items we discussed on the plane. I can double the list and, out of sixty or seventy suggestions, no doubt a program for the first three or four months might be developed.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE:esk
Enclosure

Feb 18, 1954

List of Items

1 We should take in one million immigrants next year.
2 Home rule for cities. See Collier's.
3 Should ambassadorships be for sale or civil service.
4 Guaranteed annual wage.
5 Cabinet officers on floor of Senate. (Taft)
6 Segregation in schools. See decision.
7 Mental ill health.
8 Recognize Red China.
9 Television in committees, courts and Congress.
10 Break up criminal courts between finding of fact and punishment.
11 Vote for 21 year olds.
12 Don't buy U. S. A.
13 Kinsey Report.
14 Repeal 90% of all sex laws.
15 Free college education for everyone.
16 Secretary of research and cabinet.
17 Abolish tariff.
18 Break up big cities.
19 Farm parity.
20 McCarthyism.
21 Psychoanalysis.
22 Reading and juvenile delinquency.
23 Congressional committees
24 Teach communism in schools.
25 Wire tapping.
26 Fifth Amendment
27 Newspapers should not own radio stations.
28 Why subsidize Time magazine.
29 Regulate gambling
30 Revise divorce laws.
31 Crown can't win.
32 Break up insurance companies -- statism.
32 No branch banking.

Tie in with radio program.

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

February 18, 1054

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The more I see of you the more I want to know Janet better. How Margaret and Janet stand for guys like us is the $66. question.

Note the following:

1. I will hear from you in regard to pamphleteering.
2. Let me know if you want me to help with respect to Mrs. Bolton.
3. Note the enclosed which may give you an angle.
4. I will send you a letter in regard to our Jewish - Negro sergeant in Berlin.

5. Give me a ring for something short of Wake Island!!

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. In re Abbey: As you develop your thinking for a program, bear in mind that I have located some footage of old films. You no doubt can get it from the same source that I have contacted it -- BIS. I understand there are some shots of the King George Coronation as well as the more recent one. Also let me know when you hear from the guy you spoke to in London as to the result of his talk with Dean Don.

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OT SEEKS M

RESPONDENT

ROME, FEB. 12

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RUSSIAN INTEREST IN U.S. ATHLETICS

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, FEB. 11

A Russian track team's request to enter an athletic competition in the United States next month is being studied by the State Department. Officials say that the proposal is being considered on the strength of a letter received recently from the secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union. The secretary said that the initial contact made with him was for 15 track athletes to come to the United States.

A spokesman for the Soviet Embassy here, in answer to questions, said that the initial request was made more than a month ago. "Our representative talked to the secretary," the spokesman declared, "and told him we were interested in track competitions but would like to know the various competitions and conditions. So far we have not had any official confirmation from Moscow."

GENERAL NEGUIB TO VISIT SUDAN

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAIRO, FEB. 11

An official spokesman is quoted as saying that President Neguib will leave Cairo for the Sudan on or about March 10 to attend the opening of the Sudan Parliament.

TELEGRA

The New Zealan
£10,000 to the Unit
gency Fund.

Dr. Adenauer will
on March 9 for a w
the Greek Governm

First estimates of c
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this season's maize cr

King Haakon is to
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The Tanganyika li
board's offer of a £1m
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duction will be resumed

Mr. C. D. MacQuai
Lister, Ltd., of Dur
Moscow that he had
contract for the supply
sets of 410 kilowatt cap
stations, at a price exce

January 5, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

When you are snooping around in peoples homes for television shows, you might get a good story from Jane Ickes. She is good looking and her work on the "Ickes Diaries" is her main occupation.

Let me know if you want to get in touch with her.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MUrray Hill 5-1582

December 29, 1953

File

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Just because you are a thick-skinned guy, I am particularly anxious that you should know that I was truly offended by the profile of you in the New Yorker. I realize how jealousies can create distortions but this particular job was as snide as any I have seen in a long while.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

Lunch
Fri Jan 22
1:00 - Century

December 17, 1953

Dear Morris:

Your gracious ill-tempered letter reached me today. I am off to Korea tomorrow for ten days, a refugee from this over-commercialized Christmas. This is just a hasty note to assure you that I have retained both my interest and affection for you. I will communicate with you when I return.

1/11/54
Mp. Th

As ever,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

rh

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

December 15, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

You, who are so diluted under the silly tense life which you lead, have no doubt forgotten your momentary high excitement about the Utopia which I am writing. I have information on hundreds of cards and have dictated about 70,000 words of notes. I have negotiated with Life magazine and they talk as if they want to buy the material for two special issues of Life magazine.

If you have not reverted to your glandular state of pessimism and if you are still interested in the project even as an optimistic buffer to your negation of the idea of my theory that inevitability only comes to pass through effort, give me a ring and let's talk further.

All of which may make me sound like a common scold derived from my real esteem and affection for you.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris
Oct. 29

October 23, 1953

Dear Morris:

My boy won't play with the Abbey.

Thursday night is okay with me.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

dm

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

October 22, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Enclosed find a brochure prepared by Westminister Abbey. I wish you would talk to your friend to see whether he wants to do the chore and get all the kudos. I will be glad to come up any time to talk over the prior conversations I have had with Dean Don.

I am holding open next Thursday evening for a possible date with Life magazine on 1875. Is the following pictorial?

Clothing is related to political and economic factors and are not dreamed up by some Frenchmen.

French revolution -- austere clothes.

Five day week -- growth of sports clothes.

1929 -- short skirts

In brief I have a chart showing the relation of clothing to economic and political factors.

Why do you think women abandoned black stockings? Answer: In World War I, the Germans owned the secret dye process for black stockings.

Airplanes -- 5 silk dresses weighed as much as one rayon dress. Etc. I have worked out a chart for 1975 and incidentally, the present confusion of styles for women's clothing is not unrelated to the present economic and political confusion of our land!!

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Enc

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

SP

June 4, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I noted that while you were away Larry did not use your valued capital asset WORD FOR THE DAY. I wonder if this was on purpose and whether the purpose arose from the fact that WORD FOR THE DAY may well be one of those rare capital assets owned by creative people on the radio. In brief, I don't know why CBS should not buy WORD FOR THE DAY from you for a substantial sum taxable to you on a capital gains basis. In any event, it might be worth exploring.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P. S. Why don't you and Janet fly up to Nantucket for a couple of days so that we can solve the world together.

1950, 1951, 52 & 53
54, 55, 56, 57, 58 & 59

April 6, 1953

Mr. William S. Paley
Chairman of the Board
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

My dear Bill:

Thanks for your wise letter of March 18th. I have not yet heard from Bob Kintner. Maybe you would think it not entirely a waste of time to have a snifter with me some afternoon to discuss this basic problem. My own prejudices happen to accord with your position, although I do see some possible moves you might make in aid of the basic integrity of CBS on this subject.

I wonder if you saw the book review on the Paley Report which was run in The American Political Science Review. Congratulations on the report.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE/ag

January 20,1953.

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

In the Wilson matter, give me a ring in case you are interested in further comment on the entire subject of conflict of interest statutes. For example, do you recall that the Nimitz Committee resigned because even though they were to report on the communist problem, they felt they might be disqualified from dealing with the government in the future. This should not be overlooked by Charlie Wilson because some day he may go back to General Motors. Do you remember that McCarran would not grant a waiver for the members of the Nimitz Committee, and even a member of the Catholic Church issued a statement at the time that his Church might have some kind of business with the government, etc?

Wilson has been stupidly advised. He can now get a ruling that if he gives his stock to his heirs, such gift will clearly not be deemed to be in contemplation of death. He will make a fortune by such compulsory gift, since gift taxes are lower than inheritance taxes, and his heirs would get the income of the dividends and no doubt receive same at much lower brackets than Wilson's tax brackets. Etc. Etc. How would you like to do a cute broadcast giving Wilson some sound advice.

Confidentially, in my various communications with the Eisenhower group, I pointed out weeks ago that a commission should be organized at once to consider all of the problems relating to conflict of interest, and this would not overlook the horrible evils that arose through the appointment of dollar a year big business men.

Did you notice that my suggestion on revision of press conferences appeared in David Lawrence's column. I did not give it to him and you can guess who gave it to him. Be sure not to mention my name, ever, on any of these levels. I think I can be of some slight value to the nation if I remain anonymous.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L.Ernst

185

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January 8, 1953.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

In about a fortnight I am going abroad for a fortnight. Is there anything I can do for you abroad?

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Harry Ransom Center

Ernst, Morris

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TELEPHONE MUrray Hill 5-1582

SP.

December 2, 1952.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Just a reminder:

1. We are to arrange for a luncheon date every fortnight.

2. Don't forget that if the sponsor of the new show is an insurance company, an annuity should be explored.

3. Keep in mind that the new title might possibly be used as a gift to your offspring.

4. Let me know if you get a reaction from Washington on the press conference idea, which I would suggest you might pin on me until you test out its acceptability. I am far more expendible than you are.

5. Have someone get the New York City Bar Association report of last month or the month before containing a review of the Chambers book by Jowitt.

6. Have someone get a copy of WOMAN'S DAY and see a piece entitled THE RED BALL. (December issue).

7. If you get any bright ideas on the thesis of our communist book, let me hear from you, and if you are ever brash enough to use it on one of your programs, let me know in advance. To that end, even I will listen.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

~~Century~~
Tavern
Lunch

November 19, 1952.

Dec 2
12:30
He's going Conn.
3:00 plane

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Do let me know when I can see you for a few moments. I want some guidance, of course confidentially.

McCarran has sent his top man to see me who has indicated that McCarran will write me a letter proposing that our REPORT ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST be used as a Manual by the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, etc. Of course McCarran will indicate that he disagrees with my position on the McCarran bill and my criticism of the work of the Committee but that he agrees with the basic thesis and techniques to get people out of the party. Most of my liberal friends tell me I cannot afford to take such support. Something is happening that confounds me. I received a letter from Monsignor Sheehy, of which I am sending you a copy. Is our climate facing a change because of the election? If so, maybe David and I have really made a minor contribution toward a new approach.

Do let me know when I can see you for half an hour.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Enc

THE RIGHT REVEREND MAURICE S. SHEEHY, PH.D.
The Catholic University of America
Washington 17, D.C.

November 15,1952

Dear Morris:

REPORT ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST is an excellent study which should pave the way to a commonsensible approach to the problem which confronts us. To get at such an evil as Communism, as we must get at root factors rather than symptoms. I found much that was enlightening on the question - why do Americans become Communists in the first place?

I also think we should open wider the door by which ex-Communists may return to society. The Catholic Church is not afraid to open with welcome arms anyone who shows repentance.

With every best wish and the hope that you will pardon my tardiness in acknowleding your book, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Maurice S. Sheehy

Mr. Morris Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Where's Roger? My best to your wife.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
LEO ROSEN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
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CHARLES E. HEMING

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

Oh Joe

October 1,1952.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

John A
Pl. note

Dear Ed:

It slipped my mind, for some reason Dr. Freud will have to explain, but I now recall that you had asked me the other evening the date of the publication of REPORT ON THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST. The publication date is November 13th. I must say I was more delighted probably than I showed, ~~that you~~ thought that there was merit in our approach. I know that many Senators think that our material and proposed solutions may pave the way for a new bit of social engineering in this mucked-up field of life. Of course I am anxious to have our material and the thesis enter the arena of public debate in the hope that in a clash of wits we may at last come to grips with the problem and how to evaporate the American communist party.

Let's get together soon. Give me a ring when you get a night off.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Maureen McManus
Miss Becker

Ernst, Morris

For Mr. Murrow

July 7,1952.

Mr. Ernest Chappell
19 East 60th Street
New York, N.Y.

attached

My dear Ernest:

I sent you a copy of the letter received from Louis Nichols. My guess is that you are up against a stone wall until after election, but let me know if you want me to make further moves.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

cc Edward Murrow

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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

July 3,1952.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing herewith copy of letter which Mr.Ernst received from Mr. Nichols. I have also sent a copy to Mr. Chappell.

Mr.Ernst will be in the office on Monday.

Sincerely yours,

P Gross

Secretary to Mr.Ernst

Enc

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

June 28,1952

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Morris:

I have your letter of June 26,1952, with further reference to the idea of a television program on fugitives wanted by the Bureau. By coincidence, Ernest Chappell called me this morning for the purpose of further discussing the matter.

I told Chappell that while we, of course, would always by glad to see him, that since we had decided not to participate in such a program, it would be a waste of time, money and energy to pursue the matter further. I explained to Mr. Chappell we were opposed to the idea for a variety of reasons, i.e.,we have more things than we can do at the present time and should not be taking on additional work; that we still have a grave misgiving over the propriety of going into so much detail on a large number of fugitives and, then, of course, there was the matter of sponsorship, which we had previously discussed.

Naturally, Chappell wondered if the door was permanently closed. I told him we like to follow the old adage "Wise men change their minds, fools never do," that we would be glad to reconsider the matter at some future date, but for the moment there was certainly no use of imposing upon his time or our time.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Louis

Mr. M -

Chappell talked with Nichols on Friday - he'll let you know about it.

DM.

For Mr. Murrow

June 26,1952.

Mr. Louis B. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Lou:

I have gone over with Edward Murrow and Ernest Chappell the program I discussed with you. They are convinced,as I am, that this is a socially desirable program without dramatization which may cause even the faintest amount of confusion. As I conceive of the program, they are picturing a man wanted for a stolen auto. They would discuss the stolen auto racket, the number, the increase or decrease, the difficulties, etc. In other words, each person, in so far as possible, would be related to the general type of crime, with a few salient statistics, the difficulties of apprehension, and the like.

I have my heart set on this project and hence I suggested that Chappell go down to Washington to see you to clarify what I think may have been a misunderstanding. I am convinced that they have no desire to dramatize in pictorial form the background of the person wanted or the scene of the crime, unless there be some cases where you would want it to be done.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

June 20,1952.

Mr. Ernest Chappell
19 East 60th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Chappell:

I ran into considerably more trouble with the FBI. Lou Nichols told me that Edgar Hoover was sorely troubled because of the dangers which will arise from dramatizations. They have in mind that you want to go back as near as possible for taking pictures at the locale of the crime, a picture of the street, the house, the bank,etc. and that this might lead to complications.

I think we ought to get together for a moment to decide how to proceed before you spend any money on the project. Best of all would be if we could arrange for you, Ed and myself to sit with Edgar Hoover in Washington. I will be there one day next week and could try to set up an appointment.

Yours,

Morris L.Ernst

cc Mr. Edward Murrow

ERNEST CHAPPELL

19 East 60th Street
New York, 22, N. Y.

June 16, 1952.

Mr. LouisB. Nichols
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Morris Ernst has told you we are quite sure we can secure a national TV sponsor for "This Man Is Wanted" and that Ed Murrow and I would like to make one pilot film.

If you will establish an FBI liason contact for us and give us a selection of the fugitive and the details concerning him we will proceed.

We understand we will be making this pilot film entirely on speculation. The FBI is not under obligation in any way. We will secure FBI okay of the script before we start shooting. We will not show the film to a sponsor until the FBI has approved it. The National sponsor must be acceptable to the FBI.

Thanks for your cooperation. We are sure we can make #This Man Is Wanted" a potent force of which you will be proud.

Very truly yours,

Ernest Chappell.

Copies to:

Morris Ernst
Edward R. Murrow

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MUrray HILL 5-1582

SP. Ernst memo

June 19,1952.

Dear Miss McDonough: (did I spell it correctly?)

Mr. Ernst telephoned me from Washington and asked me to send the enclosed report of the Advisory Committee of the Post Office, to Mr. Murrow. Will you please be sure to return it, as it is the only copy we have.

Pls note Dm.

Sincerely,

Paula Gross 6/24

Secretary to Mr. Ernst

Enc
Del

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE No. _____

May 10, 1952

Mr. M

Mr. Ernest Chappell
19 East 80th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Chappell:

With reference to your recent visit to Washington, I wanted you to know we have given very careful consideration to the matter of a television program.

It is our considered judgment that too many problems would arise regarding sponsorship on the part of individual stations to warrant our cooperation. Then, too, we are exceedingly pressed at the present time and simply do not feel that it would be appropriate to give this project any further consideration.

Perhaps at some future time under different circumstances, something might be worked out.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Louis B Nichols

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MUrray HILL 5-1582

May 9,1952

Mr. Ernest Chappell
19 East 60th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Chappell:

I am leaving by plane for Paris in a few minutes. Lou Nichols just telephoned to me and told me that Edgar was primarily averse because of separate sponsorship in each locality which properly would require a check-up by the FBI. I think they will feel very differently about the situation if you could work out a single national sponsor, particularly of an institutional type. I must say that I sympathize with the FBI on this point. I have a feeling that if the above could be accomplished, the program could be established but not until near the end of this year. I have a hunch that they don't want to get wrapped up in any controversial political debates during an election year. Obviously your proposition is so good that it will evoke envy from potential competitors who have not thought of it, and the FBI might be accused of playing you as a favorite as against the field.

I understand from Lou Nichols that he will drop you a line. I will be back in a fortnight. Let's get together then and see what the next move should be.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

cc Mr. Murrow

Ernst, Morris L

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TELEPHONE MUrray HILL 5-1582

April 10,1952.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

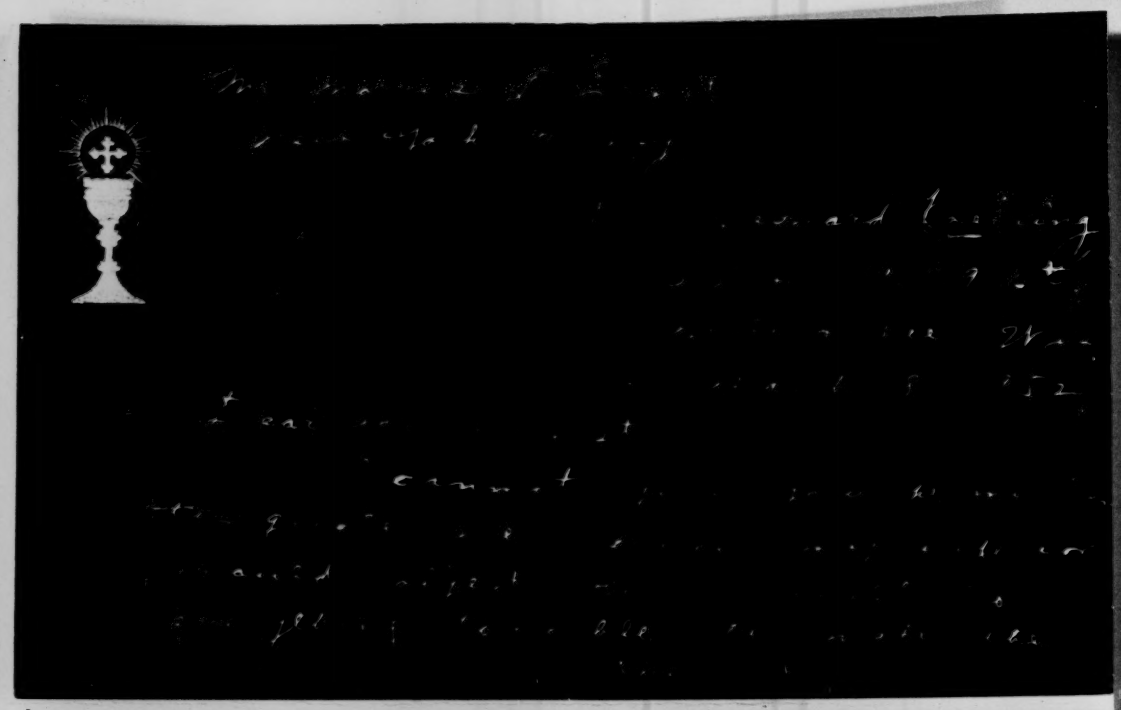
A few weeks ago you mentioned that you were wading through the Loth - Ernst volume FOR BETTER OR WORSE. I thought, in case you wanted to discuss the divorce problem in connection with using the book as a springboard, which of course I would greatly welcome, the enclosed may be of interest to you. I am sending you a photostatic copy of a letter received from Bishop Oxnam, a letter from the leading judge in this sphere, Paul W.Alexander, and a photostat of a postal card, which is a sample of a great number of letters received from Catholic priests. I could locate, if you want it as a base for interviews, etc., a flattering and praising review of the book by the Reverend Dr. Bonnell of the Presbyterian Church. I have permission to use all of these except the card from the Catholic priest.

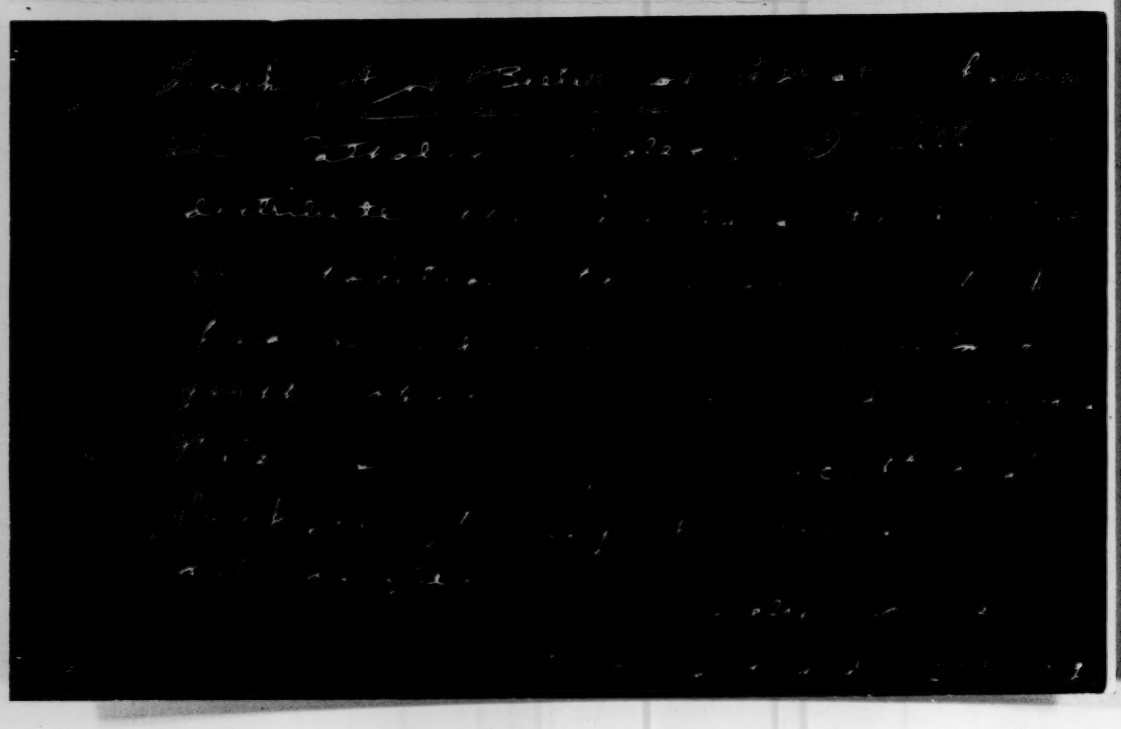
I hope to hear early next week from Hoover in regard to the "missing men" program.

Yours,

Encs

Morris L.Ernst





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SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION, TO STUDY AND IMPROVE MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE LAWS AND PROCEDURES; AN OUTGROWTH OF THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FAMILY LIFE

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St. Louis, Mo.

December 5, 1951

Mr. Simon M. Fenstle
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd St.,
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Fenstle:

I thank you for the privilege of reading the galley proof of FOR BETTER OR WORSE by Morris Ernst and David Loth. I have never had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Loth, but have long been an admirer of Morris Ernst.

The book is packed with wisdom. The observations of the authors are very realistic and their conclusions appear unusually sound.

Yours faithfully,

Paul W. Alexander

Judge Paul W. Alexander

G. BROMLEY OXNAM
BISHOP OF THE METHODIST CHURCH
THE NEW YORK AREA
[illegible] EAST [illegible] STREET
NEW YORK [illegible]

[illegible] 1[illegible]

Mr. Simon Michael Bessie
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33d Street
New York 16, New York

My dear Mr. Bessie:

I regret the delay in reading FOR BETTER OR WORSE by Morris Ernst and David Loth.

During recent weeks I think I have received perhaps fifty books from different publishers asking for opinion.

I may say frankly that it was with some little reluctance that I turned to the task of reading this volume because each hour given to volumes I do not choose means an hour lost from volumes I do choose. However, since I hold Mr. Ernst in such high esteem and am most appreciative of the significant service of Mr. Loth, I decided I would take this volume and go through it with care.

My reluctance was soon transformed into rich reward. This, I think, is the best volume I have read upon the subject of divorce. It deals with human beings. It refuses abstractions that becloud the problem. It rejects generalizations from limited facts. Its insights are penetrating and illuminating. Its recommendations discard hypocritical sham and I believe will make significant contribution to the solution of the divorce problem.

This is the first book that I recall that ever asked, "After divorce, what?" It is one of the few treatises that consider the vital question of the child's welfare. The remedies do provide "an appropriate court for a dissolution of marriage and get it (the divorce) on the merits of their case rather than on the amount of animosity they can engender or the amount of chicanery they are willing to expend." These remedies remove hasty and hysterical action. They do give an opportunity for couples that really want to solve their problems to do so. It seems to me that what is proposed here gives opportunity for intelligence and morality and goodwill to play upon the problem of the family approaching the rocks. These factors sometimes may be like the experienced helmsman who can steer a new course that may lead to quiet seas.

Ever sincerely yours,

G. Bromley Oxnam

GBO:feb

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EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

April 17,1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
American Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Attention Mr. Murrow's Secretary

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed herewith is the review of FOR BETTER OR WORSE by the Rev. Dr. Bonnell, referred to by Mr. Ernst in his letter to you of April 10th.

Sincerely yours,

Paula Gross
Secretary to Mr. Ernst

Pastoral Psychology Book Club

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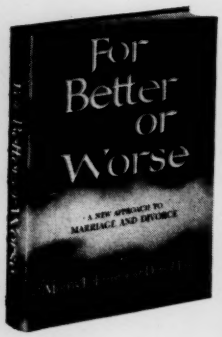
JANUARY PREVIEW



THERE ARE many books being written on the subject of marriage and divorce—some are good, others only mediocre, and some are actually harmful. Whether good or bad, however, all of these books talk *about* the people involved in marriage and divorce. The unique and outstanding contribution of this new book is the fact that here it is the people who have been divorced who do the talking. Out of their deep experience in the law courts on the one hand, and in counseling on the other, the authors have in this book, with the collaboration of hundreds of participants—the divorced people—produced a living testimonial of what it is that actually happens to the lives of people who marry, divorce, and then sometimes marry again—what happens to them and, even more important, to their children.

The book contains valuable and interesting statistics. During the last ten years, eight million Americans have walked out of court with a divorce decree, and in 1951 there will be an additional eight hundred thousand. Moreover, annulments are being granted at the rate of more than twenty thousand per year. Generally speaking, we have known a good deal about the statistical phase of this problem. But what we did not know was the tragedy, the despair, and the frustration that divorce implies for these hundreds of thousands of people.

Of course with a little empathy we can project ourselves into the future lives of the people who contemplated or achieved divorce, but no imagination of our own can take the place of these "candid camera shots" of the hundreds of collaborators who make up this book.

In ten vivid chapters the authors, through the mouths of their collaborators, portray the loneliness, frustration, money problems, the effects on children, the jealousy, failure, and occasionally the success, following divorce and remarriage.

(Continued on last page)

THIS MONTH'S REVIEW . . .

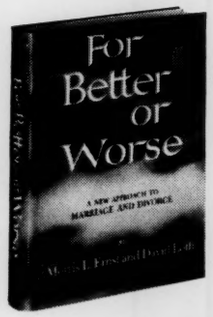
. . . is written by John Sutherland Bonnell, minister of The Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, and author of *Pastoral Psychiatry, Psychology for Pastor and People,* and *What Are You Living For?* Dr. Bonnell's writing stems from a profound and rich experience in counseling, much of it marriage counseling.

THE JANUARY SELECTION

For Better or Worse

A New Approach to Marriage and Divorce

by MORRIS L. ERNST and DAVID LOTH



$3.00

THIS NEW BOOK fills a great void in the literature of marriage counseling, for here for the first time is a book not *about* divorced people, but *by* the individuals themselves who have gone through divorce. This is first-hand witnessing — the real story of divorce in the poignant testimony of those who have *been* divorced, with all its tragedy, desperation, loneliness, and heartache. It is a story replete with invaluable hints for the minister-counselor as to how he might aid his people who come to him for help before, rather than after, divorce.

The growing problem of divorce has always been of serious concern to society in general, and to the Church in particular. Unfortunately, this concern in the main has centered not in a positive approach of understanding and strengthening the family, but rather in a negative and restrictive one, consisting primarily of finding ways and means of making divorce harder to obtain. Such an approach, without its constructive quality, inevitably resulted not in amelioration of the problem, but in merely concentrating and multiplying the degree of hostility, hatred, self-contempt, and contempt of others which the unwilling continuation of a marriage between two people who had nothing left for the marriage inevitably implied.

Neither our present nor any other type of restriction can save the family, any more than juvenile delinquency has been affected in the slightest by the passage of stringent legislation against it. It is only the understanding of and insight into the *causes* of juvenile delinquency which have begun to make a dent in the problem. Similarly, only knowledge, insight, and empathy into the genesis of divorces can bring about a real solution of the problem of divorce.

There is no better way to this understanding than the re-living of the lives of these divorced couples as they are portrayed by themselves in this book.

The minister will not find here the all-too-logical answers, the all-too-clear solutions with which so many books in this area abound. But what is infinitely more important, he will find here the materials which will enable him to see the lives of his people who need his help as they themselves see their lives, and all of those jagged stresses on which their emotions have been torn to shreds.

The Current Dividend Book

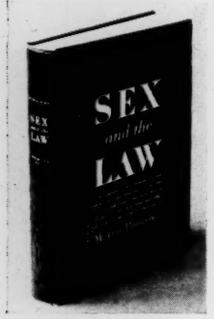
A free Dividend Book is automatically sent to each member of Pastoral Psychology Book Club with every third Club Selection he purchases. The Dividend for November, December, and January is:

Sex and The Law

by Judge MORRIS PLOSCOWE
Executive Director, Commission on Organized Crime, American Bar Association

(Bookstore Price—$3.95)

THE CURRENT FREE DIVIDEND BOOK is a unique contribution to the basic store of specialized knowledge needed by every minister engaged in counseling. Written by a distinguished jurist with broad experience both in the law and in modern psychology and sociology, it details the legal considerations involved in marriage, annulment, and divorce, and in all forms of sexual relations. Moreover, it probes deeply into the effect of outdated mores and laws on our lives and on society.



Thus it serves a dual purpose. It provides the minister-counselor with essential data on the statutes which may be a factor in a great deal of the guidance he is called upon to give. At the same time it illuminates the fundamental problem of bringing both the law and the social structure into greater harmony with man's spiritual and psychological needs. As Dr. Roy A. Burkhart says: "Here is a great book not only because of its legal resources, which are wonderful and needed by the counselor, but also because of its fine analysis of the field of sex and its social interpretations. It is an unusual book—it is an amazing resource not only on the legal side of sex, but on the whole field."

THE CONTENTS

I. Marriage
II. Annulment
III. Divorce
IV. Illegitimacy
V. Fornication, Adultery, and Indecent Exposure
VI. Rape
VII. Homosexuality, Sodomy and Crimes against Nature
VIII. Psychopathic-Sex-Offender Laws and Crimes Against Children
IX. Prostitution
X. Marriage, Sex, Crime and Social Policy

The Authors

Morris L. Ernst was born in Uniontown, Alabama. For the last thirty years he has been a prominent practicing lawyer in New York City. As an integral part of his law practice he has been concerned with the problem of divorce and its effects on the family.

David Loth was born in St. Louis, Missouri, and graduated from the University of Missouri. For a number of years he was acting director of the Planned Parenthood Federation, and has also served as delegate to the White House Conference on Children.

In a personal letter to the editor about the way For Better or Worse *came into being, the authors write:*

THIS BOOK, unique in that it seeks to approach the problem of divorce from the standpoint of what happens to the couples and their children afterward rather than before, grew out of a deep interest and awareness of a need for a deeper understanding of the emotional problems of the people involved in divorce—the men, women, and children.

For thirty years, Mr. Ernst has seen clients pass through his law office on their way to the divorce court. He wondered what happened to them after their decree. As he puts it, he was like a manufacturer who wanted to know how his product stood up under actual use. So he and Mr. Loth checked after two or five or ten or even twenty years, not only with the couples but with their children, too. How did they fare? Would they do it again? And so on.

We concluded, as a result of our study, that one of the great lacks in our approach to the divorce problem has been ignorance of what happens afterward. Thus our book has two main purposes. One is to give for the first time some comprehensive data on what life after divorce may hold, and what those who have been through it think of the experience as they look back on it from the vantage ground of several years later. Second is a proposal for making our divorce procedures fit the problems of married people rather than an outdated set of legalisms and prejudices.

The accounts which are given of life after divorce should be of great interest to anyone who is contemplating such a step or is in a position of advising such a person. The proposals for modernizing divorce procedures are of special importance to those who practice the new skills of counseling—the minister, the marriage counselor, the psychiatrist and psychologist, the social worker. It is to these people that the public must look for a continuation and completion of the work begun in *For Better or Worse.*

The authors do not attempt to supply complete answers as to why people seek divorce, nor do the collaborators themselves supply the answers. Pathetically they admit that they do not know the answers. Almost invariably the reasons given are a series of trifling minutiae which are but proof of how unconsciously the lives of these people have been slowly but surely moving in the direction of their marital breakup. But while they do not know the answers, all through the stories of these individuals runs the thread of conviction—had they had some help during the critical stages of their marriage, much of their unhappiness might have been averted.

This is one extremely significant conclusion which one draws from this book. The other conclusion which will disturb ministers is how small a role the Church has played in the lives of all these people. Sometimes this is said without rancor, at other times with a great deal of resentment—" "Until the clergy gets 'wised up,'" says one of these collaborators, for example, "the church has nothing to offer except doubt and fears."

The section of the book that deals with the effect of divorce on children is especially good, and may help us to realize why a quarter of a million children appear annually before the courts as delinquent.

One of the best parts of the book is the final chapter, "Remedies." To summarize this excellent statement, the courts today are not concerned with the results of divorce. They are only concerned with its form. As a result, the courts' present procedures not only do not contribute anything constructive but, on the contrary, engender hatred, lies, and contempt.

Accordingly, the authors recommend that when a couple institute a divorce action, "the court would inform them that there must be a waiting period of, say, six months. The court would appoint a skilled counselor, psychiatrist, marriage advisor, minister, doctor—to consider their problem with them at frequent intervals during the waiting period. It would be his duty to discuss with them the real basis of their decision —not some trumped-up reason or evidence to fit the law—and the probable results. Such discussions would give them a chance which few now get to appraise their marriage in an atmosphere of friendly calm."

Ministers who have had experience in marriage counseling will wholeheartedly agree with the remedies recommended by the authors, even though they might question some of the details. Undoubtedly such counseling, if it is to be really preventive, should begin long before formal action for divorce is made or is even contemplated. It is encouraging to see the responsibility which the church is now taking in this area in developing counseling and family life services for the "normal" family rather than waiting for the emergency. The contents of this book, the experience of those who have already been hurt because they lacked such counseling, should be an invaluable tool for helping those yet unhurt.

—JOHN SUTHERLAND BONNELL

From the Editor's Desk . . .

Neighboring ministers occasionally drop in at our office to discuss some of their problems in dealing with people This is always a grati ying experience, for it enables us to share directly in the minister's day-to-day work

One such minister arrived at our office the other day to talk over the problem of a couple in his parish who have been coming to him for help with their marital problems. The minister was puzzled by the discrepancy between the intensity of the emotional conflict between the two people and the obviously trifling details by which this conflict seemed to be nourished. "I just can't take them seriously," said our friend. "There's nothing to the actual problems that they bring to me. When I talk with them I can't help laughing at the absurdity of these little things causing so much furor, and yet, somewhere inside of me, I feel that in spite of this absence of tangible reasons for it, the marriage is going on the rocks."

It just happened that while the minister was talking about this problem the galley proofs of *For Better or Worse* were on our table. Because we wanted to give the man some help with his problem, as well as to test the value of the book on an actual situation, we offered to lend him the proofs for the weekend. On Monday morning at nine sharp, the telephone rang. The minister was at the other end of the wire. His voice was exultant. "This is an eye-opener!" he exclaimed. "I never saw the relation of cause and effect in human living as vividly as I see it now as a result of this book!"

Perhaps we may be pardoned for taking some small pride in such concrete verification of the practical value of our choice of Club Selections.

Sumner Dongi

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM (1915-1951)

EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
JEROME HANDLER
THEODORE S. JAFFIN
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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

Mr. M
See attached
Dm.

April 3, 1952.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I talked with the FBI in regard to THIS MAN IS WANTED. I expect to hear shortly. I will let you know and then we can get together and work out the best way for setting up the package.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

March 26, 1952

Dear Mr. Ernst:

Attached is the summary of the TV show about which Mr. Murrow spoke to you.

Should you want to reach me during Mr. Murrow's absence, my address is 19 East 60th Street, and the telephone number is TEmpleton 8-6918.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest Chappell

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolf & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

"This Man Is WANTED"

a proposal for television

from

Ernest Chappell and Edward R. Murrow

THE IDEA

We want to produce on motion picture film a series of three minute shorts publicizing criminals wanted by federal, state and local authorities.

Each short would deal with one criminal. It would set forth his crime together with a physical description and his personality characteristics.

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

An aroused, aware and cooperative public can make it much harder for the criminal to hide out and can hasten his apprehension. The television screen is perhaps the finest means for circulating the facts.

THE APPROACH

No adventure or cops and robbers appeal. No glamor or sensationalism. The treatment of the material would be without personality and strictly factual.

The screen would supplement, punctuate and bring alive the quiet running commentary of the voice.

No promise of rewards. No publicity appeal. The public would simply be urged to "watch for this man", and should they see him, quietly report to the proper authority.

AUTHENTICITY

We seek the cooperation of the FBI and all other federal, state and local authorities. The facts would be official, unembellished.

DISTRIBUTION

Since this is a film proposal, the program series would be availanle to every television station in the country. We would syndicate the shorts on a one, three or five times per week basis.

COSTS

The organization, production and syndication costs would be covered by syndication fees from the local station or a local advertiser sponsoring the series in the public interest.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chappell and Mr. Murrow are ready to organize a unit for the production of these films. Sufficient inquiry has been made to confirm a ready acceptance of the series by the TV stations. The audience is waiting. Much good can be accomplished in the public interest.

With the proper official cooperation the series can be ready for summer release.

July 5, 1951

Dear Morris:

1. Sorry I couldn't arrange a session with Levy last week; he wasn't available. I reckon it will have to wait until September.

2. Friendly has had a talk with Nichols and Hoover, but that, too, will have to wait until we get back in September.

3. Here is my check for $499 in payment of your bill dated March 1. (I need the extra dollar for aspirin). Please have your office send me a receipt. I am building up a small file on the practices of the legal profession.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 21, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Mrs. Otis stays in my mind. Don't hesitate to tell her to get in touch with me when I am down next Wednesday. And don't forget to call up Jerome Frank.

Incidentally, stop your nonsense of your "forgetting" and send me a check for the bill which we sent you months ago. In fact, if you still think the amount is too high send a check for whatever you think reasonable, which means you can either decrease the amount I suggested or increase it!

As ever, itwas exciting to see you again.

Yours,

MLE:EH

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
JEROME HANDLER
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NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 20,1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

1. I called Jerome Frank about the FBI.

2. Please have your tax accountant get in touch with me in regard to the silly wastage, if your report is to be believed.

3. I am holding open Wednesday lunch and afternoon next week, and do hope you can get your Philadelphia friend to join us. If not lunch or afternoon, I can even arrange dinner and the evening, which might give us more time.

Yours,

SVO

Morris L. Ernst

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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

June 5, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

How about lunch Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday of next week?

Thanks for sending back the suggestions for programs.

I did speak to Lou Nichols of the FBI and he is awaiting your call. In confidence, may I tell you that Judge Jerome Frank, at my suggestion, is doing an article on the FBI with particular reference to the College run by the FBI for local police officials. Jerome is going to Washington next week for a few days. It might be well if you could arrange to have someone go down there with him. Possibly you could go down at the same time. This will be a great convenience to Hoover and Lou Nichols, and you might even learn something from Jerome's inquisitive mind.

I would like to help you on this project if you have a spot where you think I can make a contribution.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

June 1, 1951

Dear Morris:

I am incompetent, but not unappreciative. Herewith, the batch of suggestions you sent me around March 7. I apologize for the delay in returning them.

Have you had opportunity to talk with the boys at the F.B.I.?

And would you have opportunity to lunch with me any time in the course of the next week or ten days?

I inscribe myself "dubitante" the second.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

9.

returned batch suggestions

May 15, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

attached

I sent you, around March 7,1951, a batch of suggestions that might have developed into radio programs. If you can find the batch of memos, will you return them.

And when do we get together for lunch.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

What about F.B.I.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 7, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
438 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Seeing you at lunch was quite joyful.

I have gone to work on the FBI program. I will be in Washington tomorrow, Thursday, and will pick up sufficient in a week to give you a complete outline. Frankly, I would like to do a job like this once a month for you, although I don't know exactly why I have this urge. On the one hand I would not mind being paid for such jobs out of the coffers of CBS. In fact, I would rather take their money than yours, although I assume, in the final analysis, any compensation that would flow to me would in reality be paid by Uncle Sam to a very great extent. On the other hand, I would not be interested at all except for the relationship we personally have between us.

I don't need the dough but have long felt that the way to live was á lá Robin Hood, taking wealth from those who make it so as to contribute services for nothing for the less lucky ones in life who happen to be the same as the group which is more likely to be pushed around.

I am sending you, for your eyes alone, a batch of subjects I sent to DeWitt Wallace. Some of them may make sense for use for your vast parish. After you have glanced over the material, please return it to me promptly; and bear in mind that it was prepared for a very different medium.

You are a swell guy.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Enc

On re-reading the above, I also want to make clear that entirely aside from anything I have said in this letter, I have been and will continue to be flattered to have you telephone me for hunches that I may have in your field of effort.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
JEROME HANDLER
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WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.

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NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

April 7,1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I am sending you direct a letter received from Lou Nichols. I was about to follow up your suggestion that I give some ideas for an FBI hour. I have got a lot of angles that might amuse you, but I am leaving for the Nile tomorrow for a couple of weeks.

In the meanwhile you might want to look over the material I received and, of course, don't hesitate to contact Lou Nichols. I do trust that in any program,you will be sure to clarify the public mind on what the FBI does not do. The job done by Edgar Hoover has probably made a greater impress on our folkway than any other department of our government over the last decades. The impress done to our young kids is so profound that it has resulted in confusion. I doubt if you would have answered correctly the items mentioned on page 2 of Lou's memorandum.

I may bring back some good stuff for you from Egypt and Greece.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Encs

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE No. _____

March 29, 1951

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Morris:

With reference to our conversation the other day, we would like to explore further the idea you advanced on a program with Edward Murrow.

In this connection, I am enclosing a short memorandum dealing with some of the activities of the Bureau and some of the things which we don't do, along with a copy of our annual report which has not as yet been made public but which does give a good account of our activities. I am also enclosing a copy of the Director's statement before the Kefauver Committee on Monday, along with a copy of the current issue of U. S. News and World Report wherein the Director has a rather good interview on the subject.

Sincerely,

Tolson

Enclosure

M E M O R A N D U M

March 29, 1951

The Federal Bureau of Investigation engages in the following Activities:

Investigates violations of the laws of the United States, collects evidence in cases in which the United States is or may be a party in interest and performs other duties imposed on it by law.

Functions as a service agency to all law enforcement.

Conducts training programs both in Washington, D. C., and in the Field for the benefit of local law enforcement agencies.

Conducts laboratory examinations in criminal cases being investigated by local police and other government agencies.

Maintains a national repository of identification data in the form of fingerprint cards for the benefit of all law enforcement and the public at large.

Coordinates the investigations of espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities on a national basis.

Conducts investigations concerning the loyalty of applicants and employees of the executive branches of the Federal government.

Conducts applicant type of investigations for the Department of Justice and other governmental departments.

Conducts character and fitness investigation of applicants and employees under the Atomic Energy Act.

The FBI exchanges identification data with many foreign police organizations.

The FBI conducts investigation of violations of the civil rights of individuals on the specific recommendation of the Department of Justice.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation does not engage in the following activities:

The FBI conducts no investigation on the basis of complaints received unless the facts indicate a violation or a matter over which it has investigative jurisdiction.

Does not give clearances as such to anyone.

Does not disclose information in its files to unauthorized individuals.

Does not reveal the identity of confidential informants or individuals furnishing information who desire their identity be kept confidential.

Does not decide whether prosecutive action will be undertaken on the basis of information secured through its investigations.

Does not recommend the action to be taken on the basis of its investigations under the President's Loyalty Program.

Does not conduct investigations outside the continental United States, Territories and the Possessions.

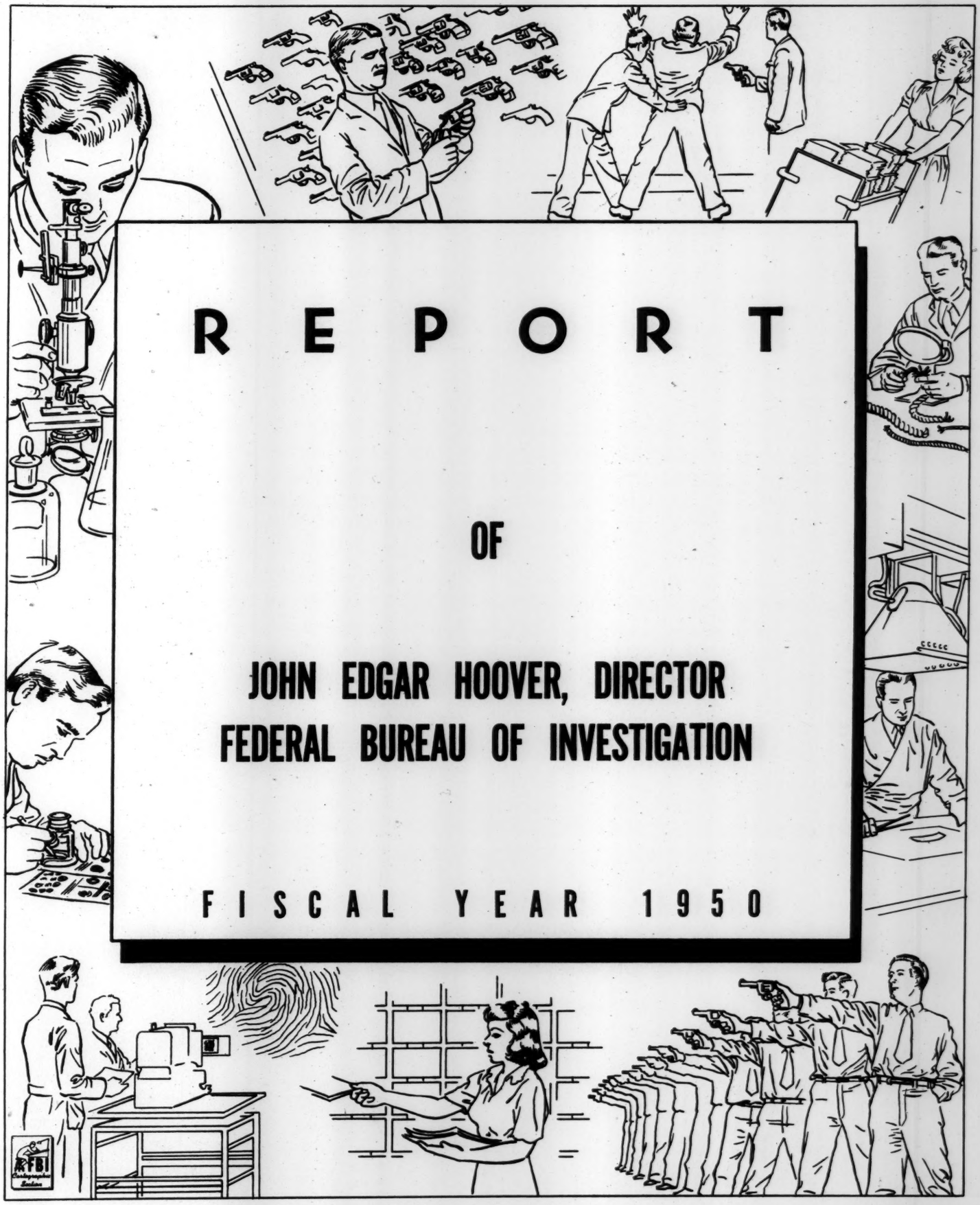
Does not recommend legislative policy.

The FBI is not responsible for the physical protection of industrial facilities engaged in the manufacture of defense materials. This is the responsibility of the Munitions Board of the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

The FBI is not responsible for the physical guarding of Atomic Energy installations or documents or materials within these installations. This is the responsibility of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The FBI does not maintain files or dossiers on individuals who are not or who have not been the subjects of official investigations.

The FBI does not conduct investigation of violations of state laws except in cases where there is a joint investigative responsibility for the criminal act.



REPORT

OF

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FISCAL YEAR 1950

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INTRODUCTION

The fiscal year which ended June 30, 1950, was marked by extensive activity in the FBI's chief fields of responsibility.

Broadly, these fields are two: general investigation and security. They are not mutually exclusive, of course, since frequently one will include aspects of the other.

(1) The general investigative field requires development of accurate facts relating both to violations of Federal criminal laws and to certain types of civil litigation in which the Government is a party in interest. The 8,921 criminal convictions resulting from FBI investigations during the fiscal year represented a six per cent increase over 1949. In one civil category alone, namely, claims arising under the Renegotiation Act, adjustments in favor of the Government in cases investigated by the FBI totaled $55,162,900, or more than the entire cost of operations of the FBI for the fiscal year.

(2) The internal security field involves the discharge of primary responsibility for guarding the nation against threats from within its own borders. In the 1950 fiscal year the number of FBI investigations of a security and national defense nature continued at a peak far exceeding the volume during the years of World War II.

The greatest threat to this nation from within is represented by the Communist Party of the United States, a fifth column arm of the international Communist conspiracy. In the 1950 fiscal year the trend of events both here and abroad made it necessary for the FBI to utilize a large portion of its manpower and resources for commitments related to the activities of the Communist Party, USA. Increased security consciousness on the part of the Party leadership, stemming both from the mounting international tension and from legal reverses experienced in this country, such as the conviction of eleven principal Communist Party leaders for conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence, brought about a decentralization of Party administrative machinery and extensive preparations for transferral of previously open operations to an underground apparatus. These developments complicated the FBI task of maintaining coverage of Communist activity.

The success with which the FBI met its security commitments during the year is attested by the increased violence of Communist inspired attacks on FBI methods and administration. While criticism of the FBI, of course, is an unceasing Party project, varying only in intensity, the rabidness of these attacks during the twelve month period is a grudging acknowledgment of FBI effectiveness in the fight against subversion.

In addition to the open castigation of the FBI through official Communist media and professional Communist apologists, a disguised campaign of vilification is constantly carried on with the unwitting assistance of some who are sincerely concerned with what they believe to be threats against civil rights and liberties and who have been fed a Communist concocted diet of misinformation, insinuations, half-truths, and deceit. The danger in the false, even if sincere, conclusions which such Communist dupes nourish and pass along lies in the doubts they create in conscientious minds as to the true role of the FBI.

For maximum effectiveness the FBI must have the wholehearted confidence and cooperation of every honest American. When the deliberate distortions of those with axes to grind are exposed for what they are, and when sincere misgivings are allayed by an accurate understanding of FBI policies, powers, and methods of operation, no conscientious American will have any reason to doubt that the realistic thoroughness and preparedness practiced by the FBI are entirely compatible with a wholesome respect for the civil rights and liberties of the individual.

The FBI is concerned only with acts, not thoughts; with deeds, not beliefs. So far as the FBI is concerned a man may think what he likes so long as his thoughts are not translated into action by engaging in either criminal or subversive activity.

The FBI is well aware of its responsibility to protect the innocent. It has endeavored to do its job fairly and impartially. The statistics relating to the Loyalty Program which appear later in this report testify to FBI determination to avoid any implications of a "witch hunt" and to be concerned only with the facts. For instance, at the close of the 1950 fiscal year full field investigations had been initiated for less than one half of one per cent of the 2,833,846 employees whose Loyalty forms had been processed since the Program began to function on August 1, 1947.

In its approach to fulfilling its obligations under the Program the FBI has endeavored to make a positive contribution to the prevention of the hysteria which might have marred its legitimate objective to maintain the integrity of the Government service.

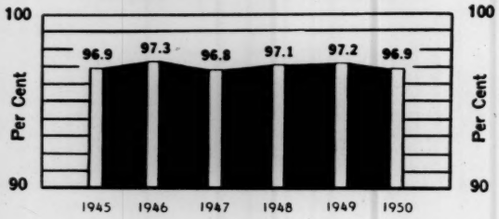
The FBI has continued to meet the many and various problems which have constantly confronted it, to the limits of its ability and resources and with an all-pervading regard for its duty under our democratic system to safeguard and promote the rights and liberties of the individual.

The Congress, the courts, and the highest Executive authority have FBI operations under constant observation and have evidenced a gratifying confidence in its ability and determination to carry out its assignments in the best American tradition. The FBI welcomes, also, the public scrutiny afforded through our free press and continues to invite the comments and suggestions of every good American.

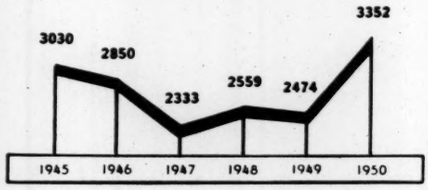
As the fiscal year 1950 came to an end the North Korean aggression brought on a situation not unlike the German invasion in 1939. The FBI, due to the increasing demand for Security, activated several of its carefully prepared plans to further safeguard the United States and to insure readiness for any eventuality.

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

CONVICTIONS IN FBI CASES BROUGHT TO TRIAL



GENERAL CRIMINAL FUGITIVES ARRESTED



MAJOR INCREASES IN CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS

Per Cent Increase Over 1949

FRAUDS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT	114 %
NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY ACT	80 %
WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC ACT	62 %
KIDNAPING	61 %
NATIONAL BANK AND FEDERAL RESERVE ACTS	59 %
EXTORTION	35 %
INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF STOLEN PROPERTY	20 %

GENERAL INVESTIGATION

There was a total of 8,921 convictions in all types of FBI cases during the year, a six per cent increase over 1949. This represents convictions in 96.9 per cent of all cases brought to trial. Guilty pleas constituted 93.7 per cent of the convictions. The remaining 6.3 per cent resulted from trials by judge or jury.

Sentences imposed in FBI cases during 1950 totaled 21,102 years, 2 months and 29 days, plus four life terms.

The total of 6,097 fugitives located during the 1950 fiscal year, compared to 5,812 in 1949, included 2,745 deserters and Selective Service fugitives. The remaining 3,352 general criminal fugitives represented an all-time high for this category, 35 per cent greater than in 1949.

The FBI return to the taxpayer in the form of fines, savings and recoveries, totaled $36,152,576 for 1950. In addition, there was a 24 per cent increase in Renegotiation Act claims adjusted in favor of the Government in cases investigated by the FBI, from $44,541,305 in 1949 to $55,162,900 in 1950. It is noted that the 1950 figure exceeds the total of the funds available to the FBI for all its operations during the period by more than $1,800,000.

KIDNAPING

The Federal Kidnaping Statute, passed June 22, 1932, prohibits the abduction, interstate transportation, and holding of a person for ransom, reward or otherwise.

Since enactment of the statute, the FBI had investigated 387 cases by the close of the 1950 fiscal year. All but two, which are still under investigation, have been solved.

The 37 convictions recorded during the 1950 fiscal year constituted a 61 per cent increase over the 23 in 1949.

EXTORTION

The Federal Extortion Statute, enacted July 8, 1932, makes it a Federal offense to send through the mails or to transmit interstate by any means whatsoever, a communication threatening to kill, kidnap, or injure an individual or his property, or demanding ransom for the release of a kidnaped person.

Since the Act was passed 1,439 convictions have resulted from investigations conducted by the FBI. The 89 convictions recorded during the 1950 fiscal year represented a 35 per cent increase over 1949.

BANK ROBBERY

The National Bank Robbery Act was passed in May, 1934. In that year there were 417 bank robberies. By 1943 this figure had been reduced to 22. Through the war and postwar years there has been a steady upward trend. During the 1950 fiscal year there were 89 robberies, 119 burglaries, and 40 larcenies in banks within the investigative jurisdiction of the FBI. An increase in the more bold and daring types of bank robberies has been apparent, particularly in certain specific localities.

Approximately 90 per cent of all banks in the United States are covered by the Act.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION OF STOLEN PROPERTY

One of the series of crime bills passed in 1934 makes it a Federal offense to transport in interstate or foreign commerce stolen goods valued at $5,000 or more and also prohibits the interstate transportation of any altered, falsely made, forged, or counterfeit security of any value. Another section covers stolen property valued at $500 or more which is transported across a state line and pledged.

The volume of investigations under this statute reached an all-time high during the 1950 fiscal year. A 20 per cent increase over the previous record of 346 convictions in 1949 brought the 1950 total to 414.

Professional confidence men, jewel thieves, or fraudulent check artists operating on a nationwide basis are generally involved in the violations of the Act, fraudulent check cases constituting a large majority of the investigations.

UNLAWFUL FLIGHT

Another of the 1934 series of Federal Crime bills, the Fugitive Felon Act, was amended in 1946 and revised in 1948. It prohibits flight from one state to another or to a foreign country to avoid prosecution, custody, or confinement after conviction for murder, kidnaping, burglary, robbery, mayhem, rape, assault with a dangerous weapon, or extortion accompanied by threats of violence, or attempts to commit

any of these crimes. It also prohibits interstate flight to avoid giving testimony in any criminal proceeding involving a violation punishable by imprisonment in a penitentiary.

The 444 fugitive apprehensions in this category during the 1950 fiscal year exceeded the previous record high of 426 recorded in 1949. Nine of those apprehended in 1950 were charged with fleeing to avoid giving testimony, 56 to avoid confinement after conviction, and 379 to avoid prosecution.

Although penalties are provided by this statute, the primary purpose of the FBI investigations is to locate fugitives wanted by various state jurisdictions. There are few convictions under the Act itself, since Federal prosecution is generally discontinued once the fugitive has been made available to the local law enforcement agency.

MISCELLANEOUS MAJOR STATUTES

Substantial increases for 1950 over the number of convictions for the preceding fiscal year were experienced in certain miscellaneous major crime categories, such as National Bank and Federal Reserve Acts (59 per cent); National Bankruptcy Act (80 per cent); White Slave Traffic Act (62 per cent); and Frauds Against the Government (114 per cent). There was an increase from 3,625 to 3,933 in convictions for the Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles or Aircraft, and 10,581 stolen automobiles were recovered in such cases investigated by the FBI, 576 more than in 1949.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELATED MATTERS

Alleged violations of the various Federal statutes protecting civil rights receive priority attention by the FBI. These statutes protect the rights and privileges secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States against infringement by law enforcement officers or, in some instances, by a conspiracy of two or more persons. Preliminary inquiries are conducted upon receipt of the initial complaints. Full-scale investigations must be authorized by the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice.

Local prejudices frequently multiply the difficulties incident to investigations of this type.

The increased public interest in the field of Civil Rights has been reflected in the number of related complaints reaching the FBI. During the fiscal year 1950 there were 41 per cent more convictions for offenses in this category than there were in 1949. Under the classification of Civil Rights and Domestic Violence there were 15 convictions, five under Obstruction of Justice, three under Election Laws, and one under Involuntary Servitude and Slavery, for a total of 24. The FBI has a special section devoted to the supervision of this type of case and specialized instruction is given each Agent.

Aside from convictions obtained, the efforts of the FBI have resulted in an increased awareness on the part of law enforcement officers generally of their responsibility to protect the individual's Constitutional rights.

SELECTIVE SERVICE

Although closely related to the national security because of the primary purpose of providing manpower for the armed services, cases opened under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 or the Selective Service Act of 1948 are carried in the general investigative category since they usually involve fugitive investigations to locate delinquents under the Act. The Act of 1940 expired March 31, 1947, but there were still 436 investigations under its provisions pending on June 30, 1950, in cases where indictments had been returned or the provisions of the legislation itself had prevented the Statute of Limitations from precluding prosecution.

The Act of 1948, originally to have expired June 24, 1950, was extended to July 9, 1951, by Congressional action.

Since the principal objective of the 1948, as of the 1940 Act, is to make personnel available to the armed services, the individual investigation is generally closed without prosecution, upon authority of the appropriate United States Attorney, when the delinquent has been located and his delinquency removed. Violations of the provisions of the Act during the 1950 fiscal year involved failure to register, failure to keep draft boards advised of changes of address, and failure to execute and return questionnaires. Since there were no inductions into the armed forces during the fiscal year, there were no violations by reason of failure to report for induction.

During the year there were 4,172 cases completed under the Act of 1948. As of June 30, 1950, there were 450 pending.

CIVIL INVESTIGATIONS

Current FBI investigations of a civil nature derive generally from the Government's numerous wartime contracts during World War II and thereafter, although some of the statutes involved have been in existence for many years. These investigations usually are quite involved and require specialized knowledge. Ordinarily they are performed by Special Agents trained in accounting work.

The major civil investigative activities of the FBI during the 1950 fiscal year obtained the results set out below.

Renegotiation Act

The Renegotiation Acts of 1942, 1943, 1948, and 1949 provide a method whereby the Government may recover excessive profits on its contracts, as determined by a Price Adjustment Board. In cases of protest, the contractor may file a petition in the Tax Court seeking a redetermination. At the request of the Claims Division of the Department of Justice the FBI conducts audits of petitioners' books and records, principally to establish the amount of renegotiable business conducted and the net profits realized therefrom.

Adjustments in favor of the Government in such cases investigated by the FBI amounted to $55,162,900 during the 1950 fiscal year.

Federal Tort Claims Act

The Legislative Organization Act of 1946 permits the United States Government to be sued in tort. The FBI will conduct investigations with respect to claims or potential claims in excess of $1,000. Great public disasters may require tremendous investigative activity. At the close of the 1950 fiscal year the FBI was engaged in investigating the validity of almost 7,000 individual claims filed in connection with the Texas City explosion. During the 1950 fiscal year savings to the Government effected in tort claim cases investigated by the FBI amounted to $5,874,357.

Court of Claims

Claims against the United States by contractors and others who have sold goods or built facilities under Government contract generally charge the United States with contributing to costly delays in fulfilling the contracts or with giving inadequate compensation for property seized under emergency authority.

During the 1950 fiscal year savings to the Government of $4,364,581 resulted from decisions in Court of Claims cases investigated by the FBI.

Miscellaneous Civil Suits

Adjustments in favor of the Government in suits brought under the Admiralty Laws against the Government or its agents amounted to $2,728,036 in cases investigated by the FBI during the year. A single case in which investigation was performed by the FBI at the request of the Lands Division of the Department of Justice resulted in a $1,169,236 adjustment in favor of the Government and other miscellaneous civil suits resulted in favorable adjustments totaling $3,630,361.

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS FOR THE 1950 FISCAL YEAR

CLASSIFICATION	CONVICTIONS	ACTUAL, SUSPENDED AND PROBATIONARY SENTENCES: Death	Life	Years	Months	Days	FINES IMPOSED	SAVING RECOVE
Alien Property Custodian Matters							$	$ 92
Antitrust	99						285,250	
Antiracketeering	1			2			100	
Ascertaining Financial Ability								794
Assaulting or Killing a Federal Officer	10			11	6		829	
Atomic Energy Act of 1946								3
Bank Robbery, Burglary and Larceny	91			792		11	18,000	87
Bond Default								
Bondsmen and Sureties	4			1		1	400	
Bribery	8			10	10		7,100	
Civil Rights and Domestic Violence	15			37		4	8,900	
Contempt of Court	27			11	11	24	4,860	
Copyrights	2			2			400	5
Court of Claims								4,364
Crimes on the High Seas	157			119	6	14	375	6
Desertion; Harboring Deserters; Enticing to Desert	4			6	6			
Election Laws	3			6				
Escaped Federal Prisoners; Parole, Probation, and Conditional Release Violators	175			287	2	10	1,000	
Espionage	3			33	4			
Extortion	89			221	7	22	1,325	
Falsely Claiming Citizenship	8			19	6		3,000	
Federal Corrupt Practices Act	12						9,500	
Federal Lending and Insurance Agencies	3			3		1		2,
Federal Tort Claims Act								5,874,
Federal Train Wreck Statute	4			10				
Fraud Against the Government	237			273	3	6	267,525	1,170,
Government and Indian Reservation Matters	528		4	983	4	11	9,870	39,
Harboring Fugitives	4			2	11	1	500	
Illegal Use of Government Transportation Requests	1			5				
Illegal Wearing of Uniform and Related Statutes	145			142	5	26	2,436	
Impersonation	174			416	9	18	11,525	8,
Interstate Commerce, except thefts from	56			121	8	8	20,163	22,
Interstate Transportation of Stolen Cattle	24			89	9	26	800	2,
Interstate Transportation of Stolen Motor Vehicles or Aircraft	3,933			10,468	10	4	26,643	12,038,
Interstate Transportation of Stolen Property	414			1,268	9	3	68,305	302,
Interstate Transportation of Strike Breakers	3			3			450	
Involuntary Servitude and Slavery	1			4				
Kidnaping	37			431	3	1	100	
Labor Management Relations Act	2			1	3			
Mail Frauds	20			68	11	2	7,000	7,
Miscellaneous	17			25	1		300	8,242,
National and Federal Firearms Acts	12			21	6	1	750	
National Bank and Federal Reserve Acts	213			611	8	5	54,852	531,
National Bankruptcy Act	45			100	3	14	12,601	45,
Neutrality Act and Related Statutes	7			2		4	61,000	
Obstruction of Justice	5			10	6	2	1,750	
Overthrow or Destruction of the Government	11			53			110,000	
Perjury	18			34	11	1	500	
Red Cross Matters	6			5				
Selective Training and Service Act, 1940	142			224	2	21	4,951	28,
Selective Service Act, 1948	69			97	8	24	1,126	
Servicemen's Dependents Allowance Act	47			97	10	27	1,120	114
Subversive Activities								
Theft, Embezzlement, or Illegal Possession of Government Property	531			1,051	10	13	36,564	142,
Theft from Interstate Shipment	598			1,254	3	7	60,022	550,
Treason and Related Statutes	2			16			10,000	
Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution, Confinement or the Giving of Testimony	2			10				6,
Veterans' Administration Matters	679			1,115	10	22	152,194	195,
War Risk Insurance								307,
White Slave Traffic Act	223			513	10	25	4,901	
TOTALS	8,921	-	4	21,102	2	29	$1,265,983	$34,886,

Renegotiation Act Claims Adjusted in favor of the Government . . . $55,162,900

SAVINGS and RECOVERIES	FUGITIVES LOCATED	AUTOS
92,097		
	1	
794,847		
75	3	
3,576		
87,383	25	
	3	
145	1	
	2	
5,575		
4,364,581		
6,630	4	
	2,501	
965	604	
	23	
2,045	3	
5,874,357		
	1	
1,170,529	12	
39,108	65	
	4	
560	17	
8,033	100	
22,717	6	
2,662	11	
12,038,454	923	10,581
302,229	333	
	19	
7,097	2	
8,242,696	5	
	2	
531,947	25	
45,737	10	
200	3	
	1	
	4	
	2	
28,800	130	
67	114	
114,116	27	
	1	
142,700	54	
550,229	108	
6,614	444	
195,572	399	
307,250		
	105	
34,886,593	6,097	10,581

SECURITY OPERATIONS

SECURITY OPERATIONS

Since 1939, by Presidential Directive, the FBI has been charged with primary responsibility for protecting the internal security of the nation against subversive threats and foreign agents. The discharge of this responsibility during the 1950 fiscal year was keynoted by thorough preparation to meet any emergency within the scope of FBI authority which might erupt from the recurring international crises.

The security commitments of the FBI may be divided into two major categories. General security operations include counter-espionage, counter-intelligence, and counter-subversion. Special security operations encompass, principally, applicant and employee investigations arising from Congressional enactments or Executive directives specifically calling upon the FBI to obtain and report the facts pertaining to security, character, and loyalty in the Government service.

In its security operations, as in its general investigations, the FBI has adhered rigidly to its position as a fact-finding agency only, leaving to other legally designated authority the responsibility for making decisions as to the action to be predicated upon the facts developed. Its position as the designated coordinating agency for internal security matters brings to the FBI a great deal of unsolicited information and complaints. When information received pertains to the responsibilities of another Government agency, it is transmitted to that agency without evaluation or comment.

GENERAL SECURITY OPERATIONS

Most FBI security operations are essentially preventive or precautionary in nature, and generally their value cannot be measured in terms of convictions obtained or sentences imposed. During the 1950 fiscal year, however, there were several successful prosecutive actions predicated upon information developed by the FBI in the course of its security investigations.

Miscellaneous Convictions

Undoubtedly the greatest blow to the organizational apparatus of the Communist Party of the United States was the conviction on October 14, 1949, of eleven top Communist leaders, members of the National Board of the Party, for conspiracy to overthrow and destroy the Government by force and violence, in violation of the Smith Act. A twelfth National Board member

was indicted on July 20, 1948, along with the others, but did not stand trial with them due to a heart ailment. All but one of the eleven convicted Communists received five year terms and $10,000 fines. The eleventh, because of his war service, received a three year sentence.

On March 7, 1950, in New York, New York, Judith Coplon and Valentin A. Gubitchev were found guilty of espionage and conspiracy to commit espionage. Judith Coplon had previously been convicted in Washington, D. C., and sentenced to serve 40 months to ten years and three years, concurrently, on charges growing out of the same activities resulting in the New York convictions.

On March 9, 1950, Judith Coplon was sentenced to five years on a conspiracy count and fifteen years on an espionage count. Gubitchev, a Russian citizen, received five and ten year sentences, respectively, but they were suspended at State Department request conditioned upon his return to Russia.

On January 21, 1950, in New York, New York, Alger Hiss was found guilty on both counts of an indictment charging him with perjury in connection with statements under oath before a special Federal grand jury empaneled in the Southern District of New York on June 16, 1947, to which there was presented evidence of alleged violations of the espionage and other Federal statutes. Hiss was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on each of the two counts, the two terms to be served concurrently.

In addition to these convictions, information furnished by the FBI to British authorities resulted in the identification and conviction of Emil Julius Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist, for violation of the British Official Secrets Act. On March 1, 1950, he was given the maximum sentence of fourteen years.

Ramifications of the Fuchs case resulted in charges being filed by the FBI against Harry Gold on May 23, 1950, in the Eastern District of New York, against Alfred Dean Slack in the Eastern District of Tennessee on June 15, 1950, and against David Greenglass in the Federal District of New Mexico on June 16, 1950. They had not been brought to trial by the close of the 1950 fiscal year.

Treason Convictions

The World War II activities of two American citizens led to their convictions for treason during the 1950 fiscal year. Iva Ikuko Toguri D'Aquino, known as "Tokyo Rose," was convicted at San Francisco, California, on September 29, 1949, for her wartime broadcasts over Radio Tokyo. She received a 10 year term and a $10,000 fine. Herbert John Burgman, who refused to be repatriated from Germany at the outbreak of the war and remained to broadcast propaganda over the German radio, was convicted in the District of Columbia on November 15, 1949. He was given a 6 to 20 year term.

SPECIAL SECURITY OPERATIONS

The principal classifications of applicant and similar investigations of a security nature conducted by the FBI during 1950 are set forth below.

Atomic Energy Act of 1946

While the FBI has no responsibility for physically safeguarding Atomic Energy installations, materials, or security data, it is charged with the investigation of alleged violations of the criminal provisions of the Atomic Energy Act. In addition, the FBI is required by the Act to investigate "the character, associations, and loyalty" of every Atomic Energy Commission employee and applicant, and any other person having access to restricted Atomic Energy data. The FBI furnishes factual reports to the Commission in cases of this type, draws no conclusions, and makes no recommendations as to the action to be taken.

During 1950, request for 41,099 of these applicant type investigations were received and 40,970 were completed.

Federal Employees' Loyalty Program

The FBI first began conducting investigations into the loyalty of Federal employees in the 1942 fiscal year when the Department of Justice Appropriations Act provided for the investigation of any Government employee belonging to a subversive organization or advocating the overthrow of the Federal Government.

Similar provisions were made in 1943, but there was no specific appropriation in 1944. The Attorney General, however, instructed the FBI to continue this type of investigation under the provisions of the Hatch Act which prohibits Federal employee membership in any organization advocating the overthrow of our Constitutional form of government. These instructions

remained in effect until the Federal Employees' Loyalty Program began. Executive Order 9835 was signed by the President on March 21, 1947. On August 1, 1947, the Congress appropriated the funds necessary to implement the Executive Order.

Under the Order the FBI is required to search through its files the names and fingerprints of all employees and applicants for positions in the Government's Executive Branch and to report any information indicating disloyalty. When such information is disclosed by the file search, full field investigations are conducted and complete reports submitted by the FBI. Preliminary inquiries are frequently made to verify identity, or to confirm or determine the exact significance of information obtained from the initial file search. Experience has shown that these inquiries often eliminate the necessity for full field investigations. Under the Loyalty Program the role of the FBI is to report the facts to the Civil Service Commission without bias, conclusions, or recommendations. It is the responsibility of the employing agencies and the Loyalty Hearing Boards to weigh the facts and to decide the proper administrative action. During the period July 1, 1949, through June 30, 1950, a total of 262,784 loyalty forms were processed.

Occasionally supplemental investigations, generally predicated upon information elicited at Loyalty Board hearings, are conducted by the FBI at the specific request of Loyalty Boards after the results of the full field investigations have been reported to the Civil Service Commission.

From Loyalty forms processed, specific requests by the Civil Service Commission and other agencies, and complaints received directly by the FBI, 2,890 preliminary inquiries and 2,694 full field investigations, including 873 resulting from conversion of preliminary inquiries, were instituted during the 1950 fiscal year.

The statistical record since the Loyalty Program began to function on August 1, 1947, is indicative of the objective manner in which its provisions have been carried out by the FBI. By the end of the 1950 fiscal year 2,833,846 Loyalty forms had been processed; 12,422 full field investigations and 14,332 preliminary inquiries had been initiated.

Only 296 full field investigations and 248 preliminary inquiries remained pending at the close of business June 30, 1950. On the basis of Loyalty investigations 173 incumbents and appointees had been removed from or denied Federal employment by their respective agencies; 7,197 had been retained or accepted after the investigation; and no dispositions had been reported to the FBI by the Loyalty Review Board in 2,449 cases. Other completed cases included those terminated for miscellaneous reasons such as withdrawal from consideration because of resignation.

Special Applicant Investigations for the Department of Justice and Other Government Agencies

FBI investigations of persons under consideration for appointment to judicial positions or as United States Attorneys, Assistant United States Attorneys, United States Marshals, and to various legal and technical positions in the Department of Justice, numbered 365 during the 1950 fiscal year. Investigations of applicants for positions as Field Deputy Marshals, Office Deputy Marshals, maintenance positions in buildings occupied by the Department of Justice and various clerical positions in the Department of Justice totaled 2,105. There were also 279 special investigations of persons under consideration for highly important governmental positions other than in the Department of Justice.

Miscellaneous Applicant Investigations

During the 1950 fiscal year the FBI was requested to conduct additional applicant investigations for other Government agencies as follows, under authority of legislative enactments, Presidential directives, and Inter-Departmental agreements:

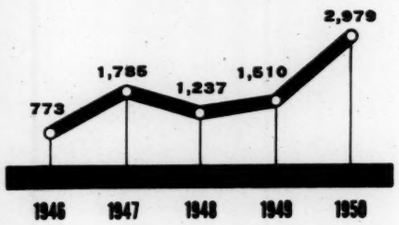
Central Intelligence Agency	2651
Voice of America Program	2202
European Recovery Program	1449
Miscellaneous	454
Total	6756

COOPERATIVE SERVICES

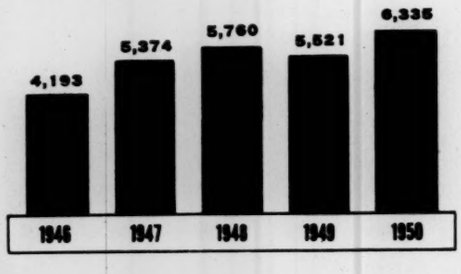
- IDENTIFICATION
- LABORATORY
- POLICE TRAINING
- PUBLICATIONS
- UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING

FBI PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL POLICE SCHOOLS

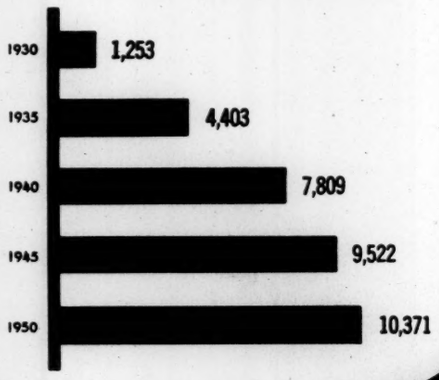
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS



LOCAL AND STATE REQUESTS FOR LABORATORY EXAMINATIONS



FUGITIVES IDENTIFIED BY FBI FINGERPRINT SEARCH



COOPERATIVE SERVICES

In addition to its primary investigative responsibilities the FBI acts as a central service organization available to all constituted law enforcement authorities in the nation. The centralization feature, particularly in such matters as identification and the collection of uniform crime statistics, is a valuable aspect of the service and carries with it no implied or actual control over the individual police agency. The FBI policy and practice have always opposed any suggestion of a national police, and continue to uphold the practicality and desirability of the democratic system of local, state and Federal law enforcement agencies, close in cooperation but independent in authority.

The public at large, in addition to law enforcement agencies, also participates directly in many of the benefits provided by the FBI's service operations. Accomplishments in the fields of cooperative service were highly gratifying during the 1950 fiscal year.

IDENTIFICATION

The Identification Division of the FBI was established July 1, 1924, with 810,188 fingerprint records obtained from Leavenworth Penitentiary and the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Twenty-six years later, at the close of the 1950 fiscal year, this nucleus had become but a fractional part of a 114,356,747 total. Amazing as this tremendous increase in number may be, however, the change in the character of the fingerprint records accumulated is possibly even more striking.

In 1924 the purpose of the fingerprint files was to provide a central repository of criminal identification data for law enforcement officers throughout the nation. The progressively successful fulfillment of this original purpose is indicated by the increasing percentage of identifications effected with the criminal prints received. In 1924 it was 14 per cent. Thirteen years later, in 1937, it was 54.4 per cent. Another thirteen years, and in 1950 previous records in file were identified with 68.55 per cent of the criminal prints received. Of these, 10,371 on the basis of the fingerprint identifications were found to be fugitives from justice.

Criminal identification, however, has now become only one phase, though still an important one, of the FBI Identification Division's functions. In the 1933 fiscal year the Civil Service Commission turned over to the FBI the fingerprints of more than 140,000 Government employees and applicants and, in addition, a Civil Identification section of the FBI fingerprint files was established to provide for the law-abiding citizen the same protection against loss of identity by amnesia or possible disfiguring death afforded the fingerprinted criminal. These innovations marked the initiation of a non-criminal file which was destined to dwarf the criminal files by comparison.

As the clouds of World War II gathered and broke, the number of fingerprints in FBI possession doubled, trebled and quadrupled. From less than 10.8 million in 1939 they multiplied to more than 42.8 million at the close of the 1942 fiscal year. Aliens, armed services personnel, and civilian employees in national defense industry added their prints to the total. The peak was reached in 1943 when 28,733,286 were received, an average of 93,540 each working day.

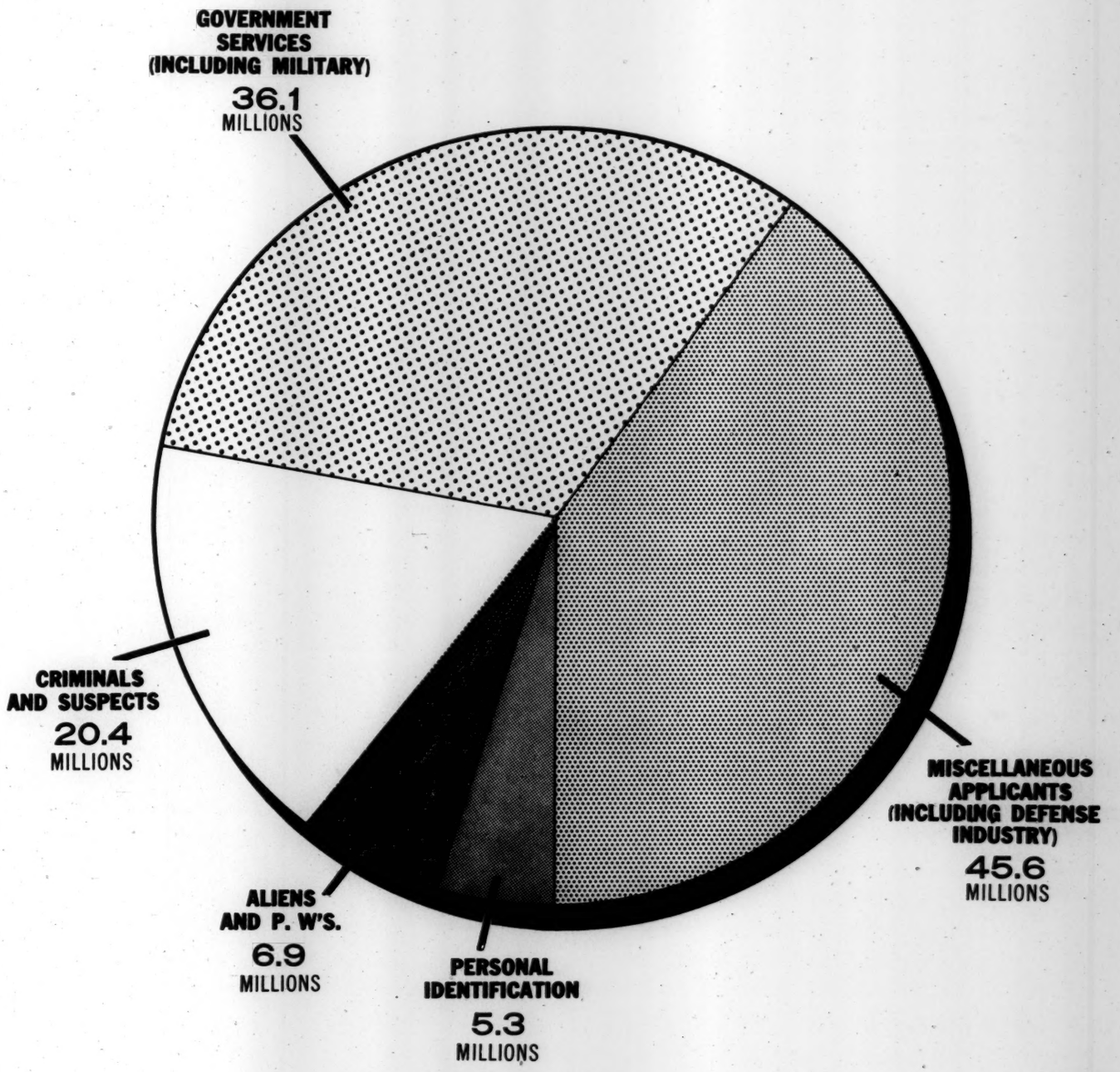
The accompanying chart graphically illustrates the proportions of criminal and the various types of non-criminal prints making up the total of more than 114.3 million fingerprint cards in FBI possession at the close of the 1950 fiscal year.

Some persons, of course, have a number of fingerprint cards, taken on different occasions, on file with the FBI. Therefore, the number of persons represented by the cards on file is less than the grand total. Approximately 8.5 million individuals are represented by the fingerprints in the criminal files and about 58.9 million by the non-criminal files.

Thus, the scope of the Identification Division's operations has been broadened far beyond its original purpose of service to law enforcement only. It is now a service agency to the public at large. Unknown dead and amnesia victims are identified, missing persons are located for anxious relatives through the information collected in FBI fingerprint files. The security of the armed forces and the Government service generally is promoted through the processing of the fingerprints of military personnel and civil employees and applicants for Government positions.

TYPES OF FINGERPRINTS IN FBI POSSESSION

JUNE 30, 1950



TOTAL - 114.3 MILLIONS

Striking illustrations of one invaluable type of service were provided in two outstanding instances during the 1950 fiscal year. On September 17, 1949, a fire broke out on the SS Noronic, of the Canadian Steamship Line, while the vessel was at a Toronto pier. In a matter of minutes it became a holocaust. Nearly 300 persons died. Many were identified by relatives, but several bodies were completely destroyed and others were unrecognizable. At the request of the American Red Cross the FBI participated in identification efforts, since the passenger list consisted almost exclusively of American citizens.

The Single Fingerprint Section of the FBI Identification Division, consisting of experienced technicians accustomed to working with limited fingerprint impressions, positively identified, from fingerprints in FBI files, eleven of twenty-one unknown deceased whose fingers still bore ridge details. The fingerprint cards against which identifications were effected included those of applicants for taxi driver, railroad brakeman, construction engineer, industrial nurse, narcotics agent and customs agent, as well as two arrest records.

One body, identified by relatives on the basis of a broken tooth, was proved by a fingerprint check not to be identical with the supposed victim. The experts of the Single Fingerprint Section later identified an entirely different body as that of the man sought by his relatives.

A month and a half after the Noronic disaster, on November 1, 1949, shortly before noon, a commercial air liner coming in for a landing at the Washington, D. C., National Airport, was struck by a smaller plane and crashed on the shore of the Potomac River, killing all 55 persons aboard. FBI identification experts were again called into service. Twenty of the victims had been promptly identified without fingerprinting. Of the 35 remaining unknown deceased, 22 were positively identified by their fingerprints on the basis of records on file in the FBI Identification Division. The remaining 13 were later identified by other means.

There follows a statistical summary of the Identification Division's accomplishments for the 1950 fiscal year.

	Fiscal Year 1950
Prints received and retained:	
Criminal (including suspects)	1,267,298
Alien Registration	346,217
Personal Identification	12,424
Loyalty Program	268,879
Miscellaneous	443,436
Total number of prints received and retained	2,338,254
Total number of prints received	3,068,640
Daily average of prints received	12,129
Total number of identifications answered	1,010,497
Percentage of criminal identifications	68.55
Number of contributors	12,168
Number of foreign countries and Territories cooperating with the FBI in the International Exchange of Fingerprints	80
Prints transmitted to foreign countries	1,597
Identifications made in foreign countries	181
Approximate percentage of identifications	11.33
Prints received from foreign countries	15,136
Identifications made by the FBI for foreign countries	3,180
Percentage of identifications	21
Number of fugitives identified by fingerprint searches	10,371
Prints of unknown dead received	1,698
Prints of unknown dead identified	1,301
Prints in FBI possession at close of fiscal year	
Criminal (including suspects)	20,395,749
Prisoner of War	358,735
Alien Registration	6,549,680
Personal Identification	5,295,634
Miscellaneous	70,028,703
Civil Service	8,959,896
Loyalty Program	2,768,350
Total prints in FBI possession	114,356,747
Number of latent fingerprint examinations requested and made	4,907

FBI LABORATORY

The FBI Laboratory was officially opened November 24, 1932, with one scientist and a handful of scientific instruments comprising its personnel and equipment. During the 1950 fiscal year its many highly trained technicians, with the most modern scientific equipment at their disposal,

conducted more than 100,000 examinations for the FBI, for other Federal agencies, and for non-Federal law enforcement agencies in every state in the Union as well as various Territories.

These scientific examinations were performed pursuant to 23,462 requests involving 86,008 individual specimens. The continually increasing recognition of the value of these laboratory services without cost to state and local law enforcement agencies is reflected by the 15 per cent increase during the 1950 fiscal year over the number of requests from such agencies for the preceding twelve month period.

The distribution as to types of the 100,540 examinations made during 1950 is shown in the table that follows.

	Fiscal Year 1950
Cryptanalysis and Translation Section:	
Cryptanalysis	8,369
Translation	17,215
Total	25,584
Document Section:	
Charred paper examinations	16
Handwriting and handprinting	43,162
Indented writing	181
Ink and pencil examinations	124
Latent treatments	1,904
Obliterated writing	425
Paper examinations	1,823
Photographic examinations	37
Portrait parle examinations	13
Shoeprint examinations	344
Tiretread examinations	67
Typewriting and other mechanical impressions	8,610
Miscellaneous	1,250
Total	57,956
Physics and Chemistry Section:	
Biochemical	2,076
Biological	647
Explosives	147
Fibers	2,372
General chemical	601
Glass fractures	162
Gunpowder tests	155

Guns and ammunition	2,261
Metallurgical	196
Number restoration	73
Petrographic	2,257
Pharmacological	117
Secret writing	57
Spectrographic analyses	2,778
Toolmarks	2,136
Toxicological	278
Miscellaneous	686
Total	16,999
Radio and Electrical Section:	
Miscellaneous	1
Total	1
Grand Total	100,540

POLICE TRAINING

In addition to providing initial training for new Special Agent appointees, refresher courses and specialized training for experienced Special Agents, and instruction programs for FBI clerical personnel, the Training and Inspection Division of the FBI carries on extensive training activities, both at FBI Headquarters and in local communities throughout the nation, for the benefit of all duly authorized law enforcement agencies.

FBI National Academy

The FBI National Academy, founded July 29, 1935, offers a twelve week course at Washington, D. C., and nearby Quantico, Virginia, for law enforcement officers who are nominated by their local superiors and are accepted after investigation by the FBI. No fees of any kind are charged. FBI Agents and guest lecturers from specialized fields provide the instruction. Ten weeks are devoted to a general course in law enforcement, two to specialized training in subjects selected by the students' respective official superiors. Emphasis is placed on developing the officers into police instructors and executives. It is significant that more than one-fourth of all graduates actively engaged in law enforcement work on June 30, 1950, were the executive heads of their respective agencies.

Three sessions of the FBI National Academy were conducted during the 1950 fiscal year. The 172 graduates brought the total at the close of the year to 2,196 officers representing each of the United States and every territorial possession as well as a number of foreign countries.

A Retraining Session held September 26-30, 1949, in Washington, D. C., was attended by 450 graduates.

FBI Field Police Training Schools

In order to make available professional law enforcement training to entire departments, and to police officers who are unable to attend the FBI National Academy, the FBI participates in police training schools conducted in local communities throughout the nation. The 2,979 such schools in the 1950 fiscal year constituted a noteworthy increase over the 1,510 recorded in 1949.

The 1950 total included 1,381 specialized schools in firearms, traffic, fingerprinting, practical police problems, and similar special subjects. FBI instruction was provided in response to specific requests by the local authorities in each instance.

Training for Other Federal Agencies

Upon specific request, also, FBI instruction was furnished to investigative personnel of the United States Air Force, the Navy, and the United States Park Police.

Law Enforcement Conferences

During the 1950 fiscal year representatives of the FBI met with police officials of thousands of other law enforcement agencies from all over the United States at 160 law enforcement conferences to discuss common problems, exchange ideas, and to make suggestions for the betterment of law enforcement generally.

UNLAWFUL FLIGHT INVESTIGATIONS

FBI investigations under the Federal Unlawful Flight Statute constitute an invaluable service in the locating of defendants and witnesses in certain categories and making them available to interested local law enforcement agencies. FBI statistical accomplishments in this respect during the 1950 fiscal year are detailed in a prior section entitled "General Investigation."

UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING

In January, 1950, the FBI completed the twentieth year as the national clearinghouse for uniform crime records.

Under the Uniform Crime Reporting Program more than 5,000 cooperating police agencies voluntarily contribute reports concerning offenses known to the police, offenses cleared by arrest, persons charged and found guilty, and the number of police employees.

These data are published semiannually in the Uniform Crime Reports bulletin, the only comprehensive index to the extent and fluctuation of crime in the United States. In addition the bulletin provides information on types of crime, age and race of offenders, geographical concentrations, seasonal variations, and average figures as to the number of police employees, grouped by size and location of the communities concerned. The FBI of course does not vouch for the figures compiled by the various contributing agencies and publishes the figures only as a service to law enforcement.

Approximately 28,000 Uniform Crime Reports bulletins were distributed in the calendar year 1949 to law enforcement agencies, colleges, libraries, criminologists, sociologists, judges and others interested in the crime problem. Police administrators find the publication a valuable yardstick for measuring local problems against the experience of the nation as a whole.

United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D. C.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO
FILE No. _____

STATEMENT OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR,
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, BEFORE
THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
ORGANIZED CRIME IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE
March 26, 1951

The members of this Special Committee of the United States Senate can take pride in its accomplishments during the past few months. You have developed facts which brought out into the open entanglements between the underworld and the upperworld, and unholy alliances between the criminal element and officialdom which established a shocking disregard for law and order.

I know of no other force in American life that can render such a salutary service as a Congressional investigative committee in exposing conditions which are inherently evil. The broad powers vested in such committees give them opportunities not available to the usual investigative process. The very nature of these powers also places upon such committees a responsibility of considerable import.

Apart from securing information to aid in the legislative process, Congressional committees make their greatest contribution by focusing the spotlight of public opinion upon those forces hostile to the best interests of our country.

The work of this Committee to date has made great progress in awakening a public interest in the widespread ramifications of the underworld. Your hearings have been observed by millions of Americans on television screens and they have seen for themselves the arrogant defiance of those who conceal their endeavors and hide behind the protection of the Constitution for which they have so little regard. This awakened interest augurs well for the future. I hope it will result in increased zeal for civic responsibility. May I also express the hope that this Committee will continue its unbiased nonpolitical exposure of the criminal element which has polluted all too many communities of our nation.

There is nothing pleasant in any discussion on the subject of crime. Crime exists because of failures -- failure to prevent delinquency and failure to correct delinquency. Beyond that, there is a failure to prevent crime, a failure to detect crime, a failure to prosecute crime,

a failure to properly deal with crime and a failure to take the profit out of crime.

Since 1940 the population of the United States has increased 14.3% while serious crimes increased 18%. Last year, a total of 1,790,030 serious crimes were committed, or an average of one serious crime every 18 seconds. In an average day last year 301 persons were feloniously killed or assaulted; 146 robberies were perpetrated; 1,129 places were burglarized; 468 cars were stolen; and, in addition, 2861 thefts of other types were committed. Those figures reflect that the American people, day after day, are paying a bitter toll in death, personal sorrow, and financial loss, to the criminal. In 1950 every major classification of crime, except robbery, showed an increase.

The experience of observing the growth of crime in the prohibition era, its sharp decline in the mid-thirties and now its gradual rise convinces me that crime is a problem to be met and solved in each city, town and hamlet. In facing this task one thing is certain -- in those communities where public opinion is enlightened and aroused, crime is at a minimum. In such communities, crime has not become entrenched, it does not enjoy unholy alliances with those in public office, it does not have the protection of the very forces who have a sworn duty to exterminate it and it is unable to secure recruits from established incubators of crime.

Law enforcement is only as effective as the citizens demand. If the community, as a group or as individuals, does not desire effective law enforcement, then there will not be effective law enforcement. That proposition has been abundantly proven. The ultimate responsibility for a crime free community rests at home -- with the citizens of the community itself -- when they assume their responsibility.

The American system of law enforcement is based on the mutual cooperation of national, state and local agencies, each working within the democratic framework of government. Time after time, the strength and validity of this system have been demonstrated. In the 1930's, dangerous criminals, who brazenly flaunted the orderly forces of government, who had a vast network of aid and assistance, who were glorified by sentimentalists, were finally brought to justice when the American public became sufficiently aroused to demand and support the campaign which brought about their destruction. During the war, the manifold problems arising from the national defense of the Nation were efficiently and expeditiously handled in this manner.

This nation has no need for a national police force. Cries frequently are heard that America, to meet "the problems of the day," must create a master, over-all law enforcement agency, whose authority would extend to every nook and cranny of the nation. I disagree with this attitude. My experience has demonstrated that the present system of law enforcement, national, state and local, is the best system. The peace officer must be the servant of the people -- protecting their interests and

responding to their will. The law enforcement agency must be an integral part of the community. Otherwise, the American system of democratic government would be defiled.

There can be no concealment of the fact that law enforcement has not always performed at peak expectations. The fault is not in the system but in the way it works. The American people, if they desire competent, efficient and effective administration of justice, must be willing to provide financial means; moral support; and a practical realization of the responsibilities of citizenship. A police department, under-staffed, under-paid, and ill-equipped, cannot properly fulfill its duties. Lack of public interest may allow a small minority of peace officers, aided and abetted by corrupt politicians, crooked prosecutors and underworld "fixers," to bring shame upon the profession. Action is needed, not to revamp the fundamental structure of American law enforcement, but to strengthen, in technical skill, character and esprit de corps, the existing institutions.

I think the time has come for some straight thinking on the subject of responsibility. All too frequently in the past few years, there has been too much "buck passing" to the Federal Government. Too frequently, when pressures mount in local communities by reason of dissatisfaction with conditions, leaders, either to escape the wrath of citizens or to conceal their own inability to cope with situations, have advanced the alibi that "This is a job for the Federal Government." The time has come to take stock. The Federal Government can never be a satisfactory substitute for local self-government in the enforcement field.

The experience of people in other lands who suddenly found themselves living in a totalitarian state discloses that always the trend started with people in local communities being unable or unwilling to take care of local situations. I hope that day never comes to America, as our way of life is too precious to be supplanted by either a Socialist, Fascist or Communist form of government.

The mere fact that conditions have been exposed which are shocking, to say the least, is no reason to depart from our traditional concepts of Constitutional government. In the deplorable conditions which have been exposed, it was not the system that was at fault but the men who were responsible for its proper functioning and, more important, the citizens who failed to raise their voices or to exercise their responsibility at the ballot box.

Federal law enforcement, however, has a role to play which is a vitally important one. A Federal law enforcement agency must always be willing to lend all possible assistance to local agencies without usurping local functions, prerogatives or jurisdiction. That always has been and is today the policy of the FBI. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has the responsibility for investigating alleged violations of certain specified Federal criminal statutes. That responsibility is definitely fixed and is

well known. In the event we fail to perform our duties incident to such responsibility, the public would know what agency to hold responsible.

In the absence of a specific Federal Statute, the FBI is not authorized to conduct any investigation of what is strictly a local violation. Yet, there are many services of a coordinating and clearinghouse type which the FBI is able to offer for local law enforcement officers in connection with the enforcement of local laws. The FBI Laboratory receives evidence from local law enforcement officials and its scientists make a study of the evidence submitted and prepare a report of their findings. In the event testimony is desired, the scientists will testify in the local courts and these services of examination and testimony are available to all police agencies without cost.

The FBI Fingerprint Identification Division is another service established by Congress to assist local officers. This service includes the furnishing of criminal records based upon fingerprints, latent fingerprint identification, the filing of wanted notices for individuals whose apprehension is desired, the identification of unknown dead, the location of missing persons and similar identification services.

The facilities of the FBI National Academy are available to local, county and state police agencies for select representatives to receive training as police executives and as police instructors and upon request, assistance will be given in local police training schools. These are some of the FBI cooperative services which are available and which are made use of by the local police throughout the country on a voluntary basis.

There is no mystery about good law enforcement. It merely applies to crime detection the same principles of efficiency necessary to any well organized business. Regardless of the potential effectiveness of law enforcement agencies as such, they are powerless to give their full measure of protection unless properly supported. Your Committee has inquired into the reasons why crime exists in those communities where you have found it thriving and prospering. The people of each community need to do as you have done -- endeavor to seek answers to such questions as: What has happened to the important cases which were in the newspaper headlines a few months ago? Were they vigorously prosecuted, or were the felons allowed delay after delay while witnesses disappeared, and the final court room scene became a mere mockery of the law? Were juries tampered with, witnesses intimidated, perjury suborned? Did the criminal in a serious crime get off easier than some wayward youth who stole a car or burglarized a store while hungry? Are the operators of vice dens excused from prosecution by the paying of a mere fine which amounts to a license to traffic in human flesh? Are criminals allowed by the courts and prosecuting attorneys to plead guilty to a lesser offense than the one charged and thus receive a shorter sentence? Are convicted criminals afforded special opportunities and privileges in prison? Do public officials live beyond their means?

Are there slot machines in drug stores and restaurants? Does gambling thrive? Are there bookmaking joints on every corner? Who controls the numbers racket? Is vice kept at an irreducible minimum, or does it contaminate most sections of the city?

If vice conditions exist, who is responsible? Are there alliances between the beneficiaries of crime and officialdom? If there are, a few aroused citizens can accomplish more than the enactment of new legislation because the underworld cannot stand exposure. One vigorous crusading newspaper which does not pull its punches can do more to build up a will to enforce existing laws than the enactment of new laws which shift responsibility from local authorities and provide an alibi for their failures.

The solution of the crime problem is a simple matter: Enforce existing laws fairly and impartially, vigorously and relentlessly, and mobilize the full force of every medium of education as to the facts about crime.

I have no sympathy with the position of those who constantly are urging against the publication of information on crime. In fact, I would urge the dissemination of more information on crime which puts crime in its proper perspective and reveals it in all its horror and filth, and revolting character. Only in that way can public lethargy be forced into action.

I have always had great respect for the role of the Grand Jury in our system of criminal law enforcement. The broad powers of the Grand Jury give it ample authority, at periodic intervals, to inquire into the state of law enforcement in the various communities. I hazard the guess that if on an annual basis a Grand Jury scrutinized the administration of justice in every community in the land this would have a salutary effect.

Those who engage in widespread vice activities and rackets could not long survive without their ally -- the political renegade. No community in the land is contaminated by rackets and corruption without the assistance of local interests which hold law enforcement in restraint. Law enforcement officers are the peoples' representatives. They are not persons with unlimited power; they must obey those under whom they hold office. If they are dominated by the criminal-aligned politician, ruthless rackets and vice are inevitable. The law enforcement officials in our Nation, for the most part, are honest and anxious to do a good job. Regardless of their personal honesty, however, they are frequently powerless to act. Only aroused and enlightened citizens can take the handcuffs off their wrists and place them where they belong, upon the racketeers, criminals and corrupt politicians.

Too frequently, the police of the nation have been shackled not only by higher-ups but by technicalities of the law which make it virtually impossible for them to discharge their duty. The rights of every person must, of course, be protected -- even the criminal -- but there are occasions when the criminal has every break in his favor and the officer has every conceivable obstacle thrust in his pathway.

After thoroughly scrutinizing law enforcement the next question is: What do you know about the judiciary in the community? Is it a fountainhead of justice, or is it controlled by entrenched interests? Do the courts protect the innocent, the poor and the uneducated with the same vigor they do the privileged? Are the courts quick to detect perjury and vigorous in demanding action? If the robes of justice are not clean, then society and individuals are not secure. And the prosecutors, do they seek justice for society and the accused as well: or do they safeguard the interests of the accused by Grand Jury white-washing or improperly prepared cases?

I have always felt that the basic reason we saw the underworld develop and acquire a status during the prohibition era was attributable to two factors. The first is a simple one, public opinion was not mobilized behind enforcement. There was a lack of interest, determination and zeal on the part of large numbers of our citizens to make sure that the law was enforced.

The second reason follows: There was a widespread breakdown of law and order because the basic responsibility for enforcing the prohibition laws was not given to the "home town police," but was given to Federal authorities. A vast Federal Agency, try as it would, soon was facing the unwholesome fact that local underworld forces were being protected by local enforcement interests and the sad result was the rise of gangsterism. The sad experience of that era should be too fresh in our minds to make the same mistake again.

The widespread ramifications of the present gambling interests in my opinion are in many respects similar to the underworld alliances of the prohibition era.

The gambling problem must be viewed as a phase of the entire crime picture. Organized gambling is a vicious evil. It corrupts our youth and blights the lives of adults. It becomes the springboard for other crimes: embezzlement, robbery, even murder. But, like any other type of crime, it can be controlled. If the laws against gambling presently on the state and local statute books were earnestly and vigorously enforced, organized gambling could be eliminated within 48 hours in any community in the land. No criminal, the gambler and his allies included, can long stand up before a determined, intelligent and informed public opinion. That, in my opinion, is the basic answer to the gambling problem: an aroused public opinion which will act on a local level through local law enforcement authorities to wipe out this menace.

In many communities local and state laws prohibit gambling but, nevertheless, several forms of gambling exist. In others "betting" is legalized but bookmaking is banned. We may hear that this gambling is beyond the control of local authorities and cannot be suppressed because of its direction by national figures who reside across state lines. In just such instances, demands arise for Federal action or Federal legislation to eliminate the gambling and the gamblers from the community. What really is needed is not more laws but the will to enforce those laws already on the statute books.

I believe that in any town where gambling flourishes local gambling czars can be found. The gambling element may be headed by one man who controls all the various gambling activities, but frequently gamblers have by agreement divided the community geographically or by types of activity, each under its special gambling czar.

I submit that these local gambling czars stand at the very center of gambling in this country. The local overlord of gambling is an all-powerful figure in his community. He is the individual who controls the gambling outlets, the "bookie joints," the runners, the slot machines and the gambling centers. He is the man who controls the so-called mobs, pays for or arranges for protection and is the directing energy of the entire mob of criminality which protects such activities in the local community.

Without question, these local czars have common purposes and working tools, and may well have contacts with national figures in gambling, the so-called tycoons of the underworld. But these same national figures are themselves dependent, in their operations, upon the local gambling czars. If you would strike at the national ramifications of gambling, the only effective way I know to do the job permanently is to blast the foundation out from under them.

The evils of gang wars, gambling, vice, political corruption and organized crime can be eliminated from the American scene. The fundamental solution lies in aroused and awakened citizens, militantly demanding the action which will eliminate the gambling czar, the crook and the venal politician. Blast the foundation of the local gambling czar, by vigorously enforcing the statutes against gambling without fear or favor and he will collapse and, like a house of cards, the vast pyramid of gambling will collapse.

Local citizens must unite in surveying their communities to see that their law enforcement agencies have the manpower, the technical facilities and the will to combat the criminal menace. Vigorous enforcement of local laws will eliminate gambling in those communities where gambling has been outlawed by statute. This is the solution of the problem.

The extent of organized crime in the United States is a national disgrace. The very fact that we have a crime problem reflects an evil of even greater import. The American home too often does not occupy the place in our national life that it did at the turn of the century. We are in a state of moral depression. The breakdown of the home is both a cause and a result. The bad state of affairs in too many of our schools is another result. In many instances any semblance of religious training is barred and the mentioning of God is frowned upon while espousers of godless communism carry on under the guise of academic freedom.

No nation ever won a war unless its people were united and dedicated to the common cause.

We can never have a crime-free America until all who stand for law and order are united and determined to mobilize against those who constitute our army of lawlessness. Only a return to the fundamentals upon which this Nation was founded -- a moral reawakening -- a revitalized spirit and a rededication of service to our fellow man -- can make this a reality.

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COMMUNIST THREAT IN U.S.

AN INTERVIEW WITH J. EDGAR HOOVER

Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

EDITOR'S NOTE: *How much of a threat are Communists to the security of the United States? How can the average citizen recognize Communists? Does a drive against subversive activity bring "thought control" in its wake?*

To answer these and other questions, U.S. News & World Report *invited to its conference rooms J. Edgar Hoover, the man who fought espionage and sabotage in World War II and, since then, has taken on the problems of Communist infiltration and the possibility of sabotage. The interview follows.*

J. EDGAR HOOVER, *to many people, is the personification of law enforcement. For nearly 27 years he has headed the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He has caught criminals himself, established the FBI Academy for training police officers and made the "G man" a national hero.*

Mr. Hoover started out in life to be a minister. But by the time he finished high school he had determined to become a lawyer. He entered the Department of Justice as a file reviewer, was appointed to the FBI in 1921, became its chief in 1924.

Q *Is there a public misconception, Mr. Hoover, of the functions of the FBI?*

A Yes. In the public mind any investigation is often associated with the FBI. This is particularly true in connection with matters pertaining to internal security. The public is aware of the FBI's responsibility for the investigation of espionage, sabotage and subversive activities. Other phases relating to internal security have been assigned to other agencies of Government—illegal entry of aliens to the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the physical security and guarding of atomic installations to the Atomic Energy Commission, and plant protection to the Munitions Board.

The Munitions Board has the responsibility for establishing standards, policies and procedures of security for industries producing defense materials. The FBI has no responsibility whatsoever for physical security within a plant.

Q *What is the biggest single menace, so to speak, that we have to be on guard against?*

A Our most urgent objective is to prevent any disruption of our mobilization program, and we must take every preventive step possible to safeguard our productive might should we be faced with a grave national emergency. The most important single menace to our internal security is the Communist Party, U. S. A., its members, fellow travelers and sympathizers.

Q *You mean if there should be war there would probably be activity on the part of our enemies here?*

A There is no question as to that and an analogy can be drawn from the events of Dec. 7, 1941. Prior to that time there was widespread speculation that an outbreak of sabotage was soon to occur. It didn't occur. And one of the primary reasons it didn't was because of years of concentrated effort by the FBI. Potential saboteurs had been identified. When war did come it was possible to effect their apprehension promptly and take those regarded as dangerous before hearing boards to judge their cases. The FBI, of course, does not pass upon guilt or innocence.

Q *Are the Communists active now?*

A They are exceedingly active.

Q *By "active" do you mean that they are putting themselves in a position to commit acts of sabotage?*

A While there has been a decline in Communist Party strength, this simply means that the Party has purged itself of those concerning whom it had doubts. Others have dropped out of the party because of the pressure of public opinion, or because of a fear of legislation which has been enacted on local, county, State and federal levels. Then there is another group which has been taken out of the active membership of the party and has gone underground for possible action at a later date.

Q *The numbers that you have in this chart (see page 35)—does that represent the net remainder?*

A That represents the total number of avowed members of the party. The party hasn't issued cards for three years.

Q *Do you feel that these members of the party are potential enemies, or might be involved in actual espionage?*

A Every avowed Communist, every "hard core" Communist, every indoctrinated Communist inher-

Allegiance to Moscow, Not to America . . . Labor's Battle Against Communists . . . Why U. S. Can't Have a 'Gestapo'

ently owes an allegiance to a way of life different from that of the average American citizen.

Q *Does that mean that he doesn't necessarily owe allegiance to the Moscow Government?*

A No. He owes allegiance to the science of Marxism-Leninism and his motherland is the Soviet Union.

Q *Yet he might be in favor of revolution in this country in order to introduce Marxism, and still not wish to have it controlled by Russia—could you draw that distinction?*

A I don't think you can draw such a distinction.

Q *Do you think that Communism is Moscow-led?*

A The record speaks for itself. The Communist Party in the United States from its inception has never deviated from the Moscow line.

Q *You think, in other words, they owe allegiance to Moscow rather than to the United States?*

A There is no question about it.

Q *And you think that these people, if they really were to tell the truth, would have to admit that they prefer to have Moscow rather than Washington run the United States?*

A Very definitely.

Q *How do you arrive at that conclusion—what evidence do you have of that?*

A The evidence is clear and unequivocal on that point. It was established in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders in New York. It has been developed through the testimony of old-time Communists who have broken with the Communist Party, and the best evidence, of course, is the record which, as I indicated a moment ago, shows that the Communist Party in the United States has never deviated from the Moscow line from the time of its inception until the present time.

Q *You mean every little whim of Stalin has been followed by a veering of the line over here?*

A Yes.

Agents Follow Communists Underground

Q *When you say that the Communist Party "has gone underground," or has become more and more an "underground" organization, what do you mean?*

A By that I mean that all that remains of the Communist Party at the present time above ground is a self-constituted core, which for appearance's sake maintains a public contact. As a manifestation of what is meant by the Party "going underground" we might point to the fact that members of the Communist Party have increasingly taken up activities in other groups, in other organizations and fronts. The party itself has not issued membership cards for some three years, and there has been a rather drastic decentralization in the operation of the party. They are holding fewer and fewer public meetings.

The members have been conditioned, during the past few years, to act on their own by applying the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism to the problem at hand. Membership records no longer exist, Communist Party clubs, which at one time would number a hundred people, have been broken down into groups which have only three to five members today. The very actions of the individuals give a pretty clear picture of the fact that they don't want to be out in the open. They're sending couriers from district to district, and by word of mouth are passing out party orders.

Q *Do you have a means of checking up on them just the same, even though they have "gone underground"?*

A Oh, yes.

Q *You have undercover agents in various parts of the United States?*

A Yes. This technique is necessary in keeping abreast with clandestine operations of any subversive organization.

Party Punishes 'Guilt by Suspicion'

Q *Do they trust party loyalty any more?*

A They have a very strict loyalty program of their own which has resolved all doubts against the individual, and if there has been the slightest suspicion he has been expelled from the party.

Q *They are thrown out by means of "guilt by association," are they not?*

A I think they go a step further—"guilt by suspicion."

Q *In other words, no matter what your reputation is, they won't accept it if they want to accuse you?*

A That's right.

Q *What are their means of punishment?*

A Their chief means, of course, is to expel an individual from the party.

Q *Isn't it quite a severe penalty to a conscientious Communist to be expelled?*

A Yes, and not only that but expulsion carries with it not only ostracization from old friends in the party, but brings down upon the individual vituperation and the recommended party treatment for so-called stool pigeons.

Q *Do you feel that their loyalty test is fair to the little fellow who is really a conscientious Communist?*

A From the standpoint of fairness I would say that Communists have falsely accused some of their mem-

(Continued on page 34)

bers who were innocent of charges of furnishing information to the FBI.

Q *A number like 43,217 Communists in America—so few, comparatively—can they be dangerous?*

A It must be remembered that there are actually six levels to the Communist Party. In the first instance, you have the professional Communist who was referred to in other years as the card-carrying member of the party. Secondly, there is the concealed Communist. Then there are the sympathizer, the fellow-traveler, the innocent who has been duped by the Communists, and, finally, there is the opportunist. The Communists themselves have made the boast that for every party member there are 10 others ready, willing and able to do the party's work.

Q *What do you think the strategically placed Communist could do in the event an emergency occurred—what types of dangers do they present?*

A There is always the fear of sabotage in vital areas. There is the ever-present danger of stirring up domestic strife, creating disturbances, bringing about slowdowns in industry. We saw the Communist at work during the period of the Berlin-Moscow pact, when for practical purposes certain aircraft plants were shut down as a result of the actions of a small group of Communists. Then, too, the party serves as a base for recruits for the Soviet espionage service.

Q *Is that a real service?*

A Very definitely.

Q *The FBI has told the public to watch out for specific matters, such as foreign submarine landings. Have you had any reason to believe that will happen?*

A It has been only a few short years since the Nazis landed eight men by submarine on our shores.

Q *Couldn't Communists just come walking over our Southern border?*

A As we become more security conscious and tighten up our security they will find it far more difficult.

Of Parachutists and Poison

Q *What is there to the suspicion about parachute landings—what makes you think they may happen?*

A We received any number of reports during World War II of alleged parachute landings. In a few instances there was some delay in reporting that information to the authorities with the consequent result that rumors became rife and near panic resulted in certain areas.

Q *In other words, the planting of rumors for the purpose of causing panic?*

A That's correct. But if there are reports or suspicions to that effect, then the information should be given to the FBI very promptly.

Q *What is the theory about the poisoning of the public water supplies—aren't you guarding those pretty carefully?*

A The FBI does not have the responsibility of guarding the water supply. That responsibility belongs to the local authorities and other agencies.

Q *You speak of various activities of a suspicious nature the public may hear about, such as individuals loitering in a restricted area. That would be a matter to report to local police rather than the FBI, wouldn't it?*

A It would depend, of course, on the area. If it were a military reservation, either the military or the FBI should be notified at once.

If it were a public utility, the local police should receive the report. In any event, if there were any basis for suspicion of espionage, sabotage or subversive activities, the information should also be reported to the FBI because subversive activities are nationwide in their scope of operation. An individual loitering in an isolated restricted area may very well come from some point far removed, and the local authorities would have no reason to have knowledge of his background. On the other hand, the FBI might very well have information on him. It is conceivable that he might be one of the individuals who had dropped out of the Communist Party for underground service for the party.

Cleanup by the Unions

Q *What is the activity of Communists inside labor unions, according to the information you have?*

A We, of course, do not investigate labor unions, nor do we concern ourselves with employer-employe relationships. We have, however, investigated innumerable instances of Communist infiltration into labor unions. The Communists today do not have the power that they once had, nor do they have the influence they once had in labor unions. The great majority of labor leaders and organizations are alert to Communist infiltration.

Q *They have done a good job in cleaning them out?*

A They've done an excellent job.

Q *And the labor unions and their leaders have cooperated to the fullest extent with the FBI?*

A That's right, in the great majority of instances.

Q *Is it possible, however, that even they may not be able to detect all the Communists?*

A It is entirely possible that a concealed Communist may hide in the most unsuspected and unlikely place.

Q *Couldn't he cause trouble even if he weren't an officer but merely a malcontent?*

A Definitely.

Q *By stirring up the men on some issue?*

A Yes.

Q *Is there evidence that that kind of thing goes on in some labor unions?*

A There has been evidence that it has occurred.

Q *In other words, when they cleaned out these Communists from the labor unions, did we get from*

. . . 'The very essence of Communism is deceit'

it an idea of how the Communists worked and what they did in the labor unions?

A Ordinarily they would try to get their members into positions of influence in the union, have them become officers wherever possible. They would have a Communist bloc at the meetings, which would usually be the first to arrive and the last to leave. They studied the issues, were very glib on their feet and were trained to speak on issues. They gave an excellent account of their ability to heckle and harass other speakers and officers. In filibustering they had few equals.

Q *It may be that many of our labor leaders were ignorant of these techniques?*

A I am sure that patriotic and loyal labor leaders are now aware of their tactics.

Q *So that popular education on the subject of the techniques of the Communists is essential?*

A Yes. Education is one of the most important factors in combating Communism. Communism cannot compete with our own American way of life, and that is one of the reasons why the Communists employ deceit. The very essence of Communism is deceit, and only by constant education in the truth can you really combat Communism, on a long-range, permanent basis.

Q *Are there any distinguishing characteristics—or is there any way you can spot a Communist?*

A By their actions.

Q *They don't look different?*

A No.

Q *Do you feel that there is less of a tendency to scoff at the charge that we have a lot more Communists in America today than there were, say, five years ago?*

A I think the public has been educated to a great extent. Legislative investigating committees and the press have helped in the process of educating the public.

Q *Would you say it was a favorite Communist technique to belittle the amount of Communist activity here?*

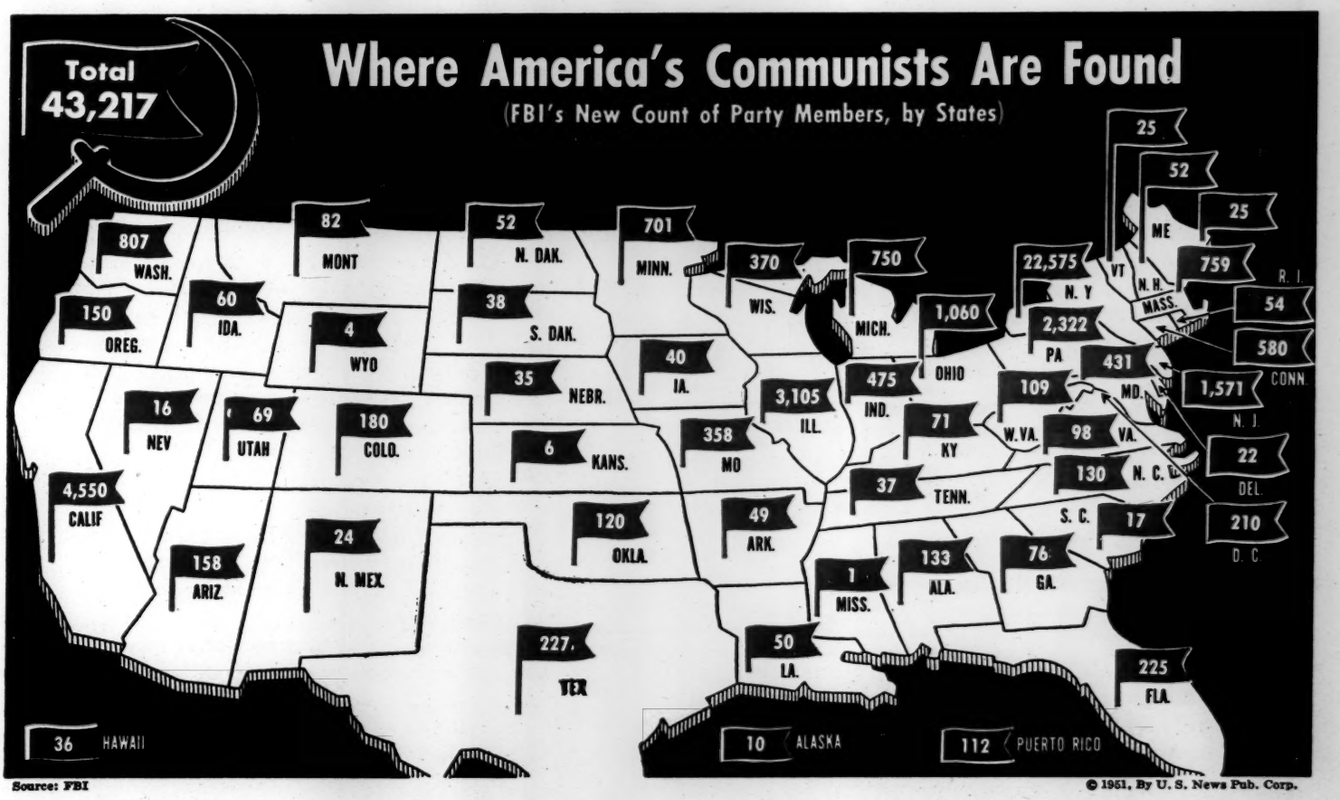
A Very definitely.

Q *Have you seen evidence of that?*

A As an illustration, a few years ago there was a Communist Action group which was hard pressed in a given area, primarily through the energetic efforts of a few individuals. So to counteract these few anti-Communists, the Communists developed a technique: Whenever anybody would denounce Communists, they would say, "What's wrong with being a Communist?" And the average person had given little thought to the subject. They knew they didn't like Communism, but were at a disadvantage with a trained Communist agitator.

Q *You spoke a moment ago about their being*

(Continued on page 36)



Source: FBI

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"trained in deceit." Do you think that they hesitate to lie under oath?

A I don't think there is any question but that they would lie under oath, if it would further the Communist aim.

Q *In other words, they would issue denials promptly when they are charged with being Communists?*

A Yes. A fundamental premise of Marxism-Leninism is that whatever advances the Communist cause is moral.

Why Communists Go to Court

Q *Is part of their technique to take accusations to court, or before some tribunal—would they intimidate that way?*

A There have been instances where they have been quick to file libel suits.

Q *That would be for the purpose of throwing their accusers off the track?*

A Partially, and to discourage others from making similar charges.

Q *In the various cases you have investigated, have you had many instances in which Communists had previously lied under oath before the full facts and the truth was developed?*

A Yes. There have been several instances of that type.

Q *Have you any reason to believe that those who lie under oath do so as a result of their loyalty to the party, which commands them to do it, or would you say they are just congenital liars?*

A I would say it's a dedication to the principle of Marxism-Leninism.

Q *In other words, the end justifies the means?*

A That's right.

Q *Are you always able to prove that they are lying?*

A Not always. To prove that they are engaging in falsehood it is necessary to have legal evidence. Sometimes this proof is most difficult to obtain.

Q *Do you have many Communists who are under suspicion, whom you are actually watching through your operatives from day to day? Are you watching a lot of people?*

A We have a relatively small force when you take into consideration that there is approximately one special agent to every 29,000 inhabitants in this country. With some 43,217 members of the Communist Party, and only 5,200 agents—it's a physical impossibility to keep all of them under surveillance.

Local Authorities Help

Q *What co-operation do you get from local authorities?*

A We have excellent co-operation from the local authorities. Our policy is to devote our energies and man power on a selective basis, and watch carefully those who we feel are potentially the most dangerous, and who are engaged in definite subversive activity.

Q *Don't we often hear the statement made that we are developing a "police state?" What is your answer to that?*

A So far as the FBI is concerned, the best answer is to look at the record. As a matter of policy the FBI does not undertake any activity unless it is pursuant to congressional directive or executive directive. The FBI must constantly justify its procedures and policies to the Department of Justice, to the Attorney General and his assistants, to the Budget Bureau, and, on an annual basis, it must go before the appropriation committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Q *Could there be abuses by individual agents without your detecting them?*

A The FBI is a human agency and it can make mistakes, but when these occur you can be certain that we will hear about them and in such instances we always make a full inquiry into the facts. Our work is constantly under the scrutiny of the courts and other authorities, and we could not long survive if there were abuses.

Q *In other words, the safeguard of this country is the fact that when you have had somebody confined he is entitled to a fair trial and special counsel?*

A And the FBI does not arrest anybody on its own initiative. Arrests are made only after the facts have been presented to the appropriate prosecuting authorities, who evaluate the evidence and arrive at a decision as to whether or not prosecutive action should take place.

'Thought Control' Denied

Q *What would you say to the charge often made that we are engaging in the practice of "thought control" with our constant watching of the activities of Communists?*

A The FBI is concerned not with what Communists think but with what they do—their actions, just as in every other field of its investigative activity. There is no scintilla of evidence to substantiate the charge that the FBI is engaged in "thought control" activities.

Q *What about disapproving speakers?*

A The FBI does not approve or disapprove of speakers. That is not our concern.

Q *It doesn't have a record on them for which someone can write in to you?*

A No, sir. The files of the FBI are confidential, and the contents cannot be used for that purpose.

Q *Does the FBI gather data on important persons or Government officials?*

A There is no basis in fact for that.

We do not investigate anyone unless there is an allegation which, if true, comes within a congressional or executive directive assigned to the FBI.

Q *What would you say to the statement which is*

. . . 'Communist Party is subservient to Soviet foreign policy'

often made that, after all, the Communist Party isn't really different from the Republican Party or the Democratic Party? Isn't it argued that it is a political party, and as such shouldn't have any more interference than any other political party would have?

A The record provides the answer to your question. If the Communist Party had the same aims and objectives as the Republican or Democratic Party they would not be "going underground" nor would they seek to conceal their activities as they do. The concept that they are a political party is primarily derived from the Communists' own propaganda which is designed to defend their activities.

Q *Have you ever seen any record of the Communist Party filing publicly the sources of its funds, as the Republican and Democratic parties do?*

A No. There is no question about that.

Q *Don't the people who furnish money to the Communists try to hide that?*

A Definitely.

Q *Is that possibly due to public opprobrium, or is it because they get themselves into trouble—what is the reason for hiding their finances?*

A I think there are two basic reasons: one, they want no evidence of their link with the Communist Party and, two, they are fearful of the repercussions of public opinion.

Power From President and Congress

Q *What is the FBI's authority to keep track of the Communists?*

A The President of the United States has, by directive, placed the responsibility upon the FBI of receiving all information on subversive activities, and, likewise, to co-ordinate all investigation of espionage, sabotage and other related matters. Then, too, the Smith Act passed by Congress in 1940 makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence. The eleven Communist leaders were convicted of violating this Act. Also the Internal Security Act of 1950 places certain responsibilities upon us. That statute also provides that individuals fitting into a certain category in time of war would be subject to detention.

Q *Would you say, then, that if the Communist Party operated as the Republican or Democratic Party and confined itself to a mere discussion of some different economic system than we have, you wouldn't be spending your time worrying about it?*

A But the Communist Party would never do that because the Communist Party is a way of life, and their ultimate objective is to destroy our way of life by violence rather than by constitutional means.

Q *If that's the case, would you say that it is the link between the Communist Party and this plot to overthrow our Government that differentiates them from the usual political party?*

A That is one factor. In addition, the Communist Party, as evidenced by the record, is subservient to Soviet foreign policy. It has no regard for our traditions, no respect for our institutions. It would replace all religion with a Marxist-Leninist philosophy that does not recognize the existence of God; it seeks to infiltrate and corrupt our educational system. In short, there is no basis for comparing the American Communist Party with an American political party. As Justice [Learned] Hand said, in effect, in upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders, you don't have to wait until the country is overthrown before you take action against the person you know is trying to overthrow it.

FBI Against 'Hysteria'

Q *Isn't it possible that by asking for the co-operation of the citizens of the country in reporting subversive activities, some of these citizens may just be encouraged to circulate malicious gossip or idle rumor, and engage in "witch hunts"? Isn't that a danger?*

A I think that citizens co-operating with the FBI provide the greatest barrier you could possibly have against "witch hunts" and hysteria; because, if the citizen has a suspicion, it is his duty to turn it over to the FBI and from that time on do nothing unless he receives a request.

Q *We really have quite a number of investigative agencies in various Government departments, haven't we?*

A That's correct.

Q *It can't be said that we have one single agency which has complete investigative control?*

A That's correct. Each of the investigative agencies is a specialist in its own field.

Q *Do you hold that is a good thing or that they ought to be concentrated in one place?*

A I think it is a healthy situation as each federal agency has its special field of operations. An investigative agency functions best when it is highly mobile and tightly administered.

Protection in Jury Trial

Q *All investigative agencies—when they make an arrest—have to come to a court and prove their case before a judge or jury and the defendant has the right of counsel no matter how poor he is, hasn't he?*

A That is the American way.

Q *So the greatest check against a "Gestapo" in America is our free system of court procedure?*

A A "Gestapo" under the American system would be an impossibility. In addition to the protection of our courts and Congress we have a free press, which would quickly spot injustices or any excesses on the part of any Government agency.

Q *Does the Communist system offer any such benefits or protection?*

A None whatever.

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285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

No Answer

Fred - F.
Lets Consult.

April 6, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Corporation
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I have just discussed with Lindey your letter in regard to our bill. I'll take any amount you send but I think you ought to get the facts clear in your mind.

First of all, Columbia Records appraised the value of the gift in excess of $12,000. It is true that the royalties thus far paid (covering the period ending December 31, 1950) have amounted to $2,680.44. On the basis of Columbia's appraisal, royalties will continue for years.

I assume that the beneficiaries of your gift are in low income brackets. They will keep most of the income they get. If you had gotten the income, I imagine you would have kept about 25% of it. I doubt if the recipients paid 25%. On some such rough calculations, you can figure out the very substantial dollar savings resulting from the advice we gave. Moreover, Jap will tell you of the complications that arose which required extra work.

I am off to Egypt and Greece for a few weeks. I will get in touch with you when I get back.

Best to you,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

March 15, 1951

Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

I acknowledge receipt of your bill of March 1 for the sum of $500 for professional services rendered in connection with gift of interest in I CAN HEAR IT NOW, VOLUME III.

In my youth, I was informed that "the gift without the giver is bare". Your accounting, in this instance, leaves the giver practically bare inasmuch as the total of the gift was not in excess of $2000. Moreover, I am informed that this particular gift of interest involves no more than the routine preparation of legal papers. If you insist, I shall of course pay this account as rendered, but I regard it as "inflated".

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
JEROME HANDLER
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NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 1, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Re: I CAN HEAR IT NOW, VOLUME III

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As you know, all the details in connection with the gift of your interest in I Can Hear It Now, Volume III, to Ethel Murrow and Charles H. Brewster have now been completed.

I assume that your tax man will take care of the filing of your donor's information return; and that donees' returns will likewise be filed.

I am sending along a bill for our services. I sincerely trust that you will find it in order.

Cordially,

Alexander Lindey

ALEXANDER LINDEY

AL/JL
Enc.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
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NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 16, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I read every word of the Massing book. I was in no position to affirm or disaffirm each and every detail of her book. I had checked with the government authorities as to her general credibility, knew that since she left the Party she had been of great value to the nation, and have followed her work in the American Civil Liberties Union. I think the point I tried to make in the Foreword is more important than Miss Massing's interpretation of any isolated event. There are other items on which people differ even more violently than the Duggan story. Incidentally, Laurence Duggan was an old and good friend of mine, and I even have fond memories of working with his father years back.

In confidence, I don't think I am going outside of the bounds of what Roger Straus and others had a right to tell. I took the position on that particular item that taste might well have indicated that the name was not to be mentioned and that a footnote might indicate that the reason for the omission of the name was the fact that the party was deceased. In all frankness, I took the position with the previous publisher that there would be much more comment on the episode if it were changed, having once been set forth in the manuscript.

I represented no one professionally in the situation at all but I am writing you fully because I so deeply appreciated your frontal assault. I really don't think I sinned, but at worst it was a question of balancing what I thought was a real contribution which I could make in the Foreword as against other values such as you raise. I don't think I in any way vouched for every word of the manuscript, or indicated that I agreed with every thought. I doubt if I could do that for any book, even one by you !

Incidentally, I doubt if I have any influence or prestige sufficient to sell <u>any</u> books. If you want proof of this I will send you the record of the sales of my own volumes!!!

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

P.S. I hope to get that FBI outline shortly.

March 14, 1951

Dear Morris:

It is my inclination and my duty to record what I implied at lunch today. I am appalled that you should have lent the influence and prestige of your name to the Massing book. You surely must have been aware of the statements made by the Attorney General and by the FBI regarding Laurence Duggan.

I liked your forward. It was both wise and tolerant, but I can scarcely believe that you had read the text of the book before writing it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolf & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

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March 7, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
438 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Seeing you at lunch was quite joyful.

I have gone to work on the FBI program. I will be in Washington tomorrow, Thursday, and will pick up sufficient in a week to give you a complete outline. Frankly, I would like to do a job like this once a month for you, although I don't know exactly why I have this urge. On the one hand I would not mind being paid for such jobs out of the coffers of CBS. In fact, I would rather take their money than yours, although I assume, in the final analysis, any compensation that would flow to me would in reality be paid by Uncle Sam to a very great extent. On the other hand, I would not be interested at all except for the relationship we personally have between us.

I don't need the dough but have long felt that the way to live was a la Robin Hood, taking wealth from those who make it so as to contribute services for nothing for the less lucky ones in life who happen to be the same as the group which is more likely to be pushed around.

I am sending you, for your eyes alone, a batch of subjects I sent to DeWitt Wallace. Some of them may make sense for use for your vast parish. After you have glanced over thermaterial, please return it to me promptly; and bear in mind that it was prepared for a very different medium.

You are a swell guy.

Yours,

Enc

Morris L.Ernst

On re-reading the above, I also want to make clear that entirely aside from anything I have said in this letter, I have been and will continue to be flattered to have you telephone me for hunches that I may have in your field of effort!

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 559

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Ream

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

March 2, 1951

E. R. Murrow

The attached information was sent me by Morris Ernst, he having gotten it from J. Edgar Hoover. This is a follow-up on the little discussion we had at our lunch relating to statistics on numbers of cases.

SO

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
WICKERSHAM 2-2000

March 2, 1951

Dear Morris:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 28 with the statistics on the loyalty program which you received from J. Edgar Hoover.

I have learned my lesson -- I am not going to get into arguments with you again.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

BC Mr. Murrow

COPY

February 23, 1951

As of the close of business February 3, 1951, the FBI had completed 13,959 full field loyalty investigations. The latest figure issued by the Civil Service Commission as of December, 1950, on the Loyalty Program reflects that 299 individuals had been dismissed as the result of ineligible determinations. As of December 31, 1950, 8,612 eligible determinations had been made by the Agency and Civil Service Regional Loyalty Boards. The statement of the Civil Service Commission reflects that as of December 31, 1950, the Civil Service Loyalty Review Board had restored, after appeal, 193 individuals to their jobs after they had been previously considered ineligible by Agency or Civil Service Loyalty Boards. In the process of appealing or pending removal were 26 cases.

As of December, 1950, the Civil Service statements reflect that 2,941 employees left the Government service during loyalty investigations or prior to the adjudication of their cases by the Loyalty Hearing Boards.

5

March 1, 1951

Dear Morris:

I have ordered THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL and thank you for briefing me on it.

I hope Margaret divorces you. It's all right for you to refer to my stuff as "sermonical pap," but you shouldn't even by association indicate that she would ever put such material in a book. When I quote from it, I shall make it clear that the book was written by the sane and sober member of the Ernst family.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

February 20, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I have got two hunches in regard to books that you might want to take a look at.

1. David Loth, an old friend of mine, has written an intriguing life of Lafayette, entitled THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL. There are parts in it that might be usable by you. I know you don't have time to read many books, so I will digest the parts that are for you, that is, the parts that show that Lafayette was a liberal, not swayed by a majority vote just because he believed in popular rule. On the other hand, he would not knuckle under a dictator, -- take a look at page 242, where he refused to be president although he knew the alternative was getting his head cut off or exile. Also, in the chapter IT IS ENOUGH, see his refusal to serve Napoleon. Note especially page 267, and the bottom of page 278; also his final speech on page 317.

2. Incidentally, boosting the Ernst family, I have asked Knopf to send you a copy of Margaret's new book, which gives the etymological history of words in amusing fashion. You might pick up something from her book for that last bit of "sermonical pap" which you hand out.

3. I got some disturbing comment in regard to two key people at CBS. It was vague so I don't know just where they are from, but I understand it was those two people who caused Hearst to start his attacks.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

January 25, 1951

Dear Morris:

You are right, damn it! But maybe the miners, Murrow, and Ernst will be working more days in the future. So far as years are concerned, you have the vision.

As ever yours,

S P

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

January 19, 1951.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Please stop talking about day wage rates. Eighteen dollars a day for a miner is a very deceptive concept unless you know how many days a year the miner works. When I was on the Pennsylvania Coal Commission in 1937, the men worked 168 days a year at what was then the outrageous wage of $7.70 a day.

Miners wives don't live by the day; they live by the year.

Wishing you the same.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 565

To Mr. Ream

From Mr. Murrow

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

January 24, 1951

Your note is too cryptic. Somebody ought to answer Ernst. I agreed not to say anything about this vexed subject, and I take it that means write, too. "Pass to you."

E.R.M.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

January 2, 1951.

F

Mr. Edward R.Murrow
130 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.

Personal

Dear Ed:

I am quite disturbed. I heard that CBS is hiring an ex-FBI man and Victor Lasky to screen your files. This is no reflection on the unknown FBI man or even on Lasky, but it certainly does not mean that CBS is thinking in terms of high vision.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L.Ernst

sp

December 28, 1950

Dear Morris:

My immediate and heartiest thanks for your letter and also for the help on Ellis Island. We might find it necessary to postpone this segment until next week, but we are certainly going to do it and I will make much use of your suggestion.

I am handing your letter to Bill Paley immediately.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

To Mr. Paley

From Mr. Murrow

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATIO

December 28, 1950

Morris Ernst came in to talk with me yesterday about our loyalty check. I listened and suggested that if he wanted to write me a letter I would call it to your attention. Here it is.

E.R.M.

SP
ONA

May 19, 1950

Dear Morris:

Thanks for yours of the 18th.

I always do what you tell me to and have put in a call to Landau to arrange an appointment for next week.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

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TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

May 18, 1950.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Jacob Landau, the operating brain of Overseas News Agency, has got a concept for news gathering which I think is the most exciting new idea I have seen in the field of the press in many a year. I told him to get in touch with you. You must see him. He does not want money and I am sending to you herewith a list of names of some of the people who have endorsed his suggestion. He will tell his own story and after you have seen him let's get together because if you are as enthusiastic as I am, we ought to pitch in and help.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

October 17, 1949

Dear Morris:

I am still going to find an opportunity to use the Roosevelt story; thanks for sending it to me. We recently spent a weekend with Mrs. Roosevelt at Hyde Park. I was again impressed with her good sense; also she is one of the few contemporaries who came close to crucifying a Cardinal.

As far as the radio donation idea is concerned, it's a dead duck--mainly because there is no way of getting over the objections of foreign set manufacturers.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
JEROME HANDLER
THEODORE S. JAFFIN
LEO ROSEN
HAROLD H. STERN
HARRIET F. PILPEL
WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

September 12, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasing Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

1. Enclosed find copy of story which Roosevelt sent me, which in a way is still the basic symbol of approach to our international trade problems. I thought you might want to use it some time. I think it was published in England after some conferences I held with the Bank of England during the war. I don't think it has ever been used in the United States.

2. Hold open lunch on Monday, September 19th. A small party is being given to Jim Bruce by my friend Ben Sonnenberg. I have a hunch that Jim will take over Lew Douglas' place. He is an odd, simple guy who did a very great, realistic job in the Argentine. I think you ought to meet him and I am sure he ought to meet you. I will give you further details in a day or two.

3. Did you ever check in on your intriguing idea of donation of radios by Americans to people in other countries? If you do check in, I think you will find that very few small radios carry small wave-length boxes, and that in many countries, because of the absence of electric power, nothing but battery boxes could be used. Moreover, I heard that in Russia, and the satellite countries there is a variation in the kind of current used from that which we use here.

Let me know if there are no insurmountable obstacles in a technical sense, and then I will be happy to pitch with you to see if we can whip up something.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Enc

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October [illegible]

MEMORANDUM FOR

[illegible] HARRIS HINS

1. I think it would [illegible] get Myron Taylor to [illegible] before you leave for [illegible].

2. I [illegible] to have Samuel Cr[illegible] after Election.

3. I will [illegible] Mrs. Souvaine too.

I am laid up with [illegible] of "flu" -- but hope to [illegible] next week.

I enclose a better ver[illegible] South American story.

[illegible]

FDR

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

not
A

Legal
Personal

August 22, 1949

Dear Morris:

This is similar to last year's album contract.

Is there any way that I can assign my rights for this second and subsequent editions to my son whose full name is Charles Casey Murrow?

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

Ernst, Morris L

March 28, 1949

Dear Morris:

I am prepared to offer not $67.00 a week, but $67.50 for your prejudices. You have enough of them so that maybe we could build up a backlog for the time when I go on vacation.

I am about to have a look at a Knopf contract for a book, and when it arrives maybe I could send it on to you so that if anything happens Casey can inherit the deficit.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
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WILLIAM F. WOLFF, JR.

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

March 8, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

That was a swell broadcast of yours last night. By swell, I mean that it agreed with my prejudices. I would love to get a job with you at about $67.00 a week to feed you my prejudices day by day.

I am quite sure that a better contract can be gotten for the record album than the one you now have. I don't believe Selznick will be interested in doing the picture but I am hopeful I can locate somebody, or at least send somebody to see Jap Gude.

Best,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Ernst, Morris

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
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HAROLD H. STERN
HARRIET F. PILPEL

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

February 23, 1949

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Give me a ring and let's have lunch or drinks some afternoon to talk over your movie life. I think there is some real 'take home pay' for you and your associates in the property you have developed. The story, as it was brought to me, is so different from what Jaffe indicates his clients had in mind, that we have got to pick up some new threads.

Yours,

MLE.BF

Ernst, Morris L.

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY
JEROME HANDLER
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HAROLD H. STERN
HARRIET F. PILPEL

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

January 13, 1949.

Mr. Edward Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

David Loth and I have done a book on the mass illusion which occurred from Convention Day to Election Day. It is entitled THE PEOPLE KNOW BEST. I told the publisher to send you a copy even though you are mentioned in the volume and even though there are no personal devils in the inflationary cycle of knowledge that was pumped out to the public with respect to the last election. I really think the thesis of our book is worthy of discussion, namely: Can we defend our great religion of freedom of the press if the media are increasingly out of step with the desires of the people, and incorrectly prophetic as to major events?

~~ourshelf~~
indexed

If in your own channel to the public mind you do not see fit to comment on this volume, won't you drop me a line in case you think we have made a major error. For my part I don't think that the situation can develop in healthy fashion without further public debate.

Best to you,

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

MLE/ef

Ernst, Morris L.

November 26, 1948

Dear Morris:

Many thanks for yours of the 22nd. I shall be delighted to join you on the evening of December 10th and will look forward to meeting Humphry. My thanks again.

As ever yours,

Mr. Morris L. Ernst
Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York 17
New York

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
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GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 5-1582

November 22, 1948

Mr. Edward C. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
480 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Ed,

Hubert Humphry, Mayor of Minneapolis and Senator-elect from Minnesota, will be in NewYork on December 10th. He is attending a big public dinner in his honor. He will be at my house, 46 West 11th Street, after dinner, which means about eleven o'clock. Do you want to drop in to meet him and have a snifter? He is the man who cleaned the commies out of the state political scene and licked Joe Ball, and in my opinion, is a man of great potential influence in this nation.

This, of course, will be an off-the-record party as the other parties which you have attended at my house, and I can assure you that Hubert will take his remaining hair down.

Won't you let me know whether you can be present.

I am enclosing herewith a list to whom invitations have been sent out.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

Guests invited to the party
for Mayor Hubert Humphrey

Anne O'Hare McCormick

Russell Davenport

John Gunther

William Shirer

Raymond Swing

Helen Reid

Quincy Howe

Samuel Grafton

Dorothy Thompson

Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Henry Luce

Russell C. Leffingwell

Dorothy Thackrey

Ted O. Thackrey

Martin Agronski

Roy Larsen

Gardner Cowles

Morris Ernst

1) Murray
2) Coe

E -

Was hit on Walter White to me. I believe he will not resign on future. Rather self-righteous attitude. Fine lad with G.

Best Wishes

11th
December
1947

COPY

Dear Mr. Hagerty:

While we are grateful for your opinion of December 4th, we would like very much to have Governor Dewey's opinion on the Specific recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Ever sincerely

Secretray

Mr. James C. Hagerty
Executive Assistant to the Governor
State of New York
Albany, New York

WW:emw

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
ALBANY

December 4, 1947.

Mr. Walter White, Secretary,
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People,
20 West 40th Street,
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. White:

On behalf of Governor Dewey I acknowledge your letter of November 14th in which you enclosed a copy of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

A carful reading of the recommendations lead me to believe that the State of New York, under Governor Dewey's leadership, has already taken many of the steps which the report recommends.

As you no doubt know, NewYork State, on the Governor's recommendation, was the first state in the Union to adopt a comprehensive Anti-discrimination Law. This Law has been operating in our State since July 1, 1945, with complete success. The New York State Commission Against Discrimination has built up an enviable record of handling hundreds of complaints which have come before it and have been largely instrumental in breaking down prejudices which formerly existed in the employment of citizens in our State because of race, color, creed or national origin.

As a matter of fact, the New York State Law has served as a model for similar laws in many sections of our country and also as a model for the Fair Trades Employment Act, which was introduced recently by Senator Irving M. Ives, of NewYork State, in the Senate of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Hagerty

June 25, 1947.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I am just in town for a few days and I want to write to congratulate you on the newspaper program. In a very profound way this experiment may be the most important pro-freedom move made in the United States in the last decade, that is, if we really believe that truth can win out in the market place and that the only real corrective in life for institutions and individuals is criticism. And by that I do not mean only adverse criticism.

I like you.

Yours,

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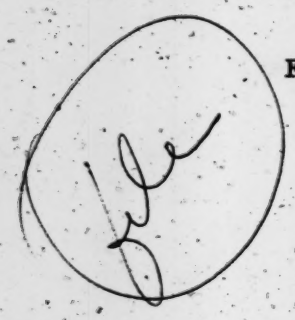
MR. EDWARD R. MURROW:



For your approval.

Leonard Spinrad
TV Press

April 2, 1959

Godfrey

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Mr. Spinrad

from: Mr. Murrow

April 3, 1959

Your proposed letter regarding the Godfrey replacement appears to me to imply that I, in some way, participated in selecting Mr. Godfrey as a replacement. This was not the case and I suggest that the second paragraph either be altered or deleted.

hl

April 2, 1959

Name
Address
City, State

Dear _____:

Mr. Edward R. Murrow has sent on to me your recent gracious letter to him. The CBS Television Network is glad to have this expression of your views.

As to the replacement of Mr. Murrow by Arthur Godfrey during the Murrow sabbatical year, you may be interested to know that Mr. Murrow himself included Mr. Godfrey's name on his list of suggested substitutes.

I think that if you give Mr. Godfrey a chance, you will be pleasantly surprised.

Sincerely yours,

Hubbell Robinson, Jr.

SUGGESTED DRAFT

Reply for letters addressed to Mr. Murrow re Godfrey replacing him on PERSON TO PERSON.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. Godfrey, Arthur

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Godfrey

From Mr. Murrow

Station

November 2, 1955

A note to say thanks for the generous plug you gave our Vice Presidency show on October 26th, and I hope it was worth it.

E.R.M.

rh

TO Mr Murrow

FROM

Here's Arthur's plug for the Vice-Presidency. He ran over on his nighttime show and didn't give a stay-tuned then as he had planned.

Jim S

10/28

CBS RADIO DIVISION

ARTHUR GODFREY

Wednesday, October 26, 1955
10:45 - 11:00 A.M.

GODFREY: ... Tonight at 9:00 o'clock, following our show, on CBS-Television, Ed Murrow is going to do a wonderful thing. There's an ad in the paper about it this morning: The Vice Presidency - the great American lottery. Ed Murrow's "SEE IT NOW" - examines the traditional methods of selecting the Vice President of the United States. The wide range of conflicting opinions surrounding this vital issue is brought to you through the voices and actions of President Eisenhower, Harry S. Truman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alvin W. Barkley, and from John Adams to Richard Nixon this vivid full-hour report moves through the history of the nation's second most important administrative office. Tonight on Channel 2!

(30)

Ed. trans. P. O.

Godfrey, Arthur

SEPTEMBER 1, 1954

MR. ARTHUR GODFREY
BEACON HILLS FARM
PAEOLIAN SPRINGS
VIRGINIA

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES STOP LIKE CORN LIKKER SHOULD BE AGED AT LEAST 24 HOURS THESE ARE MINE.

ED MURROW

1-43-

Sam Goldwyn

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

January 11, 1961

Dear Ed:

Received your wire and will be very happy to talk to Dr. Jonas Salk any time he wants to call.

For that matter, you know I would talk to any friend of yours that you wanted me to. I'd even talk to you if you wanted to talk to me. I'm just a fellow who is ready to talk.

I hope to be in New York soon and look forward to the pleasure of a visit with you.

With warmest regards,

As ever,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Sam Goldwyn

MR. SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES

AN OLD FRIEND OF MINE AND BENEFACTOR OF THE HUMAN RACE JONAS SALK WOULD LIKE TO CHAT WITH YOU ABOUT A PROJECT OF ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE STOP I HAVE SUGGESTED THAT HE MIGHT TELEPHONE YOU STOP LOVE TO YOU AND FRANCES

ED MURROW

514-70
1-11-61
gw

Sam Goldwyn

October 20, 1960

Dear Sam:

Belated thanks for your gracious note of October 12th. I am just back from London where the B.B.C. ran our Polaris piece and where I think it had real impact. I am more than grateful for your kind words for you're a pretty tough critic. When may we expect to see you in New York again?

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

ERM:gw

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

October 12, 1960

Dear Ed:

Saw your program last night. You have done it again!

It was the most exciting and informative hour I have ever seen on television. It was not only inspiring, but you have done a great thing for the country in showing the progress we are making in our defense.

You are still the master.

Affectionately,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn, Sam

March 16, 1959

Dear Sam:

This is a belated answer to your generous and gracious letter of February 24. It isn't an easy letter to answer because I am not a very demonstrative or voluble guy. My affection for you and Frances makes it more difficult to write to you than it would be to write to a relative stranger.

Letters such as yours place upon me an obligation to try to do something that has real substance when I return after the year's leave.

I am just off to Europe for a couple of weeks and see no prospect of getting to the West Coast before next summer, so I look forward to seeing you here in the Spring. Do let us know when to expect you and save us some time.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

KRM/hl

P.S. I am eagerly looking forward to the opportunity of seeing "Porgy and Bess".

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

February 24, 1959

Dear Ed:

"Small World" last Sunday was an outstanding job. I think it was one of the best - and that's saying a great deal.

I am sorry, and at the same time glad, that you are going to take the next year off. Sorry because I, like many millions of others, will miss you more than you will ever know. The network may find someone to take over your time but, believe me, they will never find anyone to replace you - and we will all be looking forward to your return to CBS.

I am glad, however, that you will have a chance to relax a bit and get away from driving yourself so hard. You have been doing much too much for your own good and it is time that you should think about yourself somewhat instead of knocking yourself out because of your sense of public obligation.

California would be a great place for you to do some relaxing. It would be wonderful to have you here for a while. But if you don't make it here soon, I will see you when I get to New York in the Spring.

Affectionately,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

January 21, 1959

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your nice note about the check for the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees.

I think you will be interested in a copy of the letter I am enclosing from Anna Nangle (Mae Tinee) of the Chicago Tribune, who is the most important motion picture critic in Chicago. I could send you many others like it but you have enough to read as it is.

As per your suggestion of the other day, I think it would be a fine idea if you did another half hour out of the material you have - a great deal of which, I am sure, is even better than what was shown. From the mail I have received and the people who have talked to me, I know they are very much interested, because no medium, other than yours, attracts more attention than motion pictures.

And by the way, your broadcast the other night on sex was unusually interesting. It was like you to step out and do something daring, and you handled it in great style.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

C

O

P

Y

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
Tribune Tower
Chicago 11, Illinois

January 14, 1959

Dear Mr. Samuel Goldwyn:

The last time you and Mrs. Goldwyn were in town, you affably suggested that I write you a letter sometime. I've often intended and wanted to do so--when I heard you were going to make "Porgy and Bess"--and on your last two birthdays, but never got around to it. However, after seeing you on "Small World" a week ago, I simply have to drop you a line of congratulations. You stole the show.

Miss Leigh was charming, but like Orson Welles, her film experience was rather long ago, and Mr. Tynan, I thought, displayed an embarrassing ignorance of the motion picture business, and a tiresome tendency to analyze. Old timers like ourselves know that, particularly in today's market, and always in your productions, quality sells, and that's all there is to it.

I could say more, but I know you're a busy man--this is just three small and personal cheers for you. I'm looking forward to "Porgy".

Cordially,

/s/ Anna Nangle

Anna Nangle,
Mae Tinee

Goldwyn, Samuel

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

December 16, 1958

Dear Ed:

I appreciate your calling this morning because, as I told you, I have been a little nervous about the show.

There was one thing I forgot to mention: I wanted to tell you that I was not one of the founders of United Artists. I joined them as a partner after the organization had been set up.

Frances joins me in sending our very best wishes for a Merry Christmas and we hope that the coming year will be your happiest.

Bless you.

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

(telephone call)

Goldwyn, Sam

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: John Aaron - Jesse Zousmer

from: Edward R. Murrow

October 21, 1958

Sam Goldwyn rang me today to see if we would be interested in featuring any or all of his various stars in the forthcoming picture PORGY AND BESS, i.e. Sidney Poitier, Dorothy Dandridge and Pearl Bailey. All have apparently given great performances and would be good material.

Poitier's home is in New York and he will appear in a play in New York after the finish of the picture. Dorothy Dandridge and Pearl Bailey are both in Hollywood. Of these two, Mr. Goldwyn was undecided as to which would be better, if we had to make a choice, the first being very beautiful and the other a great character who lives on thousands of acres in Apple Valley.

The best time for them to appear would be a couple of months apart, starting when they finish making the picture in December.

Mr. Goldwyn has not yet mentioned this idea to the people involved, wanting to get our reaction first. I said we would let him know by the end of the week.

August 24, 1957

Dear Sam:

Just a note to tell you how sorry we all were that we weren't able to get to California on our recent trip. The death of an old friend of mine while we were on a fishing trip upset our plans.

Do let us know when you expect to be in New York.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

fc

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

July 8, 1957

Dear Ed:

I do hope you decide to come out the beginning of August and stay with us for a couple of weeks. I am sure it will do you more good than staying in the Recording Room at CBS.

As ever,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

July 1, 1957

Dear Sam:

As usual, my plans are indefinite and I won't be able to let you know whether I can get to Hollywood until about the third week in July.

If I can make it, it will probably be the first week in August.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Sam Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 48, California

fc

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

June 3, 1957

Dear Ed:

I am delighted to know that there is a chance of your being out here soon.

Frances joins me in asking you to be sure that you make our house your home, whether your stay is for a week or a month or as long as you like. Should your charming wife be with you, it would make it doubly nice.

As ever,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn.

May 24, 1957

Dear Sam:

As usual, you were both gracious and charming. It wasn't my intention that you should yourself read the story A STILLNESS AT APPOMATTOX, but I am most grateful that you did and for your comments about it.

Shaw.

There is a bare chance that we may be in California in late June or early August, but so far, plans are as usual, vague indeed.

I will make you a signal as soon as I know anything definite.

I am delighted you are doing PORGY AND BESS. You are the only one who should do it.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

fc

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

May 17, 1957

Dear Ed:

I have read the screen treatment of "A Stillness at Appommatox" which you sent me and I must say that my first comment is that it is beautifully written. However, as far as a picture is concerned, I would hesitate to tackle it because it is one battle scene after another.

The narration is beautiful and if they want you to narrate it, I don't know of anyone who could do it better.

Are you planning to be out this way soon? I would love to see you again.

As ever,

Sam

P. S. My real love at this time is PORGY AND BESS.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

May 10, 1957

Dear Sam:

I hesitate to do this, but nevertheless I venture to send you a script called "A Stillness at Appomattox." Could you possibly have someone read it and render an opinion. If this is too much to ask, I will understand.

Many thanks and my love to you and Frances.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

rh

Goldwyn, Samuel

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

February 12, 1957

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter.

There is only man I want to photograph, and that is you. You are the most photogenic reporter I know. You not only photograph well, but you are a nice guy and I like you.

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn

February 6, 1957

Dear Sam:

I should have written you earlier about the DeMille project. I finally decided that it was not for me.

At this moment I don't know whether the Company plans to proceed with it or not. Anyway, there is only one biography of a Producer I would like to do, and that is yours.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

rh

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

January 22, 1957

Dear Ed:

I saw DeMille today and asked him if he had heard from you. He said that, up to today, he had not. I understand he is carrying on other negotiations. What happened to yours?

Do let me hear from you.

Best as ever,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn, Samuel

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

December 3, 1956

Dear Ed:

You were right. Danny's effort, with your guidance, was certainly a great show. You may See It Now - but I saw it yesterday!

Love and kisses,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Goldwyn

MAY 8, 1956

MR. SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28 CALIFORNIA

DEAR SAM: I AM FLYING OUT ON SUNDAY NIGHT AND FLYING BACK ON MONDAY NIGHT SO REGRETFULLY CANNOT ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION STOP HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO DO AN INTERVIEW WITH ME ON THE RADIO PROGRAM MONDAY NIGHT? IT IS SOMETHING OF A TRADITION. REGARDS.

ED MURROW

414-710-43

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

May 3, 1956

Dear Ed:

I read this morning that you are going to be here around the 14th of this month.

Frances and I would love to have you stay with us while you are here. Please honor us by being our guest.

Regards,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Sytem
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

April 27, 1955

Dear Sam:

I communicated with Dr. Salk and have reason to believe that he will not make any commitments in the area of film until we have a chance to talk.

I am going to England for the elections so I am afraid there is no chance of my being on the Coast until some time in July.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

rh

April 27, 1955

Dear Jonas:

Another one to add to the list. Samuel Goldwyn is interested in making a picture. If you ever consider such a thing, he is a real craftsman. More power to you and death to the common cold.

As ever yours,

Dr. Jonas Salk
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

rh

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

APRIL 25, 1955

DEAR ED:

SAMMY REPORTED TO ME THE TALK HE HAD WITH YOU ABOUT DR. SALK.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THE INTEREST YOU ARE TAKING.

AGAIN I MUST ASK YOU -- WHEN ARE YOU COMING OUT? PLEASE MAKE IT SOON.

WITH WARMEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

March 28, 1955

Dear Sam:

Very many thanks for your nice note about the SEE IT NOW program on the McCarran Act. I'm glad you enjoyed it.

I still have no definite plans for coming to the coast but hope to be able to make it soon and will certainly let you know in advance.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

fc

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

MARCH 11, 1955

DEAR ED:

I SAW YOUR TELECAST LAST TUESDAY NIGHT ON THE MCCARRAN ACT.

FOR THE FIRST TIME THERE WAS BROUGHT HOME TO ME - AND I AM SURE TO MILLIONS OF OTHERS - THE FULL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACT AND ITS INJUSTICES.

IN DOING THIS YOU HAVE RENDERED A GREAT SERVICE TO THE COUNTRY AS WELL AS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE REST OF THE WORLD.

WHEN ARE YOU COMING OUT THIS WAY?

WITH WARMEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

RECEIVED
1954 NOV -3 PM 4:54
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

4

WU046 PD

WUX LOS ANGELES CALIF NOV 3

EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

DEAR ED: YOUR COMMENTS AND ANALYSIS LAST NIGHT WERE SUPERB. IT WAS MURROW AT HIS BEST AND THERE IS NOTHING THAT CAN COME EVER CLOSE TO THAT. CONGRATULATIONS ON A BRILLIANT JOB

SAM GOLDWYN

431P..

Goldwyn. S

November 1, 1954

Dear Sam:

Many thanks for your very kind letter of October 20th.

I am delighted that you liked the show of the 19th. I thought it was one of our better efforts.

I hope to be out on a quick trip some time during the next few weeks and will surely let you know ahead of time.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

fc

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

OCTOBER 20, 1954

DEAR ED:

THAT WAS A WONDERFUL SHOW LAST NIGHT. IT WAS MORE THAN TELEVISION AT ITS BEST - IT WAS A REAL CONTRIBUTION TO OUR COUNTRY.

I HAVE ALWAYS FELT, AS YOU DO, THAT IT IS TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT NOT ONLY THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD UNDERSTAND US, BUT THAT OUR PEOPLE GET TO KNOW WHAT OTHERS REALLY THINK OF US. BY BRINGING THEIR FEELING ABOUT US INTO LIFE AND RIGHT INTO THE HOMES OF AMERICA AS VIVIDLY AND INTERESTINGLY AS YOU DID, YOU ARE DOING MORE FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THAN A WHOLE CORPS OF DIPLOMATS ROLLED INTO ONE. I AM SURE THAT EVERYONE WHO SAW LAST NIGHT'S SHOW WILL BE EAGERLY LOOKING FORWARD TO THOSE TO FOLLOW -- I KNOW I AM.

IF YOU GET THE IMPRESSION THAT I THINK YOU AND YOUR STAFF AND CBS DESERVE A FLOCK OF MEDALS AND THE THANKS AND APPRECIATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THIS JOB, I'LL LET YOU IN ON A SECRET -- YOU'RE RIGHT!

WHEN ARE YOU COMING OUT THIS WAY?

AFFECTIONATELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

October 13, 1954

Dear Sam:

This is just a note to say my thanks for your kind words about the Freedom House Award.

It was indeed good of you to wire me as you did.

Sincerely,

Mr. Sam Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

fc

GLOBE RADIOGRAM VIA GLOBE

Nice note

GLOBE WIRELESS LTD.
60 HUDSON ST. N. Y. C.
TEL-BE 3-7755

1954 OCT 6 AM 3 50

HNB26/JBN INTL HONOLULU VIA GLOBE 22 OCT 5TH 654P

LT MURROW

580 PARK

NEWYORKCITY/NYK/

JUST READ DOUGLAS SPEECH IN GIVING YOU FREEDOM HOUSE

AWARD HEARTILY SUBSCRIBE TO EVERY WORD LOVE

GOLDWYN

RADIOGRAM VIA GLOBE

Goldwyn

RECEIVED
1954 FEB 12 PM 7:07
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU047 PD

WUX LOS ANGELES CALIF FEB 12 316PMP

EDWARD R MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

THIS IS AS IT SHOULD BE. OF COURSE YOU ARE THE GREATEST. HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS AND OUR WARMEST REGARDS

FRANCES AND SAM.

756P..

..

Goldwyn, Sam

DECEMBER 14, 1953

SAM GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVE.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

AFRAID NO CHOICE BUT DELAY OUR PROJECT UNTIL MIDDLE OF JANUARY. LEAVING FOR KOREA END OF THIS WEEK AND WILL MAKE YOU SIGNAL WHEN GET BACK DECEMBER 28 OR 29. BARE POSSIBILITY MIGHT BE ABLE STOP HOLLYWOOD ON WAY OUT OR BACK BUT RATHER DOUBT IT. REGARDS

ED MURROW

1-43-7

IUEL GOLDWYN

DECEMBER 3, 1953

DEAR ED:

I JUST HEARD FROM BOB SHERWOOD AND HE IS ARRIVING HERE ON THE 15TH OF DECEMBER AND LEAVING ON THE 29TH OR 30TH.

HOW DOES THAT FIT IN WITH YOUR PLAN? OR DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO IT WITHOUT SHERWOOD AND POSTPONE OUR PROJECT UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF JANUARY.

PLEASE LET ME KNOW WHICH IS MOST CONVENIENT FOR YOU.

LOVE AND KISSES,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT = Int'l Victory Ltr.

FX-1 (44)

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA652 PD VIA KL=WUX LOSANGELES CALIF 17 527PMP=

EDWARD R MURROW=

580 PARK AVE=

1955 NOV 17 PM 9 48

JUST LISTENED TO YOUR BROADCAST ON TODAYS TESTIMONY. IT WAS GREAT OBJECTIVE REPORTING. YOU ARE STILL MY HERO=

SAM GOLDWYN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Goldwyn, Samuel

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28

Frame

September 29, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a check. Please understand that I am not admitting that my picture is better, but they tell me it is, and before you frame this check you had better decide for yourself Wednesday night.

The arrangements as they stand now are that we are to meet in the lobby of the Sherry Netherland Hotel at 11:30 am. sharp, and have a bite of lunch at the Commissary at Ebbets Field before the game.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you,

Sincerely,

Sam.

Goldwyn, Samuel

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

MAY 21, 1952

DEAR ED:

I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN SEEING SOME OF THE PROPAGANDA THAT IS GOING OUT AGAINST THE GENERAL. I COULD SEND YOU A GREAT DEAL MORE THAT IS MEAN AND VICIOUS, BUT THIS WILL MAKE THE POINT.

WARMEST REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

MARCH 20, 1952

DEAR ED:

THANK YOU FOR BOTH WIRES. I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE ALL MY MEALS WITH YOU.

THANKS FOR THE DOUGLAS FILM.

I AM SENDING A FEW FEET OF FILM ON DANNY KAYE. IT IS BEING AIR-EXPRESSED TODAY TO FRED FRIENDLY. IF YOU NEED IT BADLY, USE IT. OTHERWISE, FORGET IT.

IT WAS A GREAT PLEASURE TO HAVE YOU HERE. BOTH FRANCES AND I HOPE WE WILL BE SEEING YOU AGAIN SOON - WHEN THE WEATHER IS NICER.

BEST REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

April 13, 1952
Hans Christian Anderson Program

SIR

March 19, 1952

Dear Sam:

It's churlish and ungracious of me not to have written sooner.

First of all permit me to express my deep appreciation to you and Frances for your most gracious hospitality. The role of guest suits me ill and normally produces a sense of uneasiness. On this occasion I felt completely at home both in your home and on your lot.

I should like to say my thanks to you and your associates on behalf of myself and my crew for the magnificent co-operation we received. I have now seen about two-thirds of the material we shot - some of the sound quality is not all that I could wish, but I think we shall be able to straighten that out. I still do not know exactly how to take hold of this story. We have got such a great wealth of material. Parenthetically the shots of you and Frances are quite magnificent.

We have tentatively scheduled the piece for April 13, and we will of course provide you with a kinescope of the final version for your personal use.

Perhaps at your convenience you will let me have such footage on Danny Kaye as you will permit us to use. We will of course be prepared to label it as a rehearsal if you wish.

I would ask you to extend my personal thanks to individual members of your organisation but those who were helpful are so numerous that I would have to look at your organisation chart to be able to list them all.

Having recorded a considerable variety of stories both for radio and television, I can tell you that none was more enjoyable than this one and my hope is that we shall be able to do an acceptable job with it.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

cc Fred.

DEAR MR. MURROW:

THE SHOW WAS SO WONDERFUL THAT I FORGIVE YOU COMPLETELY FOR MAKING ME "THE FACE ON THE CUTTING ROOM FLOOR". MESSAGES OF PRAISE HAVE BEEN COMING INTO OUR OFFICE ALL WEEK - AND RIGHTLY SO, BECAUSE NOTHING CAN TOP IT.

KIND REGARDS,

Peggy Vaughn

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

S/N

APRIL 16, 1952

DEAR ED:

ENCLOSED YOU WILL FIND TWO ADS FROM THE HOLLYWOOD REPORTER AND DAILY VARIETY WHICH I THOUGHT MIGHT INTEREST YOU.

I AM HAPPY TO TELL YOU THAT THE REACTION FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN SOMETHING BEYOND MY DREAMS. THEY HAVE ALL PRAISED THE BEAUTIFUL JOB YOU DID AND, NEEDLESS TO TELL YOU, I AM VERY HAPPY AT THE RESULTS. YOU HAVE DONE A GREAT THING FOR ME AND MY PICTURE AND I HOPE WE ARE WORTHY OF IT.

I SHALL NEVER FORGET THE BEST GUEST WE EVER HAD AND ONLY HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE COMING THIS WAY AGAIN REAL SOON. THE INVITATION STILL STANDS - AND YOU MAY HAVE BOTH ROOMS ANY TIME YOU SAY.

ALL WARMEST REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

"Congratulations to Samuel Goldwyn for as fine a piece of public relations as has ever been done for the motion picture industry!"

THE Hollywood REPORTER

'HANS' BACKSTAGE TELECAST NEAT PUBLIC RELATIONS JOB

An impressive piece of public relations for the motion picture industry was performed yesterday when CBS-TV telecast on its "See It Now" program the backstage tour of Samuel Goldwyn's "Hans Christian Andersen" made recently by the network's top reporter - commentator, Ed Murrow.

Besides proving a fascinating piece of entertainment, the program can't help creating more respect for the makers of films on the part of the millions who are unfamiliar with the enormous problems involved in making a major motion picture.

DAILY VARIETY DAILY

'Hans', CBS Open New Vistas For Pix-TV

Motion pictures and television had a brief but successful marriage on Ed Murrow's CBS-TV "See It Now" program yesterday, result being a top program for video, and as fine a piece of public relations as has ever been done for the pix industry. What "See It Now" did in capsule version was to take public into a Hollywood studio and show it the lengths to which pix industry goes to turn put top product, and result was an effective good will show for the industry.

Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers

S/N.

FEBRUARY 28, 1952

MR. SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

PLANNING ARRIVE MARCH 10 FOR FOUR DAYS. CAMERA CREW AND PRODUCERS ARRIVING COUPLE DAYS LATER. MANY THANKS YOUR INVITATION BUT THINK TWOULD BE IMPOSITION SO I WILL STAY BEVERLY HILLS. REGARDS

ED MURROW

T150-43

BC: FRIENDLY

a th.

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

FEBRUARY 21, 1952

DEAR ED:

I HAVE YOUR LETTER OF FEBRUARY 19TH AND I AM DELIGHTED THAT WE WERE ABLE TO COME UP WITH SOMETHING THAT SHOULD MAKE A GRAND AND EXCITING PROGRAM. YOUR IDEA OF THE APPROACH AND HOW THE PRESENTATION SHOULD BE HANDLED IS BRILLIANT. THERE ARE MILLIONS OF "JOES" AND "JANES" AS WELL, THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHO WOULD FEEL THRILLED TO BE ON THE "INSIDE" OF THE MAKING OF A GREAT PICTURE LIKE HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN, AND I AM SURE THAT IT WILL BE A PERSONALIZED THING WITH THEM AFTER THEY WATCH THE SHOW AS YOU PLAN IT.

YOUR LETTER MUST HAVE CROSSED MY LAST LETTER IN THE MAILS, BUT IN VIEW OF WHAT YOU WRITE I AM CONVINCED THAT IT WOULD BE A FINE IDEA FOR YOU OR YOUR WRITER TO COME OUT AT ONCE AND BETWEEN US WE CAN FORMULATE CONCRETELY A GREAT LAYOUT FOR THE SHOW. AS SOON AS THAT IS DONE, I WOULD SEE TO IT THAT EVERYTHING IS SET UP HERE SO THAT YOUR CREW COULD COME OUT IMMEDIATELY THEREAFTER TO DO THE NECESSARY SHOOTING ON THE LOT HERE.

BECAUSE OF THE GREAT SCOPE OF THIS PICTURE, I SUGGEST THAT THIS BE DONE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WHILE WE HAVE ALL THE PRINCIPALS HERE AND WHILE WE CAN, IF NECESSARY, MAKE CERTAIN CHANGES IN OUR PLANS TO ACCOMMODATE YOUR NEEDS. I AGREE THAT YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO DO THIS IN ABOUT A WEEK OF SHOOTING, BUT IF IT WILL REQUIRE MORE TIME, WE WILL BE HERE. I KNOW THAT YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS BE COGNIZANT OF OUR PRODUCTION PROBLEMS, BUT I AM ANXIOUS FOR YOU TO GET OUT OF THIS THE BEST SHOW POSSIBLE FOR YOUR PROGRAM, AND I WILL SEE TO IT THAT WE ACCOMMODATE YOU TO THE UTMOST.

YOU MUST COME OUT FOR THIS YOURSELF, EITHER AT ONCE OR WITH YOUR SHOOTING CREW. FRANCES AND I WANT YOU TO BE OUR GUEST WHILE YOU ARE HERE AND I DO HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ARRANGE TO STAY WITH US.

ALL MY BEST.

SINCERELY,

Sam

P. S. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO WRITE YOU AND TELL YOU WHAT A GREAT JOB YOU DID ON TAFT THE OTHER DAY. I HAD PAUL HOFFMAN, ZANUCK, AND A SMALL GROUP TO AN ORGANIZING DINNER FOR THE GENERAL THE OTHER NIGHT AND EVERY ONE OF THEM MENTIONED WHAT A BRILLIANT AND DEVASTATING ANALYSIS IT WAS. YOU ARE ONE PERSON TO WHOM I DON'T HAVE TO SAY "KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK".

S. G.

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

FEBRUARY 19, 1952

DEAR ED:

I UNDERSTAND THAT HERBERT MITGANG OF YOUR STAFF HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH DAVID GOLDING OUT HERE AND TOLD HIM THAT YOU AND YOUR PEOPLE ON "SEE IT NOW" THOUGHT WELL OF THE IDEA OF A HOLLYWOOD STORY ALONG THE LINES SET OUT IN MY LETTER THE OTHER DAY. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT SINCE MITGANG AND GOLDING WORKED SO WELL TOGETHER IN THE PAST ON SO MANY PROJECTS IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA IF THEY COULD GET TOGETHER AND WORK CLOSELY ON THIS ONE FOR ABOUT A WEEK OR SO.

HOWEVER, I CANNOT LET GOLDING GO EAST, BECAUSE HE WILL BE BUSY HERE ON THE COAST FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS. I THINK IF YOUR MAN, MITGANG, CAME OUT HERE FOR A WEEK OR SO AND SPENT THAT TIME WORKING ON THE IDEA INTENSIVELY WITH GOLDING AND SOAKING UP THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE AND SPECIFIC DETAILS THAT HE WOULD NEED FOR SUCH A STORY HE OUGHT TO COME UP WITH A REALLY GOOD SCRIPT FOR YOU.

OF COURSE WHEN HE IS OUT HERE WE WILL GIVE HIM THE FULLEST ACCESS TO THE PRODUCTION AND EVERYTHING WE HAVE, AND DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO FACILITATE HIS GETTING A GREAT STORY FOR YOU. AND, IF YOU FEEL IT WILL BE USEFUL TO YOU, I WILL BE GLAD TO SPEND SOME TIME WITH HIM MYSELF OR HAVE HIM TO LUNCH SO HE CAN GET WHATEVER BENEFIT THERE MIGHT BE OUT OF THAT. I REALLY BELIEVE YOU CAN GET AN EXCITING PROGRAM OUT OF THIS.

WITH ALL WARM REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

8/10

February 19, 1952

Dear Sam:

Let's do it. We will of course require much guidance and suggestions from you, but if we are to try our hand at doing a piece on the making of a movie we could not possibly find a better counsellor.

My ideas, so far as they have taken shape, are these: We do not attempt to do a piece on Hollywood. It's too big. So we do the story of the making of HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. We make only brief reference to the competition between television and movies, but we manage to suggest that this bold venture by Goldwyn is in the tradition of the making of a better mouse trap. Our objective would be simply to take our viewers not only onto the lot, but permit them to get acquainted with both the planning and philosophy--even the financing if you agree--of a major production. We would want to film with our own cameras not only some of the major artists, but also the unknowns--the extras, the soundmen, and so forth.

Our general approach would be that of taking an individual viewer by the hand and saying: "Look, Joe, if you want a chance in person to talk with Goldwyn, wander around the lot, watch the actors working and relaxing; listen to the conversation, directions, rehearsals, that go into the making of a picture, then get a glimpse of some of the finished product, just come along with us."

I know too little about the making of a movie to be confident as to the impression we would leave with the viewer, but I would guess that it would be that the making of a movie of the proportions of HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN is both a complicated and exciting business requiring great sensitivity, imagination and skill of a high order.

We reckon it would take us about six days to do the actual shooting after we had agreed with your people upon the general character of the material we would require. Perhaps you would be good enough to suggest the week that might best fit your shooting schedule and that would provide us with the most interesting material.

I would hope to come out and do part of this one myself which would give me both professional and personal pleasure because it would provide the opportunity of seeing you and Mrs. Goldwyn again.

Young Sam and his delightful bride dined with us the other night and gave us great pleasure.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles, California

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

FEBRUARY 14, 1952

DEAR ED:

I UNDERSTAND THAT YOUR PEOPLE AND DAVID GOLDING, OF MY STAFF, HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THE POSSIBILITY OF YOUR DOING A STORY ON HOLLYWOOD FOR YOUR SUNDAY SHOW. I THINK THERE IS A GREAT IDEA IN SUCH A STORY WHICH WOULD BE TIMELY AND IMPORTANT AND MOST INTERESTING TO YOUR AUDIENCE.

I AM ENTIRELY WILLING THAT YOU USE WHAT I AM DOING NOW IN THE MAKING OF "HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN" AS THE SPRINGBOARD AND KEYNOTE OF THE STORY OF HOW HOLLYWOOD FACES THE FUTURE. IT SHOULD MAKE AN INTERESTING STORY: - HERE IS TELEVISION GIVING MOTION PICTURES THE TOUGHEST COMPETITION IT EVER HAD, HERE IS THE BOX OFFICE DROPPING 'WAY DOWN, HERE ARE SWAN SONGS BEING SUNG ABOUT OUR INDUSTRY, BUT YET HERE IS AN INDEPENDENT PRODUCER GOING AHEAD AND SPENDING FOUR MILLION DOLLARS ON "HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN". THIS IS THE LARGEST-BUDGETED PICTURE OF ALL THE PICTURES BEING MADE IN HOLLYWOOD THIS YEAR. IN ORDER TO BREAK EVEN, I AM GOING TO HAVE TO GROSS EIGHT MILLION DOLLARS WHICH, BELIEVE IT OR NOT, MEANS THAT SEVENTY-FIVE TO ONE HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO SEE THE PICTURE BEFORE I AM IN THE CLEAR. YET I HAVE THAT MUCH CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE OF MOTION PICTURES AND IN THE PUBLIC'S RESPONSE TO GREAT ENTERTAINMENT THAT I AM GOING FULL STEAM AHEAD.

I THINK THIS EXEMPLIFIES STRIKINGLY THE FACT THAT HOLLYWOOD AS A WHOLE IS MEETING COMPETITION TODAY - AND FIGHTING FOR ITS LIFE - BY GIVING THE VERY BEST IT HAS TO MAKING FINE ENTERTAINMENT. I AM SURE THIS COULD BE SPLENDIDLY DRAMATIZED BY DEVOTING A MAJOR PART OF THE SHOW TO A MOST INTERESTING SKETCH OF THE MAKING OF THE PICTURE AND EVEN SOME SCENES FROM IT. CONSIDERING THE PERSONALITIES AVAILABLE: DANNY KAYE, RENEE JEANMAIRE (WHO SCORED SUCH A SUCCESS WHEN SHE DANCED "CARMEN" WITH PETIT), FARLEY GRANGER, FRANK LOESSER ("GUYS AND DOLLS") WHO WROTE THE SCORE, MOSS HART WHO DID THE SCREENPLAY, CLAVÉ, THE GREAT FRENCH ARTIST WHOM I BROUGHT OVER TO DO THE BALLET SETS, MME. KARINSKA, WHO IS DOING THE COSTUMES, CHARLES VIDOR, WHO IS DIRECTING, THE SCOPE OF THE PRODUCTION AND ALL THE OTHER ELEMENTS, I THINK A TREMENDOUSLY EFFECTIVE JOB COULD BE DONE. WHEN THIS WOULD BE ROUNDED OUT WITH A PANORAMA OF HOLLYWOOD,

TOGETHER WITH INTERESTING TELEVISION SHOTS AND FIGURES AND WITH YOUR MASTERFUL OVER-ALL PRESENTATION, I AM SURE YOU WOULD WIND UP WITH A GREAT SHOW.

I WOULD, OF COURSE, BE GLAD TO GIVE YOU EVERY COOPERATION AND THE ACCESS TO OUR PRODUCTION THAT WOULD LET YOU GET WHATEVER YOU NEEDED.

THIS WOULD MAKE THE SAME KIND OF OUTSTANDING SHOW AS YOUR VISIT TO A TYPICAL COAL MINE TOWN. YOU HAD WONDERFULLY INTERESTING MATERIAL THERE AND PROJECTED IT TO THE AUDIENCE IN SUCH A WAY THAT HELD ME - AND, I AM SURE, THE REST OF YOUR LISTENERS - SPELLBOUND. I AM SURE YOU CAN GET THE SAME FEEL INTO THIS KIND OF STORY ON HOLLYWOOD.

WITH ALL WARM REGARDS, I AM

SINCERELY,

Dave

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

3/11

PRESS MARCH 19, 1952

LT. SAMUEL GOLDWYN, JR.
SHAPE
PARIS, FRANCE

WILL YOU ADVISE IMMEDIATELY SOURSE OF ALL EISENHOWER SOUND AND FILM SEQUENCES IN YOUR SHAPE FILM AND WHERREABOUTS OF ORIGINAL NEGATIVE.

WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

ED MURROW AND FRED FRIENDLY

T150-43

SIN

March 17, 1953

Dear Sam:

"See It Now" has run into a seemingly insurmountable problem which we thought you or someone in your office might be able to help us with. Up until now, our cutters have been working in a borrowed studio and using rented Moviecolas. It is now our plan to set up our own facilities by next September. We have begun making plans to purchase the equipment, but we have run into a bottleneck on the subject of Moviecolas. The Moviecola Company, which is in Los Angeles, (Mr. Sourrier the inventor and the President, as you probably know) cannot promise delivery for eighteen months. Fred Friendly and I thought that you or Danny Mandell might have done considerable business with the company and might be able to bring your influence to bear. I am advised that Model UC20-S is the one we require. We could manage with three if we had the promise of a fourth.

I hate to bother you with such detail, but we have gotten nowhere at this end, and this is a problem we just have to lick.

It was good to see you again last night.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
Sherry-Netherlands Hotel
Fifth Avenue & 59th Street
New York, New York

mic

cc: Mr. Goldwyn - Hollywood

Goldwyn, Sam

MARCH 14, 1952

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 ~~NORTH~~ FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JUST WANTED SAY GREATLY MISSED MY USUAL LUNCHEON GOLDWYN TODAY.

REGARDS

ED MURROW

T150-43

Goldwyn, Sam -

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

8/10

February 17, 1952

Dear Mr. Goldwyn:

This is merely a note in reply to yours of February 9 about the Korea show. Mr. Murrow had received a letter from Ben Feiner of CBS TV in Hollywood asking for a print to be shown to you as requested by Mr. Robert Newman of your office. A 16mm reduction print has gone out to Mr. Feiner who will be in touch with you to arrange a convenient showing time.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

CC: Mr. B. F. Feiner

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. B. F. Feiner

from: Dorothy McDonough
E.R.Murrow office

February 17, 1953

The attached is self-explanatory and will answer your letter to Mr. Murrow of February 10.

Would you please be sure the print is returned to this office when you are finished with it.

1137

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

6121 SUNSET BOULEVARD · HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA · HOLLYWOOD 9-1212

B. F. FEINER, JR.
Executive Producer

February 10, 1953

Mr. Ed Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We have had a request from Mr. Sam Goldwyn through Robert Newman of the Goldwyn Studios for a kinescope of your Korean show.

Since we have no copies out here, I am writing to inquire whether you will approve of running one of these prints -- and, if you do, whether you will be kind enough to have a copy sent to this office.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Feiner

BFF/j

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

FEBRUARY 9, 1953

DEAR ED:

BOB SHERWOOD AND DICK RODGERS HAVE TOLD ME WHAT A MAGNIFICENT JOB YOUR REPORT ON KOREA WAS. THEY JUST CAN'T SAY ENOUGH ABOUT IT.

TO MY GREAT REGRET, THIS IS THE ONLY SHOW OF YOURS THAT I HAVE MISSED AND I CERTAINLY WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO SEE IT. I WILL BE BACK IN HOLLYWOOD FOR A COUPLE OF DAYS ABOUT TEN DAYS FROM NOW AND I WONDER IF YOU COULD SEE THAT A PRINT IS MADE AVAILABLE TO ME HERE. I DON'T WANT TO MISS IT.

WITH WARMEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

JANUARY 17, 1952

DEAR ED:

YOUR BROADCAST YESTERDAY ON HOW PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS ARE SO OFTEN RIGGED BY POLITICIANS TO DEFEAT WHAT IS REALLY THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE WAS MIGHTY FINE. IT WAS PARTICULARLY TIMELY IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT TAFT IS SO OBVIOUSLY CONCENTRATING ON A POLICY OF LINING UP POLITICIANS WHO WILL CONTROL VOTES AT THE CONVENTION.

I AM SURE THAT IN ANY OUT-AND-OUT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE AS BETWEEN THE GENERAL AND TAFT, EISENHOWER WOULD BE FAR OUT IN FRONT. BUT HAVING IN HIS VEST POCKET THE POLITICIANS WHO, IN TURN, CONTROL DELEGATES, TAFT COULD GET THE NOMINATION.

I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO KEEP HAMMERING HOME THIS GENERAL THEME AS OFTEN AS YOU POSSIBLY CAN. YOU CAN DO A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF GOOD BY GETTING THIS ACROSS TO THE PEOPLE SO THAT THEY REALLY SIT UP AND TAKE NOTICE - AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT BEFORE THE CONVENTION.

WARM REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

No true American would vote for Eisenhower if he knew the . . .

FACTS ABOUT IKE

1. Ike's father was a student of the Talmud, which sets forth a vile and malicious political-religious plan for world revolution and domination. The effect of this sinister volume on both father and son should be investigated.
2. The records reveal that Ike has never voted in his life. It is reported that he registered once without indicating what party he was for and did not vote in that instance.
3. The Communists in convention in New York City in May, 1944, adopted a resolution praising Tito (head of Communist Yugoslavia), Stalin, and Eisenhower.
4. Army Intelligence officers were repeatedly shocked during World War II by reports showing Ike was closely associated with leftwingers.
5. Ike accepted the Communist decoration, Order of Suvrov, with pleasure and has not returned it.
6. Instead of refusing to obey treacherous orders (as MacArthur has refused), Ike helped give half of Germany to Soviet Russia in order to divide a potentially-powerful, freedom-loving people. (Don't say he thought Soviet Russia was an ally. If he didn't know that the USSR was an anti-Christian reign of terror, he wasn't well enough informed to be a General.)
7. When Ike was setting up the government over defeated Germany after World War II, he called for the lifelong supporter of Communism, Sidney Hillman, to advise him.
8. Ike endorsed the Morgantheau Plan to enslave and starve the whole German nation after World War II. This was an effort to destroy one of the strongest anti-Communist peoples on earth.
9. Ike's first political speech after World War II was to an Atlantic City convention of the CIO, whose objectionable political ends are well-known. He praised this union for helping win the war when actually their strikes had contributed to a lack of supplies in the Pacific which cost many American boys their lives.
10. Ike was known as a "personality soldier" at the Pentagon. A high military source says the Pentagon was glad when Ike left there to take the Presidency of Columbia University because he was constantly reluctant to make decisions on controversial subjects.
11. While at Columbia University Ike accepted the establishment of the Chair of Polish Studies, sponsored by the Communist government of Poland and headed by a man endorsed by that government.
12. Ike showed whose man he is by writing in 1948 to the Anti-Defamation League, telling them he should not, at that time, run for President. The FBI recognizes, and Senator Jack B. Tenney (for ten years Chairman of the California Un-American Activities Committee) has recently exposed,

this Jewish League as one of the strongest Communist-front organizations in the United States.

13. In 1948 Senator Claude "Red" Pepper of Florida, in a move which could have resulted in a temporary or permanent destruction of our two-party system and our free elections, backed Ike for the Presidential nomination on both tickets—Democratic and Republican.
14. Extreme leftwingers Jimmy Roosevelt and Helen Gahagan Douglas are for Ike.
15. Arthur J. Goldsmith, known to official investigators as a leading political fixer and financial agent for the Communist-front Anti-Defamation League (see No. 12 above), backs Ike for the 1952 Republican nomination.
16. The pro-Communist New York *Daily Compass* of Sunday, August 19, 1951, said Ike is the only man "who meets one and all" of the requirements for the Presidency.
17. Collier's magazine (Nov. 3, 1952) carried a pro-Eisenhower article written by Leonard V. Finder, who is listed by *Who's Who in the East* as founder of the politically-powerful Eastern branch of the Anti-Defamation League. (See 12 and 15 above.)
18. In this same Collier's article this Communist-front author says concerning Ike: "His creed of traveling the middle of the road [in other words, a half-Communist, half-American creed] would be lived up to. While that might not make for as much speed as would satisfy impatient, extreme liberals or radicals, it would mean progress forward at an appreciable pace [that is, Ike would give the Communists what they want, only not quite as fast as they want it!]."
19. Mrs. Patton, wife of our late General Patton, may tell the whole story of Ike if he runs for the Presidency—the story which General Patton never got home to tell because he was "accidentally" killed in a jeep collision.
20. In Europe today Ike is called "The Supreme Overlord." In closed meetings in the U. S. A. he is discussed as President of the United Nations (which means Dictator of the world).

Reader, the publishers of this card urge you to back Douglas MacArthur for the Presidency of the United States. A Congressional friend of MacArthur has said, "MacArthur . . . is 100 per cent opp ' to the nomination of Eisenhower, even if he has to oppose him in the convention." The Bible declares: "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn."

(Proverbs 29:2.)

Additional copies of this card are 10c doz., 150 for $1.00.

Single copies of a detailed and documented article about Eisenhower will be sent without charge. Write to:

A CHRISTIAN CHALLENGE

BOX 4041 GLENDALE 2, CALIF.

Goldwyn, Sam
(not listed in Griffin Index)

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

DECEMBER 28, 1951

DEAR ED:

THANKS SO MUCH FOR THE NICE LETTER YOU WROTE ME ABOUT SAMMY. IT NATURALLY PLEASES A FATHER TO HAVE A FELLOW LIKE YOU SAY ALL THESE THINGS ABOUT HIS SON.

I THINK YOUR CHRISTMAS PROGRAM LAST SUNDAY WAS SWELL.

BY THE WAY, I WAS PARTICULARLY PLEASED BY WHAT YOU SAID TO ME ON THE PHONE THAT THERE WAS A POSSIBILITY THAT YOU MIGHT DO SOMETHING ON MY PICTURE. IT WILL MEAN A GREAT DEAL TO THE PICTURE BECAUSE YOUR PROGRAM MEANS SO MUCH.

WHEN ARE YOU COMING OUT THIS WAY?

WITH MY BEST WISHES TO YOU FOR A VERY HAPPY NEW YEAR, I AM

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

December 19, 1951

Dear Sam:

First of all my sincere appreciation for your recent communication regarding the television show. But the real purpose of this is to tell you that I spent most of last Friday with your son, Sam, doing the narration for his film on SHAPE. I think it an excellent job in view of the necessary limitations under which he had to work. I have sent off a couple of cables to his superiors telling them what a fine job I think he has done and asking for permission to be the first to use it on American television. It seems to me that your son is a credit not only to you but to the Army and you will be interested to know that he has agreed to come and work with me for a couple of weeks during the political conventions in Chicago next summer. He is a grand guy and I enjoyed working with him.

As ever yours,

Mr. Samuel Goldwyn
1041 North Formosa Avenue
Los Angeles 28, California

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

3

NOVEMBER 15, 1951

DEAR ED:

I HAVE JUST SEEN THE ADVANCE COPY OF THE PAGE IN NEXT SUNDAY'S HERALD TRIBUNE ANNOUNCING YOUR NEW TELEVISION PROGRAM. IT'S A FINE SKETCH EVEN THOUGH IT DOESN'T DO COMPLETE JUSTICE TO SUCH A HANDSOME GUY AS YOU.

I AM SURE, HOWEVER, THAT YOUR PROGRAM WILL DO YOU JUSTICE - AND WILL ADD NEW STATURE TO TELEVISION COMMENTATING. I WILL BE WATCHING AND LISTENING VERY ATTENTIVELY AT 12:30 NEXT SUNDAY.

DID YOU SEE OUR FRIEND IN PARIS? I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT YOUR OBSERVATIONS ARE REGARDING HIS FEELINGS FOR THE FUTURE.

AND DID YOU GET A CHANCE TO SEE SAMMY WHEN YOU WERE THERE?

WITH ALL WARM REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

P. S. I THOUGHT YOU WOULD BE INTERESTED IN READING A LETTER I RECEIVED FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT CRITIC IN ENGLAND.

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

THE EVENING NEWS

ociated Newspapers, Ltd.

Editorial Department,
Carmelite House,
London, E. C. 4.

Phone: Central 6000
Grams: Evening News, London.

November 12, 1951

My dear Sam,

Bob Wolff gave me a private peep at "I WANT YOU" and once more I find myself having to write to thank you for an experience which makes me feel that after all it is worth while being a movie critic. Honestly, with my long record behind me, I find it hard sometimes to maintain my enthusiasm, sitting through the routine stuff of to-day.

But "I WANT YOU" moved me very considerably and I cannot quite make up my mind whether that was because of the situations so tenderly handled or because of joy at seeing a picture so perfectly presented.

I have no doubt that the film will be a tremendous success here. Once again you have found the way of making a national subject international in appeal. It is a perfect piece of Americana, but almost every part of it has its parallel in this country today where we, too, suffer the weary agony of wanting to get on with a fruitful civil life and find all our aspirations killed by the international situations.

Apart from being first-class entertainment, "I WANT YOU" must do a lot of good in this country by showing that our American friends have similar problems and react to them in similar ways to ourselves. It is a vital work to-day to help bind our two peoples together and to remove the petty doubts we, unfortunately, have for each other. Your picture will be of great value in this respect and I am proud to be able to claim the friendship of the man who made it.

My wife saw the picture with me and she was equally moved and full of admiration. If it cannot claim quite the same weight as "THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES", it is certainly well up in the same class and easily one of the two or three worth-while pictures of the year.

I shall not be reviewing the film until after the normal press show in the week after next. If you find it

CONVENIENT TO LET ME HAVE SOME COMMENT ON YOUR MOTIVES AND HOPES IN MAKING THE FILM, TO BE RECEIVED HERE BY NOVEMBER 26 OR EARLIER, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL.

MY KIND REGARDS TO YOURSELF AND MRS. GOLDWYN,

/s/ JYMPSON HARMAN

MR. SAMUEL GOLDWYN,
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE,
LOS ANGELES 28,
CALIF. U. S. A.

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

Warner

DECEMBER 12, 1951

DEAR ED:

YOUR CALL TODAY WAS WONDERFUL. YOU COULD NOT HAVE COMBINED TWO NICER THINGS THAN YOUR WORDS ABOUT MY PICTURE AND GIVING ME AN OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE SOME WORDS WITH MY SON.

I WAS REALLY DEEPLY TOUCHED BY YOUR THOUGHTFULNESS -- BUT YOU ARE SUCH A GOOD FRIEND THAT YOU ALWAYS MANAGE TO TOUCH MY HEART IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THE WAY YOU FEEL ABOUT "I WANT YOU" BECAUSE WHEN YOU TELL ME I HAVE SUCCEEDED IT MEANS MORE TO ME THAN IT WOULD COMING FROM ALMOST ANYONE ELSE. IT IS VERY SWEET OF YOU TO WANT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT ON YOUR PROGRAM -- AND IF YOU THINK IT WILL BE GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY GO RIGHT AHEAD AND DO WHATEVER YOU WISH.

I HOPE SAMMY DOES NOT TURN OUT TO BE A TERRIBLE SLAVE-DRIVER AND JUST TO SHOW YOU MY APPRECIATION, I WILL USE MY INFLUENCE WITH HIM TO GO EASY ON YOU.

THANKS AGAIN FOR BEING SO CONSIDERATE.

WITH ALL WARM REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

Sam

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

NOVEMBER 29, 1951

DEAR ED:

YOUR SHOW ON TELEVISION WAS GREAT.

KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK.

BEST REGARDS.

SINCERELY,

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN

September 20, 1951

Dear Ed:

I have just listened to your comments on President Truman's press conference in relation to the Russian situation.

I wholeheartedly agree with what you said. It is rather sad that he doesn't speak softly and carry a big stick.

You are still my favorite commentator. I expect to be in New York in October, and will write you well in advance, as I am anxious to see you.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28

April 9, 1951

Dear Ed:

That was a fine job you did with Dr. Conant Sunday afternoon. You were very effective, and so was he. I hope there will be occasion for you to do more of these from time to time, as they are of great help.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Goldwyn, Sam

MARCH 2, 1951

SAM GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

I DON'T ENTIRELY AGREE WITH MEANEY EITHER BUT HE SAID IT, I DIDN'T, AND AS I INDICATED, NEITHER WILSON NOR ANY OF HIS SPOKESMEN SAID ANYTHING ON THE ISSUE YESTERDAY. HE IS EXPECTED TO SPEAK TODAY AND IF HE DOES, YOU WILL HEAR HIM. REGARDS AND THANKS.

ED MURROW

WU 017 NL PD

WUX LOSANGELES CALIF MAR 1

ED MURROW

CBS

I JUST FINISHED LISTENING TO THE BEST COMMENTATOR IN THE WORLD, AND FEEL THAT IN JUSTICE TO THE COUNTRY YOU SHOULD ALSO PRESENT THE OTHER SIDE, AS I DONT AGREE WITH MR MEANEY. I DONT BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO HURT LABOR, AS LABOR IS WHAT MAKES AMERICA. AND IT'S ED MURROW THAT MAKES THE NEWS. REGARDS

SAM GOLDWYN.

MAR 2 355A..

Goldwyn, Sam

Account of CBS NEWS

$

DESIRED CABLE
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URGENT RATE
DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER
Unless check class of service desired, otherwise, the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

APRIL 5, 1950

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
SHERRY NETHERLAND HOTEL
NEW YORK

JUST RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 20 DUE TO WEEKS ABSENCE ON WEST COAST STOP I AM WORKING OUT OF WASHINGTON FOR NEXT THREE WEEKS STOP ANY CHANCE YOUR BEING DOWN HERE STOP REGARDS

ED MURROW

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28

New York

March 20
1950

Dear Ed:

I thought your broadcasts while in London extremely interesting, and as usual your devoted fan listened to you every day.

You made a dull election very exciting to me, and I look forward to the pleasure of again spending an evening with you and your charming wife before I leave for Europe on April 14th.

I am at the Sherry-Netherland Hotel, and hope to hear from you soon.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o News Room
W.T.O.P.
Warner Building
Washington, D. C.

Goldwyn, Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28

Sherry Netherland Hotel
New York, New York
April 4, 1950

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your wire. I was delighted to hear from you and to know that you are in Washington, as I expect to be there next Monday to see the "Big Boss."

I am asking Jock Lawrence to check with you so we can have a drink -- or something -- as we are arriving there in the early afternoon. I shall be at the Mayflower.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you again, I am

Sincerely,

Sam

SG/jde

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Washington, D. C.

Air-Mail

Goldwyn, Sam

SUPREME HEADQUARTERS
ALLIED POWERS EUROPE

SG/mg/4070

APO 55 c/o P. M.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

20 December 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed,

Just a note to thank you for everything. I arrived back here Monday with the tracks and so far everything fits perfectly. The last ending you did is particularly good.

Incidentally your wire to General Ianham pleased him and everyone else here. He tells me that he is making arrangements with you for the release of the picture on TV. As you can readily understand that issue is out of my hands and I retain no more than a paternal interest in seeing it well shown.

I saw your Television show last Sunday before I left and its everything Time said it was. I thought that the bit on the Koreans Orphans was very moving

Again Ed, many thanks for everything; the narration, the lunch, the Marshall record, the "I Can Hear it Now" and above all for the pleasure of working with you.

With every best wish to you, your wife, and Casey for a Very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, I am,

Very Truly yours,

Sam

SAMUEL GOLDWYN Jr.

P.S. I'm looking forward to the presidential convention trip with you.

Goldwyn, Sam

W.S.P.
F.T.T.

SAMUEL GOLDWYN
1041 NORTH FORMOSA AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 28

December 9, 1947

on Hollywood hearings.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I read the broadcast which you were kind enough to send me, and I must say that I whole-heartedly agree with you. I think it was a beautiful piece of writing and found many of the things you said profoundly significant. Thank you for letting me read it.

Please don't forget to phone me the next time you come to California.

With warmest regards and best wishes to yourself and your charming wife for a happy Christmas, I am,

Sincerely,

Samuel Goldwyn

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York City 22

Cullen Gosnell

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

Atlanta 22, Ga
April 22, 1960

Dear Ed:

When you come to Atlanta May 16 I would like to have you join us at an Inquiry Club meeting. Our regular meeting date will be May 17, but we can change to May 16 if the 17th. would be unsuitable.

I founded this study club in 1931. It has some of the outstanding intellectuals of the town among its membership. Most of them are liberal. I believe you w enjoy a meeting with them. Let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen B. Gosnell

Cullen Gosnell

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

Atlanta 22, Ga.
April 20, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I hope you have had a good and profitable year. While I was sick for two months and had a prostrate overall I am recovering.

My wife informs me that you will be down here on [illegible] 12 to interview th Governor and that you may be here [illegible] 14 when CBS films the Hope meeting. There will be a [illegible] party at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel after the Hope meeting on May 14 and I would like for you to be my guest. It [illegible] to be at 5.30 to 7 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen B. Gosnell

Cullen Gosnell

September 9, 1959

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Georgia

Dear Mr. Gosnell:

This is just to let you know that I have forwarded your letter to Mr. Murrow to London, where he will arrive in October.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

August 30, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter. I would be terribly disappointed if you don't get down for at least a few days visit in November. Keep in mind the beginning of the hunting season which is November 20. I hope you can fit your trip into it. Judge Langdale of Valdosta has a large hunting preserve and will arrange for us with a few days notice in advance.

Yes, I will respect your wishes and arrange no lectures. I will give a little reception for you and have some of the most interesting people in Atlanta.

Let me know well in advance of your trip back and just when you will be in New York. I may get up there for one day and we could come back together. Don't fail me as I can give you a hunt you'll never forget.

Have a good time and let me hear from you occasionally.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

August 24, 1959

Dear Cullen:

Belated thanks for yours of August 3. This is a hasty note written on the day we sail. My plans still remain indefinite but I am bound to be back here for about a week some time during November. I am not sure that I could get down to Georgia during that time, but will do my level best. If I do go, I would prefer to just sit and talk and listen, and not to do any lecturing. Sorry to be so vague, but I have no alternative.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
R. 2
Hogansville, Ga.

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

Hogansville, Ga. R. 2
August 3, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I have just read the delightful piece about you in "Look". Somehow, I think more and more what kindred spirits we are. If there is anything I hate most it is conformity. I am a nonconformist and that is why, I too, dislike being an official. I once was and got enough. Actually I have learned in this day and time that there are few officials that are not S.O. B.'s. Is that not true?

It was good to see a picture of your charming wife. I want you, of course, to bring her along to Georgia and your boy also. Here we have cows, beautiful hill country- I can see far off into the blue hills of Alabama from my hill. I milk a fine Ayrshire cow daily myself. Just as you did when you were a boy, I milked about six cows morning and evening before and after school.

My wife is busy fixing up our little farm house for you and family. Quail are all around here. I see covies looking like droves of blackbirds. But our best hunting will be in South Georgia. Plan to bring that fine pointer along. I have two fine setters, one the son of the famous field trial dog, Mississippi Zev. I think we can get a jeep to run around here in, but can hunt on foot when we like. What sort of car do you like? I think I can get any sort for free.

This farm place ## is to come to when you want rest and recreation. We will arrange quarters at Emory for the family when in Atlanta. I would like for you to give a few lectures on world affairs at universities and can get a good fee for each. Just two or three lecture subjects will be all you need.

When you make up your program for the year bear in mind that I want you for a long stay, preferably in the hunting season which begins November 25 and lasts through February 25. I will take off for the period to be with you. We will see such people as Ralph McGill and other noted liberal friends. I believe the stay in the

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

South will give you a big lift, for people are so friendly and appreciative of you and your great work. Today my wife and I dined with the Millers and had that delicious broiled country -cured ham with red eye gravy. Your ham last year came from the Millers.

Why don't you consider doing one of your two documentaries on "The Changing South"? It really is changing today. Massive resistance is caving in after what happened in Virginia. Ralph McGill and Ellis Arnall have been responsible for this in Georgia. You will see a different country side from what you saw in the old days and such a resurgence of new industry as you have never before witnessed.

Just keep this trip in your plans. I am not pushing you for an answer as to when, but just wanted to lay some plans before you.

Glad you liked the peaches.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

June 8, 1959

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Ga.

Dear Cullen:

Many thanks for your letters. As I told you, I am most eager to spend some time in the south and cannot think of anyone with whom I would rather spend the time, but right now I don't know what my movements will be or when I will be going and where. I will certainly make you a signal as soon as possible but I am afraid it cannot be before the autumn. I am grateful to you for offering to hold my hand while I rediscover the South and I shall certainly take advantage of your offer of hospitality.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

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Atlanta 22, Georgia

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CHARLES O. LERCHE
JOSEPH J. MATHEWS
HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

May 28, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I was a little fearful after you read my letter of yesterday that I might scare you off. When you decide on the time that you will be with us, we will work out a schedule of just what you wish to do or just leave everything fluid. I can arrange lectures if you like but only if you like. What I am thinking you might most enjoy is an occasional seminar with some of our top students.

Here in Atlanta and the South you will find a contrast with New York. There is such warmth of feeling and hospitality that I will really have to protect you or they will wear you out. You can count on me.

With every good wish, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

CULLEN B. GOSNELL,
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INSTITUTE OF CITIZENSHIP

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EMORY UNIVERSITY, ~~GEORGIA~~

Atlanta 22, Georgia

May 27, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for a wonderful lunch and chat. It was awfully good to see you.

Keep me informed of your plans. I will be your manager and host down here so that you will not be bothered except when you wish to be. I want you to stay at my farm house where I have a grate for coal fire and you can sit down in a big Morris Chair and relax. You can hunt or ~~do~~ do anything you like. I will arrange some big hunts in South Georgia. The season begins November 20 and ends February 25- a rather long one.

When I get the word as to the time I will make plans, I must save you from too much kindness which you will find down here. Warmth of feeling is what you will find. Of course I will put you in touch with our best people in my club and you can move around and find out what is going on. The South is really in a ferment. I can arrange enough lectures at colleges to pay your expenses if you are interested in doing some of that.

Let me know later just where I can reach you when you start out from New York.

Thanks again for the very kind hospitality.

Sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen B.

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FOUNDED IN 1928

EMORY UNIVERSITY, ~~GEORGIA~~

Atlanta 22, Ga.

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May 19, 1959

f

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Please leave word at the Biltmore Hotel where and what time I am to meet you next Monday, May 25. I plan to arrive by plane in the early morning. Looking forward to seeing you. McGill of the Constitution has just received a Pulitzer Award.

Sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

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May 7, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your telegram. I will change my New York trip to May 25 and 26 and would like to see you on May 25. You stated that either May 25 or 26 would be all right for lunch. I will stop at the Biltmore Hotel. It will be nice to see you. I will have much to talk about as segregation suits are popping here now.

With best regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

P.S. Please ask your secretary to tell Wang Edwards I am coming up and where I am staying.

Done

DOMESTIC May 6, 1959

to:
CULLEN GOSNELL
INSTITUTELOF CITIZENSHIP
EMORY UNIVERSITY
AELANTA
GEORGIA

WILL BE IN WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK DELIGHTED BUY YOU LUNCH MAY 26 OR 27 REGARDS

ED MURROW

514-70

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Atlanta 22, Georgia

April 22, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your nice letter and observations on Europe. I hope things are looking better by now.

I plan to come to New York in May. You are the person I want to see most of all, but I will have a few other ~~engagements~~ engagements. Could you let me know soon whether you would have a little time either May 12 or May 26 and if so which date would be better? I would come up on a Monday and stay two days.

There is so much to talk to you about. At a conference which I held here last week former Governor Ellis Arnall set talk a buzzing by coming out flatly against closing the schools and for abolition of the county unit system. He declared that he would run for Governor if he could not get anyone else to carry the ball. He has quite a national reputation, as you undoubtedly know. At the moment he is a big lawyer, is President of the Independent Moving Picture Society, is personal attorney for Walt Disney, and others. Just before Ellis came clean, Herman Talmadge had announced that he was for some change in the county unit system.

Things are popping and I am anxious to tell you about it all.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

P.S. An integration suit against the Atlanta Board of Education is set for trial June 5.

PROGRAM

Conference on State Government
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University

(In Cooperation with the American Assembly of Columbia University)

Tuesday, April 14, 1959

9:00 a.m. Registration - Assembly Room of Church School Building
(Located on North Decatur Road next to Glenn Memorial Church)

9:30 a.m. Opening Session - Assembly Room of Church School Building

Presiding: Dean William M. Hepburn, Chairman
Executive Committee of the Institute

Keynote Address: "Reorganization of the State Government of Georgia" - Dr. M. W. H. Collins, Jr., Director of Institute of Law and Government, University of Georgia

10:30 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. First Session of Discussion Groups

Group A - Conference Room A, Alumni Memorial Building

Group B - Conference Room B, Alumni Memorial Building

Group C - Conference Room C, Alumni Memorial Building

Group D - Council and Senate Chamber, Alumni Memorial Building

12:30 p.m. Luncheon - Alumni Memorial Building

Address: "State Government in the Space Age"
The Hon. Ellis Arnall

2:30 to 4:15 p.m. Second Session of Discussion Groups

8:00 p.m. A Panel Discussion - 245 Woodruff Building

"The Reorganization of the Legislature"

Mr. Frank Edwards, Legislative Council of the Georgia Legislature
The Hon. James A. Mackay, House of Representatives
The Hon. Mac Barber, House of Representatives

Wednesday, April 15, 1959

9:00 a.m.	Third Session of Discussion Groups Alumni Memorial Building
12:15 p.m.	Luncheon - Alumni Memorial Building Address: "The Changing Role of State Government" The Hon. Garland Byrd, Lieutenant Governor of Georgia
2:30 p.m.	Final General Session Assembly Room, Church School Building
4:30 p.m.	Adjournment

April 6, 1959

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Cullen:

I am just back from a couple of weeks in London, Paris, Berlin and Bonn. Interesting, but rather depressing. The Russians are clearly making great headway in their old objective of splitting the Western alliance.

So far, I haven't made a single plan about next year, but your gracious invitation warms my heart and I shall be writing again when I have even a vague idea of when I can go wandering about the south.

As ever yours,

EEM:skh

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March 30, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter. I am delighted to hear that you plan to carry on. You belong to Jack Kennedy's "Profiles in Courage." Certainly it would be a blow to liberalism for your voise to be silenced.

I certainly like your idea of spending several weeks in the South. Make your headquarters in Atlanta and vicinity. It is a place where things are happening. I wish to offer you my humble farm cottage as a place to rest. It is about sixty miles Southwest of Atlanta in beautiful rolling hill country. I have all modern conveniences including water pumped from a spring 1500 feet away. It is on a dirt road which is secluded. Only two or three families live on the road. The road is passable at all times. I have some quail there but our best quail shooting is in South Georgia. It is yours for as long as you wish to stay. We can have those good hunts we have talked about. In Atlanta I have a very fine study club made up of the best minds of the town. Contacts with them would be stimulating now and then. Consider this seriously.

I will certainly look you up when I come up. It may be this spring. How about another ham? Will you be where you can use it?

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

PROGRAM

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Institute of Citizenship
Emory University

(In Cooperation with the American Assembly of Columbia University)

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4:30 p.m.	Adjournment

Gosnell, Cullen B.

F

March 2, 1959

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gosnell:

As Mr. Murrow is at present away from New York, I am writing in reply to your letter of February 26, so that your friend, Mr. Goodwin, can make his plans.

Unfortunately, Mr. Murrow will be unable to see Mr. Goodwin when he visits New York at the end of this month. He is leaving for Europe on March 21 and will be away about two weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

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February 26, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

One of your greatest admirers and a very dear friend of mine is coming to New York for a three day visit March 21-23 inclusive. He is George Goodwin who is Vice-President in charge of public relations of the First National Bank , Atlanta's largest bank. George is a graduate of Washington & Lee University and was for some years a feature writer for the Atlanta Journal. In 1946 he won the Pulitzer Prize for his exposure of fraud on the part of Eugene Talmadge that year.

He is anxious to see you at some time that might be convenient to you during his stay in New York. I would consider it a personal favor if you can grant him that privilege. You would enjoy him, I feel sure, as he is a person with very high ideals. I had lunch with him today and I believe no one admires you more than he except possibly myself and that is real admiration. George is a very unusual banker ; he is a liberal. I believe you would enjoy talking to him as I consider him to be one of the top men in the power structure in Atlanta. He is a very close intimate and adviser to Mayor Hartsfield who has been named by Fortune Magazine as one of the top half a dozen mayors in the country. Hartsfield has been President of the American Mayors' Association. Today he is the leading spokesman of Georgia liberals in politics. Hartsfield brought the last suit against the ignominious county unit system; I brought the first one in 1946. Goodwin could give you a run-down on the segregation problem in Georgia. We have been threatened with closing the schools. Goodwin has a good understanding of this situation.

I believe that not only would he profit ~~for~~ from a

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#2

meeting with you but that you would get something in return. I believe that you would realize from such a meeting that not all liberals in Georgia are academic people but that we have a number in the ranks of business and other fields.

If you can see Goodwin at any time during the days mentioned, I will let you know where he will be staying a little later. Please let me know at your convenience.

With my best regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

March 23, 1959

Dear Cullen:

I am just off for a quick trip to London, Paris and Berlin, but I cannot leave without answering yours of February 24.

I deeply despair of doing anything worthwhile with this instrument of television, but that's not a new conclusion and had nothing to do with my decision to take a year off, and will not prevent me from having another try at it after the year is over.

I have so hoped that during the year I can find time to travel in the South for three or four weeks just looking and listening. If that comes off I will certainly come to see you.

Thank you again for writing, and don't fail to let me know when you will be in New York again.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

ERM:jmi

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February 24, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for the verbatim record of your business sex broadcast. I have read it over carefully and found it carefully documented with facts as I knew it would be.

I have seen ~~recently~~ in the newspapers that you plan to take a year's leave from radio and television. Your voice will be greatly missed by a lot of people but I believe you have earned a rest from the tensions which you have been subjected to for years. Mercer's article on you was a great tribute to a great man.

You are a man after my own heart. You have been a great national leader for years who has done a lot of good. I like a man who has character and courage such as you have displayed. It takes "guts" to do the things you have done and it is costly in terms of dollars. I know from my own experience that this is true. You gave up an official position because the price was freedom. You are too big a man to pay such a price.

This age in which we live demands conformity. I am a rebel; I am a nonconformist and so are you. I am reminded of what Dr. Zhivago says in Pasternak's novel: "I cannot go on saying what I do not believe." And to an old friend who had told him that he had been reeducated by the communists, Dr. Zhivago says "you remind me of a horse which has broken itself in." I am the same sort of rebel.

Conformity has gotten into our universities. I had always believed that a university was a place where people are supposed to blaze new trails and to think. I have believed that professors were supposed to stimulate students

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#2

to think. But university executives today want us to be toad frogs. If a man thinks for himself, he is suspect and he must pay in terms of salary. Read "A.B. Academic Bureaucracy" which appeared in the October 12 last issue of the New York Times Magazine for corroboration of this point. While I have built a national reputation in my field for my publications (8) and other things, I am paid a half salary. That is the price one must pay ### for freedom. But I hold up my head and at least have some respect for myself.

I say to you go on in the way you have been going. You will be long remembered for the great work you have done. I am sure that radio and television must be just as disillusioning as university work. Really there are so few programs on the air that I care to listen to nowadays. We get comics and westerns that sell soap, cigarrettes, ###### Geritol, Anacin, etc., but few that are designed to feed our minds. When will TV executives find that they should call the tunes instead of letting the callous advertisers do it.

While you are resting I hope you will be able to come our way. Just keep your chin up. I was bowled over when the greatest program appearing on TV came off. I refer to your "See It Now."

My vert regards as always, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

February 12, 1959

Dear Cullen:

Many thanks for your nice note of February 5th.

I am so glad you liked THE LOST CLASS OF '59. It seems to have been one of our more successful efforts.

I am enclosing a copy of the script of BUSINESS OF SEX, so that you can see what all the fuss was about.

I would dearly love to come and hunt quail with you, but unfortunately, I cannot make it this season.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Director
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

mcc

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February 5, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York ,N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I liked your program on the Virginia situation very much. But I am sorry I did not hear the famous "sex" radio broadcast which caused so much raising of eyebrows. I told my friends that they could be sure you had the facts, knowing something of the thoroughness with which you go about preparing for your programs.

I still hope you can come down for a hunt some week-end before the quail season ends which is February 25. Some time ago I saw where you were to make a TV cast on Susan Heyward. If you come this way, let me know well in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

October 22, 1958

Dear Cullen:

Here is a copy of the remarks made in Chicago.

I will do my best to get down for a shoot, but the prospects are not very promising.

As ever yours,

Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Director
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

gw
encl

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I saw the summary of your talk in Chicago in the Atlanta Constitution this morning. It makes me proud to know a man like you with so much courage. You are truly a man after my own heart. It was a great speech.

It was awfully kind of you to see me when you were so busy. I was delighted that you liked the ham and since you liked it I will have one reserved for next year. There is one thing above all else that I want you to do and that is to come down for a quail hunt this coming season. As I told you the other day, the season begins November 20 and ends February 25. The best hunting is usually up to Christmas time, although I find good hunting afterwards. Plan early so I can line up a hunt you will never forget. You can come down from New York now in a little over two hours.

Thanks for your suggestions on our proposed TV program on "Georgia's New Horizons." I want to send you an outline of it a little later for comment.

With every good wish, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

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Atlanta, Georgia 22

Oct. 1, 1958

Dear Ed:

I have a note from your secretary saying I could see you at three O'Clock the afternoon of October 14. That will suit me fine as I have an engagement out at Columbia University for noon that day. I will call your office when I get in the morning of the 14th.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

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September 30, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I wrote you a few days ago that I would be in New York soon and want to see you. My present plan is to be there October 14 and 15th. I will be stopping at the Biltmore. Would like to see one of those days, preferably the 14th.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

September 29, 1958

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gosnell:

Mr. Murrow has asked me to tell you that he will be very glad to see you when you come to New York on October 14.

As Mr. Murrow's calendar tends to get rather congested, I have taken the liberty of giving you an appointment at 3 p.m. on the 14th. However, I should be grateful if you could give me a call when you arrive in town, so that we can confirm it.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

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JOSEPH J. MATHEWS
HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

September 23, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I plan to be in New York October 14 and would like to see you that day if possible. I will be stopping at the Biltmore Hotel. Will be in town for two days.

I regret that your excellent show-See It Now- will not be on this year. It was a great program.

Hope to see you in a few weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Glad to see him

Gosnell, Cullen

June 12, 1958

Dear Cullen:

The ham has arrived.

It is safely tucked away in a nice cool place and when I go on vacation I shall sample it and make you a report. Again, my best thanks.

I'll see you in the autumn.

As ever yours,

Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University, Georgia

fc

Baked Ham

Place whole or half ham, fat side up on rack in open roasting pan. Cover, and add 2 cups water. Bake in slow oven say 300° allowing 25 to 30 min per lb. add a little water all along during cooking period and baste with ham drippings.

Fried Ham

Slice — cutting off
hard edges —
Cook slowly, use a
frying pan [over low heat]
very little
some fat (trimmed
from ham)
Turn ham often to
cook uniformly —
Cooking time for
well-done ham 9 min.,
add 1/4 cup hot water to
fat to make a delicious
red gravy —
(after slicing ham
put on a board and
roll out thin)

Dear Ed:

I shipped ham today. Enclosed are recipes which you can use if you wish. The miller said the ham was sugar-cured and should not be salty. If you taste it and find it salty, soak in hot water overnight. Sincerely,

Cullen

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June 6. 1958

Dear Ed:

Your letter was forwarded to me here and I only got it today, so that is the reason I sent the ham on to your office. It also accounts for my failure to send the grits. I hope it has arrived all right. It was in excellent shape when I sent it.

I hope to be in New York some time next fall and will contact you in advance if I ~~m~~ am.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Honorarium sent to apartment

Pi Sigma Alpha Fraternity

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June 5, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I sent the ham by parcel post last Saturday and hope it arrives in good shape. While at the P.O. in Hoganville I pencilled a little note on scratch paper about it.

Sometimes the parcel post is a bit slow, so if the package does not arrive soon you might inquire about it.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell Cullen

May 28, 1958

Dear Cullen:

The only thing that is now missing is for you to come and help eat the ham.

It would be best if you would send it to me at my home at 580 Park Avenue.

If you could send some grits, that too, would be wonderful. I shall have a nip or two of Jack Daniels and eat myself into a stupor!

Call me when you are coming to town again.

As ever yours,

Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University, Georgia

INSTITUTE OF CITIZENSHIP

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May 22, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I am deligthed that you like country-cured ham and so I am arranging to send you one in a few days. It will be about a week before I go to my farm, but I am having one of the best reserved for you. Friends of mine who own a 1500 acre farm near mine cure a few each year and they do them better than anybody else, I think. These people have some recipes which I will also send along, but you probably have your own. A recipe which they have for broiled, or what they call "fried" ham is the best I have ever known. You may, however, prefer to have yours baked. These hams have a flavor all their own and need no mustard or sauce to go along with them. A few years ago I brought one up for my club and the chef told me he knew all about cooking Georgia hams. The result was that he served the ham with Champagne sauce and just all but ruined it. Should you wish to broil the ham, water ground grits go mighty well with it.

Let me know where I should send the ham, that is, to your home or office address. If the latter, please supply it. Should you care to broil some of it and want grits, I will send them along. Just let me know.

With very best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

May 16, 1958

Dear Cullen:

Many thanks for your note. How very nice of you to want to send me a country-cured ham! Of course, I will be delighted to have it.

As for those ignorant persons who had been known to throw out a ham merely because it had a little mold on it, have you forgotten that I am a country boy?

I hope all goes very well with you. With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University, Georgia

mcc

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May 14, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I wonder whether you like country-cured hams. We have a man down in our farm neighborhood who makes them just as they should be made. Since you were born in the South you no doubt know how delicious they are. If you like them, I would like to send you one with my compliments. Please let me know.

The reason why I inquire in advance is that some people in the East do not know what a real country-cured ham is like. I have heard of hams being thrown out when they had mold on them because the person thought they were spoiled.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Will call him

Gosnell, Cullen.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

August 30, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I am very sorry you missed the speaker, but I am delighted your office staff made use of them. I will be at the Henry Hudson Hotel from next ~~Tuesday~~ Wednesday (Sept. 4) through Friday of next week and hope to see you while there.

Sincerely yours,

Cullen Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

August 25, 1957

Dear Cullen:

The peaches arrived after we left the city, but the office staff tells me they were delicious! Many thanks for your thought.

Give me a shout when you get to town.

As ever yours,

Dr. Cullen Gosnell, Director
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University, Georgia

fc

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

July 25

Dear Ed:

I am having same. Georgia reader sent to you and hope they arrive before you go on vacation.

I will be in New York Sept 4-7 and hope to see you.

Sincerely,

Lullin

Gosnell, Cullen

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

June 4, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

We deeply appreciate your lending us the film on Egypt and Israel. We made good use of it and showed it several times. I sent it back to you last week.

I expect to be in New York for two or three days in early September and hope to see you then.

Thanks again for the use of the film. With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen B. Gosnell

Cullen B. Gosnell
Director

Gosnell, Cullen

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

May 7, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

First, I want to thank you for use of the film on Israel and Egypt. We have made good use of it and will return it soon as I was instructed by your secretary.

I saw a part of your program Sunday and thought it was excellent. The Journal TV reviewer paid it high compliments.

I enclose some material on "The Problems of Urban Growth" which I hope you will look over. Rapid urbanization is taking place all over the South due to industrialization, mechanization of agriculture, reforestation, and the soil bank program. This might be a fit subject for "See It Now."

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell
Director

Enclosures

PROGRAM

Spring Session

EMORY INSTITUTE OF CITIZENSHIP

"The Problems of Urban Growth in Georgia"

April 22-23, 1957
Church School Building

MONDAY, April 22

8:30 A. M. Registration

9:00 Opening Session: Presiding, Cullen B. Gosnell, Director, Institute of Citizenship

Welcome: William M. Hepburn, Chairman Executive Committee, Institute of Citizenship

Statement of the Problem: "Population and Economic Change in Georgia"

Philip Hammer, Business and Government Analyst, Atlanta
John A. Griffin, Associate Professor of Sociology and Director, Community Education Service, Emory University

11:00 Panel: "Providing Urban Services"
James W. Wiggins, Chairman Department of Sociology, Emory University
Charles Emmerich, President, DeKalb County Chamber of Commerce and Chairman, DeKalb County Bond Commission
Joseph Willman, City Manager, Columbus

12:30 P. M. Luncheon: A showing of "Now for Tomorrow", a film on planning. (Alumni Memorial Building)

2:30 P. M. Panel: "Moveme
an Urban Are
Robert Somm
Atlanta Tr
Hadley Camac
Savannah T

3:30 Panel: "The Pro
L. M. Hollan
ment of Po
Emory Uni
F. A. Hood,
Service De
Power Con
Robert Stuart,
Metropolita

8:15 Address: "A Phi
John Osman,
Fund for A
White Plai

TUESDAY, April 23

9:00 A. M. Panel: "Problem
Frank Gibson,
Public Adm
University
Sumter Kelley
T. J. William
City of Alb

10:30 Panel: "The Rol
the Probler
Malcolm Littl
of City Pla
of Technolo
Harold Taubin
ning Comm
Sidney Carter,
Augusta

ement of People Within
Area"
mmerville, President,
Transit System
mack, General Manager,
ah Transit System
Problems of Land Use"
land, Chairman, Depart-
Political Science,
University
d, Director, Community
Development, Georgia
Company
art, Director, Atlanta
olitan Planning Commission
Philosophy of Urbanism"
n, Vice President,
r Adult Education,
lains, New York

lems of Finance"
son, Director, Bureau of
Administration,
ity of Georgia
lley, Attorney, Atlanta
iams, Director of Finance
Albany
Role of Planning in Meeting
olems"
ittle, Assistant Professor
Planning, Georgia Institute
nology
bin, Director, City Plan-
mmission, Savannah
ter, Planning Consultant,

12:30 P. M. Luncheon: "Role of Communications in Rapidly Changing Areas"
(Alumni Memorial Building)
George Gingell, Program Director, WRBL-TV, Columbus
Sylvan Meyer, Editor, Gainesville Times

3:00 Panel: "Changing Problems of Government"
M. W. H. Collins, Jr., University of Georgia
James Mackay, Legislature Representative for DeKalb County
W. L. Mingledorff, Jr., Mayor, Savannah

* * * * * * * * * * * *

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THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN GROWTH IN GEORGIA

Introductory Statement

For over three decades farm population has been declining in the South. In 1920 over half of the South's population or 51.3 percent lived on farms, while in 1950 farm population constituted only 27.1 percent of the total population or just over one-half of what it was in 1920. In 1920 urban population was only 25.4 percent of the total population of the South, while by the new census definition the urban population had increased to 47.1 percent in 1950. Between 1940 and 1950 farm population in the South declined by 7 percent.

From 1940 to 1950 some 99 counties in Georgia lost population and the trend has been about the same since 1950; 62,000 people have left the farms in Georgia since 1950. The causes of this migration are many: mechanization and diversification of crops, devotion of large amounts of land to growth of trees, and industrialization. Within a period of twenty years the South has gone from a colonial economy to a mature economy.

Below a list of the places which have experienced considerable growth in Georgia is given. From 1940 to 1950 the following counties had increases:

Bibb 36.2%	Dougherty 52.9	Houston 85.5
Chatham 28.4	Fulton 20.5	Muscogee 56.3
Clarke 28.7	Glynn 32.5	Richmond 33
Cobb 61.6	Gwinnett 11.1	Troup 19.4
DeKalb 56.9	Hall 14.9	Whitfield 31.9

So important is this problem that the National Planning Association on February 3 of this year called for a White House conference on urban growth. Not only does the NPA urge a national conference but also regional conferences on this subject. The report of the NPA reads in part as follows:

The urban centers of the United States are becoming absolete in many ways. Traffic strangulation; spreading slums; bankrupt mass transportation systems; inadequate schools, parks, hospitals, water supplies and sewers; air pollution; the flight to the unprepared suburbs; and aggravated social frictions are symptoms of a developing situation of dramatic seriousness to the welfare of the American people.

The condition of our larger cities handicaps the operations of business, increasing the costs of production and distribution, and thereby makes America poorer. Cities do not provide those amenities of decent urban living which are well within the grasp of our productive and growing economy. And even more serious is the fact that our urban social and governmental institutions are unsuited to cope with the changing needs of the times.

Within the next 50 years, moreover, the national population may well rise by 130 million or so, of whom at least 120 million will settle in and around our metropolitan areas, judging by current trends. This will greatly aggravate all of the difficulties and shortages we now encounter.

In the face of these massive needs there is but limited awareness, and our piecemeal programs, Federal state and local, are only nibbling at the growing problems. Half a million slum families have been cared for in new public housing since 1933. But more slums spawn each day and five million families now remain ill-housed. We build a fine new limited-access highway and speed up urban traffic with one-way streets, only to see worse congestion and bottlenecks elsewhere; we cut the work-week and develop a wage system under which every working family can have a car, and then destroy the value of the car with parking problems and congestion both on the highways and in working, living, shopping, and recreational areas; we encourage homes in the suburbs and then destroy their advantages with crowded schools, inadequate water and sanitary facilities, suddenly conceived shopping centers, and the lack of protective zoning and enforced building codes. In too many mushrooming suburbs, overeager and irresponsible "developers" and inexperienced local officials, often working with inadequate controls and no comprehensive plans, are laying the basis for bad communities for tomorrow and for new suburban slums for which society will pay and pay for decades to come.

Following this announcement by the NPA the Atlanta Journal editoralized on February 4:

Atlanta has every reason to endorse a White House conference on metropolitan growth as suggested by the NPA.

This city, like most others in the country, is struggling with many complex problems associated with rapid population growth and it needs whatever sound guidance is available.

The NPA, is properly concerned with the rising tide of urbanism and feels that cooperative planning would ease some of the headaches that are sure to come over the next 10 or 15 years.

This nation-wide trend toward urbanism is proceeding more rapidly than many Georgians may realize. The New York Times has just completed a survey on the way the face of America is changing. Metropolitan areas are growing toward each other, and in some places the rural country side as we know it has all but disappeared for great distances.

Some of these urban areas are virtually obsolete. Their handling of the problems connected with increased traffic, spreading slums, inadequate schools, parks, and hospitals has not kept pace with the sweeping growth....

There is certainly plenty of evidence to suggest that our present piecemeal programs - federal, state and local - are only nibbling at problems that call for a broadside approach.

As a result of the rapid industrialization and the great concentration suddenly of people in urban areas many serious problems arise. Among them are the matters of water pollution, air pollution, transit, housing, schools, sewage disposal, and a host of others. Realizing that the people where concentrations are taking place will soon face these problems unprepared, the Institute of Citizenship at Emory University is calling a conference on "The Problems of Growth" to be held at Emory University April 22-23. Representative citizens from all places affected will be invited to participate in this conference.

Below is a list of topics to be discussed.

1. Population growth and economic change
2. The problem of movement of people within an urban area - Transit
3. Services--water, sewage, schools, etc.
4. Government
5. Planning
6. Land use
7. Mass communications
8. Institution and organizational resources to meet the problem
9. Finance

Gosnell, Cullen

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March 15, 1957

Israel Dept.
Wire - on loan

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

It was mighty good to see you again. It is always refreshing to get with one with whom you so heartily agree. Keep up the good work.

Don't forget to send me that film on Israel. We can make good use of it.

Next fall I want you to come for a hunt in South Georgia with us. We have some of the finest hunting territory in the South.

With every good wish, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

film sent
on
3/19
4

TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF PROGRAM FOR INSTITUTE OF CITIZENSHIP
April 22-23, 1957

"Problems of Urban Growth in Georgia"

MONDAY, April 22

8:30-9:30 A.M.	Registration--Church School Building
9:30	Opening Session. The Statement of the Problem--Population Growth and Economic Change in Georgia John A. Griffin Philip G. Hammer
10:30	Panel--Providing Urban Services (water, sewage, schools, recreation, etc.)
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon--Film on Planning
2:00	Panel--Movement of Population Within Urban Areas (transit, etc.) Robert Sommerville and others
3:30	Panel--Land Use Problems (industrial development, zoning, control of land, water use, urban renewal, subdivision control and others)
8:15	Address--"A Philosophy of Urbanism" John Osman, Vice President, Fund for Adult Education

TUESDAY, April 23

9:00 A.M.	Panel--Problems of Finance
10:30	Panel--The Role of Planning in Meeting the Problems (organizational and institutional resources to meet problems) Howard Menhinick and others
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon--Address on Mass Communications
3:30	Panel--Problems of Government (problems of participation, neighborhood governmental units and emerging governmental patterns, legal patterns, and others)

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LANE W. LANCASTER — Professor of Political Science, University of Nebraska
ROBERT S. RANKIN — Professor of Political Science, Duke University

McGraw-Hill Series in Political Science
Joseph P. Harris, Consulting Editor

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• *Professor George A. Graham, Department of Politics, Princeton University*

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BREVITY, CLARITY, AND BALANCE are the three most distinctive virtues of this fine new text for the introductory course in American Government. Here, in simple, nontechnical language, the authors set forth (1) the principal ideas and ideals underlying American political institutions; (2) the machinery of the national government, with illustrations of its operation as a going concern; and (3) brief treatments, combining both principles and facts, of the important functions performed by the national government.

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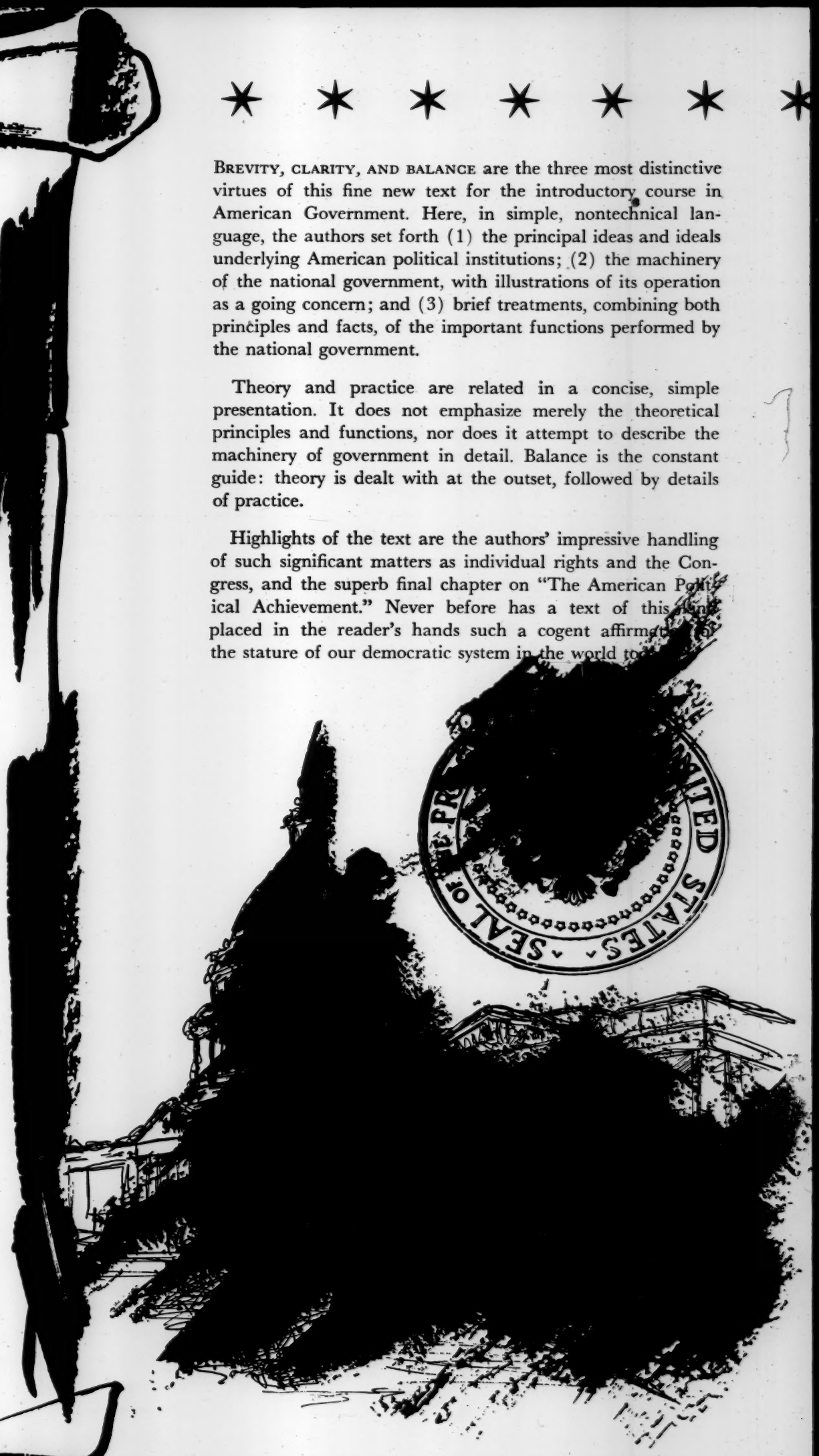

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21. Government and Business
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24. The Role of the United States in World Affairs
25. The American Political Achievement

APPENDIX. Constitution of the United States
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CLAUD HENRY RICHARDS, Jr.
Wake Forest College

WILLIAM HAYS SIMPSON
Duke University

This manual has been prepared for the use of teachers of American Government and has been planned to supplement the textbook *Fundamentals of American National Government,* by Gosnell, Lancaster and Rankin.

Materials included consist of discussion, multiple choice, and reverse multiple choice types of questions. While many important cases are mentioned and used in the text, there have been included in the manual brief statements of background cases that may be of aid to those teachers who want to go more deeply into certain topics. For each chapter there has been prepared a short bibliography of current documentary and periodical materials. A similar list of books is found at the end of each chapter in the textbook.

The Manual is free to teachers using the text

Mail the enclosed card for your on-approval copy of . . .

Gosnell, Lancaster and Rankin's

Fundamentals of AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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Gosnell, Cullen

Write me

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

February 13, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I expect to be in New York March 12-14 and would like to see you while there. We have a committee of the Southern Political Science Association on Teaching of American Government and we are planning a session next fall on television. It is this that I wish to talk with you about.

I saw your film on Burma and thought it was excellent. It seems to me that some of these would be good for the course in American Government if they were not over half an hour long. Your films are available through McGraw-Hill for visual education. Incidentally, I have a textbook with this firm which is doing quite well.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

P.S. I am now making up my appointments for my visit and would like to see you at your convenience.

Gosnell, Cullen

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

February 29, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I will be in New York March ~~14~~ to 16 and will be stopping at the Biltmore Hotel. Hope to see you while there.

Sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

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January 27, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I enclose a copy of a letter which was sent to CBS in New York and WAGA in Atlanta. A copy of my reply is also enclosed. I do this because I do not think the great concern with which you are connected would give such a person much comfort. I remember too well the fine programs you put on and the great courage with which you speak your mind.

I hope to be in New York in March and want to see you. I will let you know later when I will be there.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

CBG:te
Enclosure

C O P Y C O P Y C O P Y

F. GRAHAM WILLIAMS CO.

Atlanta 9, Georgia

January 17, 1956
(Dictated 1/16/56)

W A G A Radio Station
1018 W. Peachtree St.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Yesterday, Sunday January 15th, I heard most of a program which was on the CBS radio station WAGA entitled "Georgia Sees the World". Apparently there were two or more men talking on the radio that seemed to be having fun, like disc jokeys sometimes do. However, pretty soon these men began to talk about the South and claimed that they knew what they were talking about; and said that the South was now more isolationist than the West, and that the South was asolescent, etc., etc.

I called the station in an effort to find out who was responsible for the program, and the man talking did not seem to want to tell me who he was, but did advise that Mr. Les Hendrikson was the Program Director. I called him at his home and he advised that he was not the one responsible for the tape recording program and that he had not heard it, or did not know anything about it; but advised that Dr. Gosnel was the moderator, or the Program Director.

This is to advise that I do not think it is for the good of the country, or any section of the country, for any individual or group of individuals to "spout off" about a whole section of the country things that are not true. I feel sure that our two Senators from Georgia, Senators Walter George and Dick Russell, are as interested in world affairs, and as far from being isolationists, or adolescents, as anybody anywhere.

One of the things that Mr. Hendrickson advised is that these so-called men (or animals) on the radio program are professors at Georgia Institute of Technology and Emory University. If they are, I would certainly hate to think of their having an opportunity to disseminate misinformation to the young people who attend these two institutions; and I do feel that they should not be permitted to give out misinformation on the radio.

Sincerely,

F. GRAHAM WILLIAMS,

FGW-T

cc: Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

INSTITUTE OF CITIZENSHIP

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

January 27, 1956

Mr. Graham Williams
1090 Boulevard, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sir:

Your letter to WAGA (a copy of which was sent to CBS in New York) has just come to my attention). I am the moderator of the program "Georgia Sees the World." Some time ago we had a discussion of isolation trends in the South and this is the program to which you take exception. Having been born and reared in South Carolina, having taken my doctorate at Princeton University, and having taught over twenty-eight years at Emory University, I believe that I am a loyal American as well as Southerner. In your letter you roundly abuse me and hurl epithets at my panel simply because we do not happen to agree with you. Let me ask you, Mr. Williams, what sort of world would this be if all of us agreed? That is the sort of place Russia is. Do you approve of Russia? The great founding fathers put a Bill of Rights into the Constitution of the United States and it provides for freedom of speech and freedom of the press. We have a similar bill of rights in the Georgia Constitution. The right to disagree is a fundamental principle of the American system. A former Governor of Georgia has a TV program on WAGA once a week in which he often proclaims the isolation doctrine, opposes foreign aid, abuses the United Nations, and so on. He has a right to do so and I have a right to disagree. I admire both Senator Russell and George; in fact, I helped to make Senator Russell governor by furnishing him with his main issue in 1930.

Let me quote your last paragraph:

"One of the things that Mr. Hendrickson advised us is that these so-called men (or animals) on the radio program are professors at Georgia Institute of Technology and Emory University. If they are, I would certainly hate to think of their having an opportunity to disseminate misinformation to the young people who attend these two institutions; and I do feel that they should not be permitted to give out misinformation on the radio."

Come, come, Mr. Williams! Are you not ashamed to make such a statement about honorable men. I am 62 years of age and never in my life have I been so abused before. Such abuse demands an apology from an honorable person.

Let me quote you something from one of the greatest justices who ever sat on the Supreme Court of the United States:

> "Persecution for the expression of opinions seems to me to be perfectly logical. If you have no doubt of your premises or your power and want a certain result with all your heart, you naturally express your wishes in law and sweep away all opposition. To allow opposition by speech seems to indicate that you think the speech impotent, as when a man says that he has squared the circle, or that you do not care wholeheartedly for the result, or that you doubt either your power or your premises. But when men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas— that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market, and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out." (Holmes dissent in Abrams et al v. U. S.)

Are you afraid of the truth, Mr. Williams? If you are, then God help you.

As you sent a copy of your letter to CBS in New York so shall I send a copy of mine as well as yours to my old friend, Edward R. Murrow, VP of CBS, and a friend of over twenty years.

Sincerely,

Cullen B. Gosnell

cc: E. R. Murrow, CBS, New York
WAGA, Atlanta

Gosnell, Cullen

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

November 15, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter. I still hope that you will be able to work in a hunt even though it is not more than one day. You see we have a rather long season for quail. The season comes in November 20 and goes out February 25. You might find that you could get off some time during the Christmas holidays or after Christmas when the hunting is still fine. If you take one quail hunt down in Georgia I don't believe that you will ever forget it.

John Crosby wrote an awfully good piece about you about the time you were beginning your new series on See It Now. He expressed my sentiments exactly when he pointed out that you ha great power which you had never abused but that you had used it always for good purposes. With that I agree one hundred per cen Sorry I missed your first show as I was engaged in an Institute affair at the time, but I will be looking forward to your next one.

Try hard to juggle your heavy schedule and get in a hun with me. Just give me a ring some time if you can work it out.

With best wishes ever, I am

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell

Gosnell, Cullen

November 2, 1955

Dear Cullen:

As of right now it looks like I'm ruined for this year's quail shoot, but I still have faint hopes. If I see a chink in this miserable schedule, I will make you a signal forthwith.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Director
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Georgia

rh

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

September 20, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter which was forwarded to me on my vacation. I understand perfectly about the broadcast. Back in June I saw something in the paper about the change in sponsorship. Maybe we can fit in later on.

Now, I want you to remember about that quail hunt we planned last spring. I have already taken up the matter with a friend at Thomasville and was told that we could hunt on a big preserve down there with sufficient notice. The season opens November 20 and I would like for you to give me some possible dates when you could come. I want you, if possible, to be with us two or three days and I believe I can guarantee you the best hunt you ever had.

I will let you know when I am coming to New York again. In the meantime let me have some possible dates during the quail season when you can get off. The season closes about February 25.

With very best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen

Cullen B. Gosnell
Director

CBG:te

Gosnell, Cullen

August 23, 1955

Dear Dr. Gosnell:

Sorry I missed your telephone call.

Sorry, too, to tell you that the format for SEE IT NOW has been changed radically within the last few weeks. During the coming season we will be doing between six-hour or hour-and-half programs rather than the previous weekly half-hour schedule. This means that we should be unable to deal with as many subjects that have been under active consideration. It may be that at some point during the winter we can find a place to undertake the program we discussed, but the prospects are not promising. In any event do not fail to let me know when next you are coming to New York.

As ever yours,

Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell
Director
Institute of Citizenship
Emory University
Georgia

rh
(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

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August 19, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As you requested last spring when I was talking with you in New York, I am writing you now concerning a possible broadcast on your "See It Now" program. You indicated at the time I saw you quite an interest in such a broadcast. As you will recall I suggested that one of our adult education projects be used and that possibly a discussion on "Cotton and World Trade" by a group of small cotton farmers might be the best bet. This would be a panel discussion led by a moderator and two experts. Both sides of the question might be presented briefly by the panelists and then questions and discussion might come from the farmers.

I called your office a day or two ago and discovered that you were out of the city until the first week in September. When you return I would appreciate it if you would contact me.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Cullen B. Gosnell

Cullen B. Gosnell
Director

CBG:te

Gosnell, Cullen

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June 17, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I would appreciate it if you can see our field consultant, Mr. Paul Rilling, for a few minutes next week. He expects to be in a meeting with the Foreign Policy Association on June 21. Mr. Rilling would like to talk to you about our program for your See It Now for next fall. As I explained to you in the spring, we would like to put

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(2)

on a brief discussion of a few small farmers (in one of our branches) on "Cotton and World Trade." This is a good current topic. As I understand, you would like to deal with the various stages of production and marketing as a preliminary. You did a similar project on wheat in Kansas, I believe. We can assume you of a wide reception. Through our thousands of alumni throughout the country they would be contacted by us.

With best wishes, I am
Yours sincerely
Cullen
(Cullen B. Gosnell)

P.S. Paul Rilling has said that you see it necessary in the best interest of the air type on the air

Gosnell, Cullen

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

Noted by E. R. M.

June 14, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing a few ideas for the possible television show concerning the Emory Institute of Citizenship which we discussed last March. I have tried to develop the idea of basing the program on the growth of cotton and its relationship to world trade as you suggested. As I remember from our brief conversation I believe you suggested the possibility of televising this program sometime in the fall. It occurred to me that it might be necessary to take some of the shots depicting the stages of the growth of cotton and the harvesting of cotton sometime fairly soon if these pictures are to be taken in season. Let me know how your plans are developing and whether there is anything further we can do along the line of information or cooperation. I do think that our Institute experience here has been interesting and exciting and that it would provide good material for one of your fine "See It Now" programs.

Called 6/23 you were on Pawling.

Our field consultant, Paul Rilling, will be in New York during the week of June 20 to report to the Foreign Policy Association on the progress of our Institute program this year. He will make a courtesy call to your office just in case there are any points you would like to check with him. Mr. Rilling has handled the bulk of the field operations for the program and is well qualified to further explain the exact nature of the work that we are doing if that would seem necessary or advisable.

Sincerely,

Cullen B. Gosnell
(E)

Cullen B. Gosnell
Director

CBG:te

Suggestions for the projected

See It Now

program on the

EMORY INSTITUTE OF CITIZENSHIP

Topic: Cotton and World Trade.

Purpose: To show the operations of the Institute in a local South Georga community. The topic "cotton and world" trade is utilized to emphasize the way in which the world situation impinges directly on the welfare of the average cotton farmer.

1. Picture of the Emory campus. Explanation of the Institute work and aims.
   President White
   Dean Hepburn, chairman of the executive committee of the Institute
   Dr. Gosnell, director of the Institute

2. Comments from representatives of the supporting agencies.
   Dr. John Nason, president of the Foreign Policy Association
   Robert Blakely, Fund for Adult Education

3. Film of growing cotton in South Georgia with narration emphasizing the inter-relationship of cotton and world trade. Film might trace cotton through stages of growth, harvesting, marketing, and into the stream of world trade.

4. Shot of Institute activities in progress in a small South Georgia community. Perhaps ten or twelve local people are participating in a discussion of world trade. Short statements are given by speakers on various sides of the question, followed by a brief, spirited question period.
   Moderator: Paul Rilling, field consultant, Institute of Citizenship

Gosnell, Cullen

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JOSEPH J. MATHEWS
HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

March 12, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I want to thank you for the luncheon you gave me on Friday. It was good to see you again after then twenty years. You are doing a great job and we are all highly indebted to you for your courage in standing up for the Democratic way of life.

I am delighted that you will do a program on one of our rural projects in

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HOWARD M. PHILLIPS

(P. 2)

the ball. I believe you said you like to take a farm product and follow it through the stages of production. We might take cotton and do this and then follow through with a panel discussion of the significance of cotton in world trade. We would use a small group of small cotton farmers and have a discussion on this topic.

You are really a very humorous fellow. Since you like hunting you are a man after my own heart. Remember, I am counting on you be a quail hunt.

Sincerely,

Cullen B. Gosnell

P.S. Will write again later on in year.

Graham, Philip L.

WU041 PD

FAX WASHINGTON DC DEC 12 425PME

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

WOULD FOLLOWING INTEREST YOU DURING JANUARY OR FEBRUARY TOP PEOPLE FROM WASHINGTON POST, WTOP AND WMBR MEET QUARTERLY IN PONTE VEDRA FOR DISCUSSIONS OF PROGRAM POLICY AND BROADCAST NEWS COVERAGE. DURING MEETING WE GIVE SHORT AND UNPOMPOUS DINNER FOR ABOUT SIXTY OR SEVENTY JACKSONVILLE HOT ROCKS. IF YOU WOULD BE WILLING TO EDITY THEM WITH SOME INFORMAL COMMENTS, WE WOULD OFFER FOLLOWING QUIDS FOR YOUR QUO- FIRST, TRANSPORT YOU AND WIFE TO JACKSONVILLE AND BACK HOME ANY WAY, ANY TIME, MOST CONVENIENT TO YOU. SECOND, PROVIDE DELICIOUSLY COMFORTABLE ROOMS ON GOLF COURSE. THIRD, OFFER GOLF, HUNTING, FISHING, PRIVACY, NON-PRIVACY, DRINKING OR ABSENANCE AS YOU PREFER. FOURTH, OTHER DELIGHTS A LA CARTE.

LET ME KNOW IF ANY DATES POSSIBLE

PHILIP L GRAHAM

625P..

Phoned Regrets

Graham, P.

October 9, 1957

Dear Phil:

Thanks for the note about the TIME piece.

Group journalism is a curious thing - particularly when the writer cannot recognize his own copy when it appears in the book.

Thanks for the kind words. I have a feeling that the guys who work in print will be around for a long time.

As ever yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
THE WASHINGTON POST
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

fc

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

Written: September 27, 1957
Typed: October 1, 1957

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

I am home in the sack with a runny nose, have read the TIME piece, and have spare moments to send you a few comments which you may carry up to Pawling to your Mrs. and to Casey if you wish.

(1) On page 49 - "Beyond personality and technique" - one of their fancy writers gropes around for a lot of high-priced, non-illuminating words. There are simpler ones that explain why Casey's papa is respected, and down here, being old-fashioned, we use words like "character" and "courage".

(2) That closing crap about TV's inadequacies in news - "an adman's medium" - is especially hilarious this week. The nightly shots from Arkansas, the special half-hour on CBS Tuesday night, your Clinton show, etc., are major hopes for the kind of better national understanding that may prevent Fort Sumter the second. (I know of two actors - Governor Collins of Florida and Deputy Attorney General Bill Rogers - who were affirmatively motivated to good action by specific things they saw on TV.) Moreover, individual station operators like ourselves are improving news activities as we never dreamed we'd dare, and largely because of your example and leadership. (In last sentence, "dare" does not involve courage, but means dare spend dollars for no quick, obvious return.) I confess I'm primarily a newspaper fellow and I think our own stuff has been pretty good on Little Rock. But I print almost as much soap opera as Mr. Luce does and I can't go in for too much looking down on you new boys.

(3) Tell the Pawling group about how thoughtful I was in telling you how to run Person to Person of Eugene Meyer; and how instead of shooting me you even called Kay and me up after you had carefully given the old man a nothing ball so he could knock it out of the park.

(4) Finally, tell them about old Mike Fodor and how easy it would have been to be too busy to come way down here to help prove to those Howard Business School fellows that they had better not fire him.

Heavens, I must have a very bad cold to be so damnably pleasant.

Your friend, intimate or not,

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

P.S. I'm sure they meant to be nice. I just wish people nowadays wouldn't be so constipated when it comes to amiability. PLG

Graham, Philip

September 13, 1957

Dear fellow pondsman:

I cherish your sage counsel and will hope to bask in the sunshine of your wisdom when next I visit what they refer to on the radio as the nation's capital.

I have indeed built, or caused to be built, two ponds: the one I built myself was passed 100% by the Conservation Department, the Bureau of Public Health and the ghost of Fiorello H. LaGuardia. The one I had built (I am about to sell the farm to pay for it) is now being questioned and disputed by everybody in the community including small boys with sand buckets and shovels.

I deeply resent your implication that I am incapable of building a pond and my resentment will adhere until the dam goes out in the spring.

I will be in your fair city next week, but only for a day. However, I shall hope to make crude noises on the telephone.

As ever yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
THE WASHINGTON POST
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

fe

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

September 5, 1957

Dear Ed:

I have always thought you a basically decent fellow despite your preoccupation with such exotic matters as freedom of speech, tolerance, world affairs, and the like. So I am delighted that you have at last developed a healthy interest and built a pond.

You are indeed fortunate to have in me a friend who is a great authority on ponds. You have already made one ghastly mistake - building it yourself - so I must rush in with a preliminary briefing to prevent further errors:

(1) Be sure to name this one for your wife. This will seem generous but more important you are bound to build a bigger pond soon. That one can then be called Lake Edward. I followed the plan, and we now have Lake Katharine (1 1/2 acres) rather overshadowed by Lake Philip (6 acres).

(2) Remember the following as an article of faith: The Department of Agriculture knows absolutely nothing about ponds. If you are in doubt about anything, a good rule of thumb is to do the opposite of their recommendations. Thus:

(a) Do <u>not</u> fertilize.

(b) Do not follow their fish stocking ideas.

(3) The only man who knows anything about ponds is Clinton J. Riley, Galena, Maryland.

(4) An absolute essential for your pond is a Packet boat, which you order from the Porta Company, Canton, Massachusetts.

(5) Avoid Abercrombie & Fitch.

(6) Avoid free fish from the U.S. or the State. Buy them.

(7) I shall send further instructions on the following when you demonstrate an approach to mature pondsmanship:

(a) Muskrats.

(b) Snapping turtles.

(c) How to have a sandy beach.

(d) How to have a boat dock.

(e) Weed and Algae control.

(f) Tax deductibility of farm ponds.

Sincerely,

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

P.S. My vacation was very inexpensive. I am loaded. You cannot afford not to play with me. So let me know when you are coming down.

Graham, Philip

April 16, 1957

Dear Phil:

If you aren't embarrassed, all is well with me.

I am just back from a few days shooting in Puerto Rico. We are doing a SEE IT NOW piece on the subject May 5th, which might be of some interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
Publisher
"The Washington Post"
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

rh

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

April 3, 1957

Dear Ed:

When I learned of your 3:00 a.m. arrival, and further saw how generally tired you were, I realized what an absolutely revolting thing I had done in inflicting that performance before the Advertising Council on you. But I do want you to know how much I appreciated your being there, and also I wanted inadequately to tell you what a marvelous job you did.

I had a detached and disinterested observer in the audience in the form of my wife. Her most perceptive observation was to note how the tyranny of the broadcasting clock had disciplined you to say ten minutes' worth in three minutes.

I do apologize for the strain imposed on you, and I do further take an oath never to bother you again until you give up your present mad schedule and decide to retire to the presidency of George Washington University.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Kay & Phil

WU020 PD

FAX WASHINGTON DC FEB 12 102PME

EDWARD R MURROW,COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

FIRST CONGRATULATIONS ON THE TELEVISION ACADEMY AWARD WHICH IS NOT NEARLY ENOUGH FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE. SECOND, GRATEFUL THANKS FOR HELPING US GET KOREA KINESCOPE WHICH WE SAW LAST NIGHT AND WERE DEEPLY MOVED BY. OUR WARMEST BEST

KAY AND PHIL GRAHAM

158P..

RECEIVED
FEB 12 PM 2:56
C.B.S. TELEVISION DEPT. N.Y.

THAT SIGNATURE IS KAY AND PHIL GRAHAM PLEASE FIX THANK YOU

Graham, Philip

February 15, 1957

Dear Phil:

Many thanks for your letter and your kind words about the Clinton program.

Fred and I are delighted to hear that you enjoyed it. After reviewing the response to it, we felt justified in indulging in a little pride especially since the people of Clinton thought we dealt with the subject fairly.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
THE WASHINGTON POST
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

fc

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

January 23, 1957

Dear Ed:

Reading over the excellently done CBS news memorandum on Clinton, dated January 21, reminds me of my failure to write you about this.

Kay and I looked at the program with our 21-year-old house guest of that weekend, Harsha Hutheesing, who is the son of Prime Minister Nehru's youngest sister. So we offered an audience of somewhat varying ages and origins.

I don't know how to tell you about the program, because we Scots try occasionally to avoid superlatives. So I will just say that you and Fred Friendly never have done and never will do anything better.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Graham, Phil

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

February 1, 1957

7

Dear Ed:

Further report on "Clinton" to you and Fred Friendly:

Wednesday night your unpaid helper, Danny Kaye, blew in, along with Sylvia and Mr. and Mrs. Max Rabb, for dinner with us. Danny and Justice Frankfurter have a burgeoning mutual admiration society under way, so we called the Justice and were invited over after dinner. Half way through dinner, Sylvia told me of their regret and remorse over missing "Clinton."

Knowing that the Justice resists all technological advance after the age of Marconi, and so has no TV set, I decided to see what could be done.

WTOP had a copy of the film on hand, because we had brought it down to show it to all our reporters and editors who had missed the show. They managed to produce it along with a portable screen and projector by 11:30. So we took over the Justice's living room and made a tolerable theatre out of it and wound up at a quarter to one. To put it briefly, the audience reaction was all, and a great deal more, that you could have hoped for.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Graham, Phil

June 29, 1955

Dear Phil:

I do hope the lunch for Fodor served its purpose. I found it thoroughly enjoyable. We must somehow arrange to see more of each other in the autumn.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
Publisher
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

rh

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

June 21, 1955

Dear Ed:

You were superb yesterday at lunch, and I am grateful to you for your co-hosting this Fodor celebration. I do think Mike was very deeply touched.

You mentioned Harold Laski's book on the American Presidency after lunch. I am sending you a more recent book on the Presidency by my very good friend, Sidney Hyman. I think you will find it a worth while volume.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Graham, Philip

JUNE 6, 1955

MR. PHILIP L. GRAHAM
THE WASHINGTON POST
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WILL SEE YOU AT THE POST AT 1 o'CLOCK MONDAY

JUNE 20.

ED MURROW

414-43

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

May 25, 1955

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your telegram.

I have set the date for your first choice, namely, Monday, June 20, and we will have the luncheon here at the Post at 1 o'clock. Bill Fulbright and Scotty Reston are already coming and I am in the process of inviting others. If you have any names to suggest, pass them on to me. I am trying to keep it fairly small--but terribly impressive!

Your British election show last night (May 24) was fascinating.

Sincerely,

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Graham, Philip

MAY 19, 1955

MR. PHILIP GRAHAM
THE WASHINGTON ~~EXE~~ POST
1515 L STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WILL BE BACK AND WILL BE AVAILABLE STOP

FIRST CHOICE IS MONDAY, JUNE 20, SECOND

CHOICE JUNE ~~X~~ 15.

ED MURROW

RECEIVED
1955 MAY 18 PM 7:10
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU038 PD

WASHINGTON DC 18 522PME

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

attached

SUBJECT OUR CORRESPONDENCE OF LAST FEBRUARY. MIKE FODOR IS NOW IN WASHINGTON. I AM STILL ANXIOUS TO HAVE THAT LUNCH FOR HIM. WILL YOU BE BACK AND AVAILABLE ANY OF THESE DATES: WEDNESDAY 2nd, JUNE 15, MONDAY 1st, JUNE 20, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, OR THURSDAY, JUNE 23. GIVE ME COUPLE CHOICES IF POSSIBLE SO I CAN LINE UP SENATOR FULBRIGHT AND OTHERS. THANKS

PHILIP L GRAHAM

15 20 22 23

555P..

February 23, 1955

Dear Phil:

I applaud you, Mike Fodor, and the idea of the luncheon. I could come down any Monday, Wednesday, or Thursday and if you decide to go ahead with it, I would be glad to be associated with the venture in any and every possible way.

As ever yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
Publisher
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

rh

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

February 3, 1955

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

You have probably heard that the busy bureaucrats have succeeded in suspending Mike Fodor's paper, Die Neue Zeitung. This leaves the field clear for German publishers who can sustain the morale of West Berlin through lots of leg-and-bosom art. I am confident that this step will balance the budget, restore free enterprise, etc.

Mike writes me that he is being given a job in the U.S. Information Service here, returning some time in April. I suspect that you believe with me that he is almost a Great American (even though he may not know Arthur Godfrey).

I doubt very much that the Moguls in USIA have any true idea of his present value or past services. I have been considering pitching a whing-ding luncheon for him on his return. Not many people, but all Terribly Eminent, like you. This would serve two purposes: (1) impress the not too knowledgeable Moguls at USIA; and (2) offer a pleasant change from the usual luncheons given for horrible characters.

What are your views? Do you think this might help ensure Mike's being adequately protected? If so I may get in touch with you when he gets here to see if you could possibly find an April day when you could slip down for such an occasion.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

January 14, 1955

Dear Ed:

Thanks for yours of January 10th.

The so-called "Washington Futurama" is shaping up strongly. It will be a good exhibit of the whole community problem. It's sponsored by all the eminent groups in town, will be held in our biggest department store, and will be seen by a quarter of a million or more people.

Of possible interest to you are large-scale "futurama" models they will have made; crowds ogling exhibits; gathering of nabobs, etc.

Ergo, would it be wise for Mr. Friendly or you to peek at the scene pretty soon, so that he could gear your date in with this exhibit? It is now set for first week in May, but probably could be shifted a bit if necessary.

If either of you can come down I'll be glad to make any arrangements to eliminate waste time and yet give you a feel.

I hope you are wise and mean enough to make Mr. Friendly do all your work. So I enclose a carbon you can send him. If he wants to call me direct I'll be glad to be of service.

Sincerely,

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Original went to Friendly

Graham, P.L.

January 10, 1955

Dear Phil:

The project sounds intriguing. I think we would be better off to have a look at it on the ground. The next time Fred or I get to Washington, we will give you a shout. It sounds like our kind of pidgeon.

As ever yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
Publisher
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

rh
cc: Mr. Friendly

Graham, Philip

January 7, 1954

Dear Philip:

1) And a Happy New Year to you.

2) As soon as I can manage to get hold of a kinescope of the Korea show, it will be dispatched to you.

3) I shall make you a signal when next I come to Washington.

As ever yours,

Mr. Philip L. Graham, Publisher
The Washington Post
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D.C.

dm

cc: SIN

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

January 4, 1954

Dear Ed:

(1) Happy New Year.

(2) Yesterday's news round-up show was the best ever. This is a wonderful CBS year-end present, and I hope you always keep it up.

(3) The New Yorker thing suggested to me that your doctor had a difficult patient.

(4) A damnably boring dinner-party kept me from seeing your Korea show, but I hear terrific compliments on every side. My wife, being thoroughly spoiled and having discovered kinescope through getting a chance to see your Berlin show in Bonn, has even hinted that I should ask you to send a film down. However, I wouldn't dare because it would take all those VP's of yours three weeks to figure out which division to charge the postage to.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Saul Haas

November 22, 1960

Dear Saul:

Many thanks for your cordial note of November 11.

I'm just about getting back on my feet and am, needless to say, thankful that the miserable siege of pneumonia is over. However, I'm forbidden to travel for awhile; the doctors having grounded me for at least three weeks.

Chuck Hill's address, as of December 1, will be 29 South Manor Drive, White Plains, New York. He has been fortunate in getting his old house back again.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Saul Haas, President
Queen City Broadcasting Company
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

lc

Queen City Broadcasting Company
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE • SEATTLE 9 WASHINGTON

SAUL HAAS
PRESIDENT

KIRO
RADIO—TELEVISION

November 11, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

The whole country, including one S. Haas, wondered where you were on Election night. It is to the credit of the networks, including CBS, that they answered this question for me, and for the other interested millions.

I hope your illness is nothing serious, and that you will still be able to visit us here this month.

Take care of yourself, Ed. Remember, a very great number of people belong to you, and you to them.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Saul

SH:pf

P.S. I received a gratifyingly nice letter from Chuck Hill, but the guy didn't give me his address except NBC. If you see him, will you ask him to let me know where I can write him with a more specific address.

lv

Haas, Saul

Queen City Broadcasting Company

1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE • SEATTLE 9 WASHINGTON

KIRO
RADIO—TELEVISION

.AS
NT

May 31, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

In view of what has happened, I thought you might be interested in a couple of items in the papers.

With respect to the Sunday "Times" -- the largest newspaper -- there is more to it than appears in the front page of the TV Section enclosed.

Regards,

Saul

Saul Haas:pf

Enclosures

TV News and Views:

C. B. S. 'Eye' to Be Upon Us All the Live-Long Day

By C. J. SKREEN

KTNT-TV's reaffiliation with the Columbia Broadcasting System may represent a net gain in revenue for the station, but for the viewers it is likely to be a net loss, apart from those who have been unable to pick up the KIRO-TV signal.

The affiliation, in effect, cuts the choice of programs for viewers from five to four in the Seattle-Tacoma market, with Channel 7 also carrying C. B. S. programs.

Although Channel 11 has not announced its network-program policy, it seems safe to say the station will be forced to carry the full complement of C. B. S. programs offered, since its performance will determine to a considerable extent whether it will continue as a network affiliate when contract-renewal time arrives in two years.

At that time, C. B. S. will have to re-evaluate its position in the Seattle-Tacoma region. The ratings of C. B. S. shows, which heretofore have been woefully weak in this area, will be a determining factor on what action the network takes.

Ironically, with the C. B. S. "eye" turning up on the tube over both Channels 7 and 11, Puget Sound viewers who also can pick up Bellingham's Channel 12 have three C. B. S. channels at their command. This must represent the ultimate in saturation coverage for a network.

●

NEEDS DOCTORING: N. B. C. is carrying a show tonight on Channel 5 that may find viewers running for the smelling salts.

Titled "M. D.—U. S. A.," this March of Medicine offering, dedicated to the work of the American physician, definitely is not for the squeamish.

Those with sufficient fortitude, however, will see a cut lip being sewed up, an abdominal operation, a child being fitted for a brace and a young woman whose muscles are turning to stone.

Unfortunately, this overly clinical presentation seems more intent on sensationalism than honor for the physician.

Incidentally owners of color sets will be able to see this one in livid color.

MURROW RETURNS: Tonight also will see the return of Edward R. Murrow to the TV wars after his year-long sabbatical. The C. B. S. Reports offering, "Who Speaks for the South?" should prove engrossing to those who are not allergic by now to the Southern segregation issue.

The Murrow documentary has had a haphazard fate in the wake of the summit conference. Late last week, the network announced the program would be pulled and sent Murrow off to Berlin for a substitute report on what was expected to be the German crisis. The best laid plans of C. B. S. went astray when the unpredictible Khrushchev decided not to press the Berlin issue.

Oh, yes—and don't say we didn't warn you: Edd (Kookie) Byrnes, who had been on strike for higher wages at Warner Brothers, returns to action tonight on 77 Sunset Strip over Channel 4.

Seward, J.

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

JAMES M. SEWARD
Executive Vice President

May 25, 1960

Dear Saul:

I am sorry to report that I am still unable to talk. Beyond that my throat is still quite sore as a result of a third minor operation last Thursday. Consequently it would only be frustrating for you for us to attempt to discuss Ed's Queen City stock ownership.

But here's the story as I know it. A day or two before I wrote you Ed telephoned me to say that he had decided that it would be a mistake for him to continue as a Queen City stockholder. The fact of his holding stock in a broadcasting operation labels him in the minds of those that know about it, and his necessarily minor ownership and inability in any case to participate in policy decisions makes the situation more embarassing. He wishes to withdraw completely and as soon as possible but at the same time would like to do so in a way which would cause minimum problems for you.

That's all I could write out for you in long hand if we got together, but nevertheless I'll come to your hotel or meet you here if you wish me to do so. I am sending Ed a copy of this note and I am sure he will telephone you if he can get out of the cutting room long enough.

Sincerely yours,

Jim S

Mr. Saul Haas
c/o Peters, Griffin, Woodward
250 Park Avenue
18th Floor
New York, New York

cc: Mr. Murrow

Saul Haas

DOMESTIC August 5, 1959

to:

SAUL HAAS
KIRO
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVENUE
SEATTLE
WASHINGTON

MR MURROW TRAVELLING WEST COAST NOW. I UNCERTAIN HIS WHEREABOUTS OR PLANS EXCEPT HIS RETURN NEW YORK AUGUST 10 OR 11. IMAGINE HE WILL CALL YOU. REGARDS.

SHEILA HOGG, SECRETARY

514-70

Saul Haas

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

OA882

1959 AUG 4 PM 11 52

O SEB217 NL PD AR=FAX SEATTLE WASH 4:

=EDWARD R MURROW ,COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

DELIGHTED, BUT HOW, WHEN, WHERE, FOR HOW LONG? WHAT SHALL I HAVE READY, ETC. BESTEST.=

SAUL HAAS.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Saul Haas

DOMESTIC AUGUST 4, 1959

to:

SAUL HAAS
KIRO
XXXX 1530 QUEEN ANNE AVENUE
SEATTLE
WASHINGTON

WILL BE IN SEATTLE SATURDAY AUGUST 8. REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-70

Haas, Saul

DOMESTIC July 17

to: SAUL HAAS
KIRO
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVENUE
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

YOU CAN REACH CHARLES HILL AT HIS HOME WHITE PLAINS 6-1436 N.Y. REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-70

Saul Haas
F

March 19, 1959

Dear Saul:

Thanks for your letter. I shall be around here until the first of July and will probably be on the West Coast briefly some time during August.

We must manage to meet, either here or there.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
KIRO-TV
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

ERM:jmi

KIRO-TV 7 1530 queen anne ave. seattle 9, wash.
OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

March 14, 1959

Dear Ed:

I am sorry that I twice missed you in New York. Maybe we'll be able to get together on my next trip, which I think will be very soon.

Meanwhile, Dee and Deesa join me in sending our affectionate best to you and yours.

I am glad you are finally taking that well-earned year, of which we spoke so many years ago.

Incidentally, I enclose an interesting letter from one of your very great admirers.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Saul

Saul Haas:pf

Enclosure

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

PETERS, GRIFFIN, WOODWARD, INC.
Pioneer Radio and Television Station Representatives

NEW YORK · CHICAGO · DETROIT · ATLANTA · FORT WORTH · HOLLYWOOD · SAN FRANCISCO

RUSS BUILDING · SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIF.
YUKON 2-9188

January 16, 1959

Mr. Saul Haas
Queen City Broadcasting Company
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle, Washington

Dear Saul:

To continue on from where we left off earlier this afternoon while sitting over lunch in the Squire Room of the Fairmont Hotel....you will recall we were discussing a person of mutual interest, Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

Long before becoming a member of the School of Radio at Washington State College under the capable direction of Allan Miller, I was an ardent fan of Mr. Murrow. During my early days at WSC we spent many hours studying various programs and announcers. My favorite was Ed Murrow.

It was about this time that his recordings of "I CAN HEAR IT NOW" were first issued and became so popular. I have a complete set of his albums to date. It was during the latter part of my Junior year in school that I was to meet the great Mr. Murrow. He visited his alma mater and gave several lectures to the advanced class of News Writing. Of course, these meetings just added to my continuing interest in this man. In the years that followed I have listened to his daily radio newscasts and watched his "Person to Person" TV program whenever possible. Since our initial meeting I have been in the broadcasting business about seven years and I hope to someday have the opportunity to again meet and talk with Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

It was a genuine pleasure to be with you today, Saul, and I hope we can sit down over lunch again in the near future. I will be looking forward to seeing you when I come to Seattle about the middle of February.

My very best regards to you and your wonderful family.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank A. Tessin

FAT:cjc

Haas, Saul

December 29, 1958

Dear Saul:

Many thanks for the bushel of apples.

It was indeed most thoughtful of you to send them to me at Christmas time.

Here's wishing you a healthy and happy new year!

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
KIRO-TV
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle, Washington

mcc

Haas, Saul

November 28, 1958

Mr. Saul Haas
KIRO-TV
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

Dear Saul:

Thank you for your letter. I have already received the invitations to the Washington State International Trade Fair and there is nothing I would like better than to spend a little time in Washington. But I must say "no" to them and to you. I have a seven day a week schedule now, which holds me inexorably in New York.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

KIRO-TV 7 1530 queen anne ave. seattle 9, wash.
OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

November 19, 1958

Sorry can't do it.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I have been given some copies of the invitations extended to you in connection with the opening night banquet for the Washington State International Trade Fair, with the information that it is my duty to do my best to persuade you to come.

Of course, a great many of us, especially me, would be delighted if you could possibly arrange to do so. Why don't you call it an inspection trip of your broadcasting properties out here?

My best to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Saul

Saul Haas
~~President~~

SH:pf

Haas, Saul.

KIRO-TV 7 1530 queen anne ave. seattle 9, wash.
OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

August 15, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I have in my office a private number that does not go through the switchboard. It is both a convenience and an inconvenience because I can't answer it when I am away from my desk or in the television building across the street, or anywhere but at my desk in my office.

Naturally, long distance calls must be person-to-person when placed to me at the station. The private number does not involve person-to-person calls since it rings directly in my office.

This number is ATwater 3-9155.

Sincerely,

Saul
pf

Saul Haas:pf

Haas.

August 13, 1958

Dear Saul:

I, too, am terribly sorry we weren't able to arrange to meet, but it was a most hurried trip, and I thought at last to give my mother a little vacation in Victoria.

It was also disappointing to miss Bill Douglas. As you know, I am not my own boss when it comes to time.

I will pass along to Howard Smith the clipping on THE RUBLE WAR.

Forgive me for the negligence about the picture for Dossa. I am sending it today. Don't forget to let me know when you are coming East again.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
KIRO-TV
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle, Washington

mac

KIRO-TV 7 1530 queen anne ave. seattle 9, wash.
OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

July 25, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sorry we weren't able to get together when you and Casey were out here, but we found out from your mother that you had left for the Rogue River and had to be back in New York on the 13th.

Bill Douglas, when he got to Portland, called me. He told me that you were somewhere around here and indicated that you might visit him. He thought it would be a good idea if I drove you and Casey to Glenwood. He had some awfully good fishing spots in mind.

I wanted, of course, very much to see you and Casey -- I haven't seen Casey for several years -- so I put an able young lady on your trail (she comes from Tennessee), and she found out about your movements from your mother. She was actually enchanted by your mother, and they apparently have a tentative agreement that Miss Freeman will someday visit your mother. It was plain to see that they had enjoyed a good old time visit on the telephone.

So, I called up Bill and told him that your stay on the Rogue would be very brief because you had to get on to New York. He told me that you had called him not ten minutes before, so he already knew what I had to tell him.

Well, if the mountain can't come to the man, the man can go to the mountain...so I expect you'll hear from me, and try to save me a little time when next I go East.

Incidentally, I don't know Howard K. Smith -- though I'd like to -- but I think you might be interested in the fact that, like some of your big shows, "The Ruble War" did get some attention "in the sticks". I am sending you a page from The Seattle Times which carried the story. Would you

be good enough to pass it along to Smith and to such others who might be pleased by reading the story?

Dee and I were sorry that you couldn't spend a little time with us....and that reminds me to dun you! You doubtless remember the night that Charlie Collingwood and you and I, and a couple of other guys, were talking in Colbee's. At that time, both you and Charlie agreed to send Deesa autographed pictures. These assurances were repeated when I explained that if you both sent these pictures to Deesa on the theory that you were sending them to the daughter of an old friend, it would raise my stature with my child. Since I haven't gotten the pictures either from you or Charlie, I thought that I could "explain all" when she saw you personally.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Saul

Saul Haas:pf

Enclosure

Randrich

June 3, 1958

Dear Saul:

Herewith a fairly complete report on the BBC's electronic tape machine.

I don't see that there is anything to be done immediately, but the boys in London will keep us informed of developments.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

fc

June 3, 1958

Dear Alex:

First of all, you guys have done a real good job from Paris.

Second, many thanks for taking time to brief me on VERA.

Third, there was no flap re the Paris circuit on the night of the Assembly vote. When there is a flap you will hear from me in unambiguous terms. Your piece stood up - the agencies all went mad, as usual, except in this case Reuters was right, or maybe just lucky.

So far as the repeat is concerned, I will confess to you that I damned near forgot we had one it's been so long since the news has caused us to repeat. Normally it just drools out of Chicago - West by recording.

As ever yours,

Mr. Alex Kendrick
CBS News
26 Hallam Street
London W.1
England

fc

CBS NEWS
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

LONDON BUREAU

May 29. 1958

Dear Ed:

Two things.

First, since Charles is participating in the downfall of the Fourth Republic, I have been checking on your May 28 request for information on the BBC electronic tape machine VERA. The BBC Chief on the engineering and technical side, Sir Harold Bishop, says that they have built two prototype machines, which were given a TV debut on Panorama a few weeks ago, and are now being installed at Lime Grove. They will try to put them into active service in a few weeks' time, and as soon as they are in working order, we can have a look. Bill McClure is much interested in this, so he will be having the look and will communicate his opinion.

Bishop frankly says they are having their teething troubles. When VERA is in good form, she is magnificent; when she has an off day, she is mediocre. It may be months before they get her into dependable operating mood. I saw the Panorama test and VERA was on the ball that night; the kinescope was virtually indistnguishable from the live, and the taped segment was played back on the air just nine minutes after the original recording. I gather the only real time factor involved is that of rewinding the tape.

BBC has no present plans for manufacturing VERA on any scale, but Bishop says they may eventually do so if she is highly successful. There have been several nibbles from manufacturing concerns, and probably ultimately somebody will start making machines and putting them on the market. This is still some way off.

One other angle. VERA works only for the British 450-line system. She could not be used at present for either the American or Continental systems. If she is manufactured here, she would have to be modified for export purposes.

Item Two. I gather there was a bit of a flap on the Paris circuit the night of the Assembly vote because (1) I did not update my piece and come up on the live circuit for your 7.45; (2) because I did not come up on your repeat circuit at 8.45.

I plead not guilty to goofing-off. I would have been on the 7.45 live if I had had a story. But the vote count began just 20 minutes before your air time, and since it took 50 minutes to complete -- and I knew it would take 50 minutes -- I washed out the circuit and notified New York why I was doing so. It is true you got a vote flash during your air time. I was in the AP office when this went out, and knew it was strictly a phoney, based on thumb sucking. It turned out to be about 120 votes off, and actually -- not counting the Communists -- would have meant Pflimlin was defeated instead of winning. As I look back, I think my piece, which tried to explain what was going on and what some of deGaulle's parliamentary problems would be -- not only held up for the 7.45 but would have served usefully as a backgrounder for the repeat.

So why wasn't I on the repeat? What repeat? Nobody told us on our 2130 circuit that the 7.45 was repeating, though we were told that the World Tonight was repeating. If we had known, I would have been there.

Bill has told me about SEE IT NOW. No need to say to you and Fred that everybody will miss it, we over here as much as you. Best regards.

MAY 27 1958

PRESS
COLUMBIA
LONDON

FOR COLLINGWOOD MURROW SAYS UNDERSTAND BBC DEVELOPED NEW EFFECTIVE ELECTRONIC TAPE STOP COULDST HAVE A LOOK AND ADVISE ME QUALITY AND WHETHER IT IS PURCHASABLE. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-43
fc

Haas, Saul

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

May 26, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

When I was talking with you the other day, you said you would be coming out here July 1. I was pleased to hear this, and will appreciate it very muchif you'll give me some idea as to your plans.

Naturally, I was very much interested in the piece about the BBC tape recorder. Perhaps we can make a deal to give it a work out here.

Cordially,

Saul

Saul Haas
President

SH:pf

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

Haas, Saul

1201

ne on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

(56)

NA039 PD AR=SEATTLE WASH 27 807AMP=

1958 FEB 27 AM 11 57

EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

UNABLE TO REACH YOU BY PHONE FOR TWO DAYS APPRECIATE YOUR CALLING ME IN RELATION TO MATTERS WE DISCUSSED AT COLBYS=

SAUL HAAS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Haas Saul.

CBS
KIRO
Seattle, Washington

FROM THE DESK
OF
Saul Haas

2-12-58

Dear Ed:

Thought you might be interested in the attached newspaper comments.

Regards,

Saul
pf

SH:pf

ONE OF THE NATION'S GREAT STATIONS

SeattleTeleviews:

Election Returns On KOMO-TV Tuesday

BY W. F. JAHN

KOMO-TV will telecast results of Tuesday's primary election, live and direct from the King County Auditor's office as the returns are tallied following the close of voting.

News editor Herb Robinson and reporter Howard Shuman with a two-camera remote set-up, will report returns during a special program from 10:30 to 11 p. m. on Channel 4.

Interviews with the various candidates will be a feature of the telecast.

If any of the races for council, comptroller or city treasurer are undecided by 11 p. m., further returns will be given on the "Deadline" news or during the "Jack Paar Show," Robinson announced.

Channel 5 will carry election returns during station breaks and on the 10:30 p. m. news with Ted Bryant.

KIRO-TV's FIRST week end of programming was a technical success judging from our viewing on Channel 7 Saturday and Sunday.

Video quality of the station is excellent, with high contrast pictures that I found made fine viewing.

The move of CBS Television programs to KIRO, incidentally, returns to Seattle viewers a number of programs that had been temporarily off the air during the pre-changeover period.

"Person To Person," the Ed Murrow hosted live interview show is perhaps the one "most missed" by the viewers. It will return Friday at 9:30 p. m. Others include "Robin Hood," Mondays at 6:30 p. m., "Name That Tune," Tuesday at 6:30 p. m., "Sergeant Preston," Thursday at 6:30 p. m., and "Leave It To Beaver" on Friday.

Haas, Saul

OCTOBER 30 1957

SAUL HAAS
KIRO
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

I REALLY DON'T KNOW ABOUT 35 MM CHAINS BUT THINK DECISION OUGHT TO BE DEFERRED UNTIL YOU ARRIVE AT WHICH TIME WE CAN GET SOME EXPERT OPINION.

REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-43
fc

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

SYA218 OB523

PRB509 PR SEF047 NL PD AR FAX SEATTLE WASH 21= 1957 OCT 21 PM 9 30

:EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM INC=
485 MADISON AVE NYK=

IF IMPORTANT, BE THERE WHENEVER YOU SAY. IF YOU THINK WE SHOULD STRETCH OURSELVES FINANCIALLY FOR ONE OR TWO 35 MM CAMERA CHAINS, PLEASE WIRE COLLECT. THANKS. REGARDS FROM ALL OF US=
SAUL HAAS KIRO.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Haas, Saul

OCTOBER 9, 1957

MR. SAUL HAAS
KIRO
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVENUE
~~XXXXXX XXXXXX~~ SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

HAVE ONE PROMISING PROSPECT. EVERYTHING CAN WAIT UNTIL YOU ARRIVE.

REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-43
fc

Haas, Dave

November 30, 1956

Dear Mrs. Spencer:

This is merely a note to tell you that the tape of Mr. Murrow's radio broadcast of October 24th is yours to keep, and there are no charges.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mrs. Polly Spencer
Secretary to Mr. Haas
Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

November 19, 1956

Dear Miss Holder:

Many thanks for forwarding the tape of Mr. Murrow's October 24 radio broadcast which, incidentally, was requested by my husband for use in his Air Force ROTC classes at the University of Washington. Mr. Haas referred the tape and your letter of November 12 to me this morning.

This letter is not only to thank you for sending the tape, but to ask if it is necessary to return it (if so, have we permission to duplicate it?), and if there are any charges involved?

Thanks again for your assistance.

Cordially,

Sally Spencer

Secretary to Mr. Haas

Miss Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Haas, Saul

November 12, 1956

Dear Mr. Haas:

Since Mr. Murrow is now in Israel, I would like to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 31st.

Enclosed herewith is the tape of Mr. Murrow's radio broadcast of October 24, 1956 which Major Spencer requested.

Sincerely yours,

Rebecca Holder
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Saul Haas
Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

October 31, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

If you didn't do such a good job, you wouldn't be put upon so often! This is by way of preface of sending along a letter from Major Spencer whose wife is a very able member of our staff.

Could you turn this over to someone to take care of and send the tape to me, and the bill for whatever charges may be incurred? I hope this will not be too much of a burden.

After the election -- this one has earned the distinction of being one of the dirtiest, probably the dirtiest in the Nation, so far as charges against Magnuson go -- I expect to be in New York and hope that you can manage time for a visit.

Meanwhile, Dee, Deesa and I send our affectionate best to you and family.

As always,

Saul

Saul Haas:pfs

Enclosure

Department of Air Science
AFROTC Detachment Nr 910
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE 5, WASHINGTON

October 29, 1956

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

Dear Mr. Haas:

On the evening of Wednesday, October 24, 1956, one of our officers heard the regular 5:00 P.M. radio news broadcast of Edward R. Murrow over your station. In this broadcast Mr. Murrow discussed the principles of Imperialism and Nationalism as they apply to the recent crises throughout the world, and particularly to those in central Europe and the Middle East.

Mr. Murrow's treatise, this officer felt, was a paragon of clarity and brevity on a subject so vast as to normally fill volumes.

Our Air Force ROTC curriculum for both our Freshman and Senior classes includes within its subject matter lectures which give our students a basic understanding of both these factors in International Relations. We feel that Mr. Murrow's broadcast would be of great value in our presentations, if we would be permitted to use it.

I would greatly appreciate your assisting us in obtaining a recording or tape of this broadcast for use in our classrooms. If the recording or tape is not available, a second choice would be a copy of the script with necessary permission to use it for this purpose.

Thank you very much for anything you can do for us in this regard.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Utley Spencer

UTLEY SPENCER
Major, USAF
Executive Officer

Haas, Saul

September 27, 1956

Dear Saul:

Sorry to have missed you when you were East. As a matter of fact I was in Suez most of the time you were here.

I regretfully had to wire the Mayor of Seattle refusing his invitation; with this schedule I am simply not free to move.

I can't suggest any of our own people who might be free. Perhaps Ed Morgan of ABC could do it; he is a very able guy and comes from Walla Walla.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

rh

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

September 19, 1956

Dear Ed:

Tried to get you several times while I was east. This was not only because I have never felt a visit east is complete without at least a phone conversation with you, but because I have been asked to inquire about an invitation sent you by the Mayor of Seattle to be the principal speaker on the occasion of having natural gas come to our state.

In checking with others connected with your staff, I found that it was practically certain you couldn't make it, even if you wanted to. Because of this, I talked with Frank Taylor, my opposite number on the Seattle Star when I was ME of the old Seattle Uniom Record (he is now Executive VP of the New York Herald Tribune) with the idea that he might have one of his very well named people pinch-hit for you if you decided finally that you can't come. Or would you suggest someone?

Would it be asking too much for you to get in touch with Frank and let him know what your plans are?

Meanwhile, Dee, Deesa and I send our affectionate best to you and yours,

As always,

Saul

Saul Haas:pfs

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Haas, Saul

March 14, 1955

Dear Saul:

Belated thanks for the most delicious apples you were so kind to send us. You can be sure we all enjoyed them immensely.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

rh

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

February 7, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have ordered a box of Washington apples to be sent to you at 485 Madison Avenue - compliments of Mr. Saul Haas.

I know Mr. Haas would appreciate your letting him know that the apples arrived safely and in good condition.

Sincerely,

Betty Carlson
Secretary to Mr. Haas

Received 2/16
sent to apartment
RH

Haas, Saul

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

October 21, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Last night I met Paul Boie for the first time. We were both passengers on a flight of a new Douglas air liner, which will soon be put into operation by United Air Lines. When I told him I expected to go east next week, he asked especially that I extend his best greetings.

I have a letter from Harold Hansen, who apparently knows you. I think he went to school with you at Pullman. He says: "I should appreciate it very much if you will tell Ed Murrow I would like very much to see him again, and that I would like to discuss briefly a few Air Force Reserve matters as well as some national and international aspects of the agricultural aviation business in which I have become so involved; and, as a matter of fact, generated a certain amount of interest from his brother, Lacey." Harold may be reached in care of D. K. MacDonald & Company, Exchange Building, Seattle 4.

I'll give you a ring when I get to town and hope that you may find a free moment. I'm getting a little shabby and am looking forward to having you help me buy one or two suits.

Dee and Deesa send their affectionate best to you and to your family.

Cordially,

Saul

Saul Haas

SH:BC

talk to him

OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

January 11, 1954

Dear Saul:

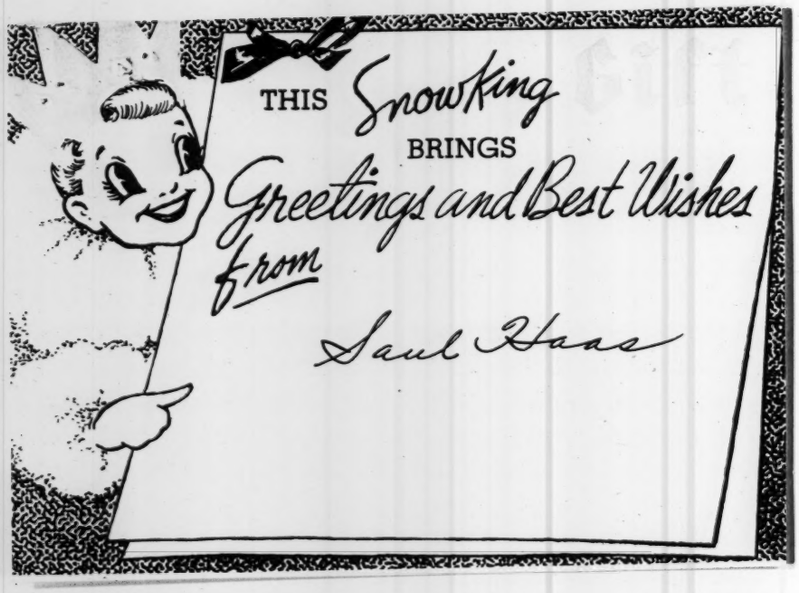
Very many thanks for sending me the apples at Christmastime. They were delicious and most appreciated by my household, and it was most kind of you to think of me.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

rh


THIS Snowking
BRINGS
Greetings and Best Wishes
from
Saul Haas

Haas, Saul

THE FRIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
1530 QUEEN ANNE AVE., SEATTLE 9, WASH.

January 7, 1954

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sure that I don't need to explain to you how much I appreciated your thoughtful holiday greeting, and why my acknowledgment has been so long delayed. The very reason for the delay* made your kind thoughtfulness all the more heartwarming and appreciated.

My very best to you and yours.

Cordially,

Saul

Saul Haas

*TV hearing preparation

SH:bk

Haas, Saul

EDWARD R. MURROW

April 13, 1953

Dear Saul:

Thanks for yours of March 23 and the enclosures about Mr. Charles Horowitz. As you know, Ted Church runs our news operation and I have forwarded the documents to him. I am sure he will do what he can. We have found it adviseable, and indeed necessary, to channel all requests for introductions to our European staff through Church.

If the gods are good I shall be on the west coast for a week or two sometime during August, and this time I hope not on my way to Korea, although that's still a possibility.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
1530 Queen Anne Avenue
Seattle 9, Washington

cc: Mr. Church
with correspondence

Haas, Saul

August 18, 1952

Dear Saul:

A very hasty note before I take off for a month's holiday to thank you for yours of July 7.

You are indeed a thoughtful guy. The fruit never did arrive, but I expect it was because they couldn't deliver them before the convention closed.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
Cobb Building
Seattle 1, Washington

(Dictated August 1, but
not signed by Mr. Murrow)

nic

RICHEY & GILBERT COMPANY

10 WEST MEAD AVE. — BOX 141
YAKIMA, WASHINGTON

July 7, 1952

Thank him — tell him they didn't arrive

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System Headquarters
Republican National Convention
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Ed:

Didn't get a chance to see you during the few days I was in New York last week when the Affiliate met. On my way home I stopped in Boise where I had left my car and where Dee met me. We have been driving back to Seattle and listening to the coverage on the convention.

The proceedings have been hot and again and again my car radio told me that even the air conditioned convention hall was 84°.

In Yakima I stopped to see my old and dear friend Elon Gilbert, whose people came to this Yakima Valley when it was a desert. Elon now is one of the biggest fruit growers and packers and it seemed to us that you and Frank and Charlie Collingwood and the boys might in the Chicago heat enjoy some of the fruit nourished by the snows of Mount Rainier which you know so well.

So, by weekend the fruit will be delivered and I will look to you to get someone to distribute it. — not received

Please see that Frank gets his share and give him my affectionate greeting and tell him I am sure things are going to work out well soon.

It is quite possible that I will have to go East the third time if Frank and George Storer arrange a meeting between conventions. I hope to see you then.

Meanwhile, Elon and I want to send our congratulations on a great job you fellows are doing in covering the convention and we both hope that you will enjoy the fruit.

Sincerely,

Saul

Saul Haas

P.S. One of the boxes of fruit is cherries - Black Republicans.

SH:b

cc: Frank Stanton

CARBON COPY

-HEY & GILBERT CO.
YAKIMA, WASHINGTON

July 7, 1952

Mr. John Rogers
McCaffrey, Rogers & Brown
216 South Water Market
Chicago, Illinois

Dear John:

A friend of mine is anxious to make a gesture of good will to the Columbia Broadcasting System Headquarters at the Republican National Convention. He has, therefore, requested that I send from the car of Phelps apricots arriving in Chicago Thursday of this week, a box of the larger sized apricots. He would also like to have a box of Black Republican cherries.

I hope that you will see that these get out even if it is necessary to have a parcel delivery take them and that you will bill me for the extra charges.

If the convention is all over by the time this delivery would reach the Columbia Broadcasting System Headquarters you will, of course, disregard this letter.

As you know, these Phelps apricots are from one of our own orchards and I am very anxious for you to develop as good a market as possible for them.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially,

RICHEY & GILBERT COMPANY

Elon J. Gilbert, President

EJG:beb

cc: Edward R. Murrow
Saul Haas

CARBON COPY

RICHEY & GILBERT CO.
YAKIMA, WASHINGTON

July 7, 1952

Mr. Frank Stanton, President
Columbia Broadcasting Headquarters
Republican National Convention
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Stanton:

My friend, Saul Haas, thought of you when he saw our beautiful apricots here this morning. He asked that some be flown to you and I told him that this might not be as good as taking some apricots from a carload which is now going by Railway Express to Chicago.

I hope that these arrive in good condition as Saul wanted you to get the picture of what beautiful fruit is now being produced on land which was a comparatively few years ago sagebrush desert land.

Most sincerely,

RICHEY & GILBERT COMPANY

By
Elon J. Gilbert, President

EJG:beb

cc: Saul Haas
~~Edward~~ R. Murrow
John Rogers

May 15, 1952

Dear Saul:

I read your advertisement and it's a great job. I was particularly pleased to see myself mentioned. It seems to me that the whole thing has dignity, directness, and should have been very effective.

Bill Douglas and I continue to labor on his Himalayan film and I think it's shaping up rather well. The minitape sound that he brought back is some of the best I have ever heard. We have finished a thirteen-minute film on Iran which I hope to find an opportunity to use on the television show before we take a two month hiatus starting in July.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station - KIRO
Cobb Building
Seattle 1, Washington

MAS

NDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

May 5, 1952

13

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

We've been in such a mess that I don't remember for sure whether I thanked you for your swell anniversary message. I think I did, and if that's the case, there is no harm in thanking you again -- I do, we all do, very sincerely.

Maybe you will find time to look over -- perhaps read -- the enclosed ad which we ran in the Sunday papers. I tried to include a statement of principle as well as a report on how we have discharged the responsibility which goes with a broadcasting license.

If we can get our labor negotiations concluded, I'll be starting East very soon. I think that by Wednesday night, we'll know whether we're going to have real trouble or not. The negotiations have lasted for months, and a lot of the trouble is due to ill-will and conflict of jurisdiction between the unions.

If you do get time to read the ad, I'd appreciate your comment. It was worked over so much that it finally became almost meaningless to me, especially since there was ten thousand distractions while it was being prepared.

My best to you.

As always,

Saul

Saul Haas

SH:bjp

Enc. 1

OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

Haas, Saul

IENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

April 21, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks a million, Ed, for the pains you took and the fine things you said in making the tape for our 25th Anniversary.

And thanks, too, for your nice letter in the matter of Milo Ryan. By the time I had heard from you, he apparently had already had some offer through Northwestern University.

I hope our labor negotiations will have shaken down a bit; that our television application will be in order; that we will have moved to our new quarters; etcetera, soon.

I miss getting back to New York, wholly apart from the fact that I am long overdue for business reasons.

As ever yours,

Saul Haas

SH:bjp

OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

Haas, Saul
(not included in Griffin Index)

RIENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

October 20, 1951

7

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Sorry we couldn't have you with us.

Thought you might be interested in the enclosed.

Best,

Saul

Saul Haas

SH:bjp

Enc. 1

The Seattle Times

Founded August 10, 1896

Alden J. Blethen, 1846-1915 *C. B. Blethen, 1879-1941*

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

ELMER E. TODD, Chairman of the Board

F. A. BLETHEN, President

J. A. BLETHEN, Vice President

W. K. BLETHEN, Publisher

MEMBER OF ASSOCIATED PRESS. The Associated Press is entitled exclusively to use for publication of all local news printed in this newspaper as well as all A. P. news dispatches.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1951

W. S. C. Regents Shift Blame to Legislature

REGENTS of Washington State College have stated another side of the case in the controversy begun by farm leaders over the agricultural policies of the Pullman institution of learning. The W. S. C. regents, through Stanton Hall, vice president of the board, has issued a statement in The Pullman Herald in answer to the contention of the farm leaders that greater emphasis on agriculture and agricultural research should be given by the college administration. The regents' statement stressed these points:

"First—That approximately 40 per cent of state appropriated funds and 88 per cent of federal funds allocated to the college currently are going to agriculture directly or indirectly, and that statements to the contrary are seriously in error.

"Second—That both state and federal law designate that the State College 'shall teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts in order to promote the liberal education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.' Thus the proposal by some extremists that the college give predominant emphasis to agriculture is not possible or legally feasible.

"Third—That 'if any neglect of agriculture exists, it exists in physical facilities for agricultural sciences,' and responsibility for this must rest with the Legislature, and not the Board of Regents."

Criticism of the W. S. C. Board of Regents had not necessarily been implied in the contentions of the farm leaders. Their recommendation was that the regents select a president of the institution with a distinctive and distinguished agricultural background. They felt that such an educator would best be able to impress the Legislature with the need for "physical facilities for agricultural sciences" such as the regents themselves imply may have been neglected. And that such an educator would be more vigorous in the pursuit of that policy than one whose interest in agriculture was less predominant.

In any case, the regents' point of view is worth presenting and fully entitled to the consideration of citizens of the state.

* * *

The smear and countersmear having reached the sloppy stage, why doesn't the Washington crowd just haul off with tomatoes, now in plentiful supply?

* * *

Too Busy Investigating

UNFAVORABLE comparisons are frequent between accomplishments of the 1951 and 1950 sessions of Congress. Up to October 12, the 1951 session had enacted

as, Saul

March 12, 1951

Dear Saul:

I have been buried for the last few months and hope you will forgive me for the delay in saying my thanks for the fruit you sent in January. It was delicious! You are a generous and thoughtful guy and the Murrows are grateful.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
Cobb Building
Seattle 1, Washington

Haas, Saul

September 18, 1950

Dear Saul:

Sorry I couldn't make Seattle on the way back. It was a very hectic trip for many reasons, and when I missed the connection in Anchorage, I had no choice but to come in by way of Edmonton and Minneapolis.

Please let me know when you will be in New York again.

As ever yours,

Mr. Saul Haas
Radio Station KIRO
Cobb Building
Seattle 1, Washington

ENDLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

September 14, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Colubmia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Of course, we were very much disappointed when on talking to Frank Stanton, and telling him that I expect you in Seattle any minute, he replied that you were already in New York.

I suppose that the next time I see you will be in New York City.

I am enclosing a letter which you might find interesting. I am very curious to know what reply the disturbed gentleman received.

My affectionate regards.

Cordially,

Saul

Saul Haas

OWNED AND OPERATED BY QUEEN CITY BROADCASTING COMPANY

(C O P Y)

August 22, 1950

Dear Mr. Severeid:

I heard your radio commentary last night, praising Socialism, the first step toward Communism.

You are the first person to whom I have listened, who thinks the British are doing even half well despite the fact that we have poured billions into that country. In just what respect is the British "common man" so well off?

Both English and French economies were dominated by labor unions and "welfare statists" before the war. These elements now have more of a strangle hold on these two countries than before and Uncle Sam is a sucker to continue underwriting a way of life which will destroy us if it gets fully under way here. It already is well advanced.

The tardy and "too little" help which is coming to the United States in the Korean War from countries which we have been "financing" is only another evidence of the attitude of peoples who have become accustomed to the welfare, give away, labor union, socialist philosphy of existence. When it comes to doing their share it is "Let somebody else do it". Evidently you are trying to cover-up for their present failure.

What a pity that we should have socialist propagandists like you on the air, at a time when this country needs sound, straight thinking, and when we should have facts, not propaganda.

I send no good wishes.

Yours truly

W. Hume Logan, Jr.

Mr. Eric Severeid
% Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.

Haas, Saul

FEBRUARY 7, 1950

SAUL HAAS
C/O JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS
BOX 5158
TUCSON, ARIZONA

THANKS YOUR LETTER. JUST WANTED BEND YOUR EAR ABOUT MAYBE MOVING MY SHOW TO 5:45 YOUR TIME. HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY DISCUSSED WITH LOREN STONE. WHEN ARE YOU COMING EAST? REGARDS

ED MURROW

BUSINESS

Haas, Saul

January 31, 1950

Mr. Saul Haas
Station KIRO
Cobb Bldg.
Seattle 1, Washington

Dear Saul:

You are hereby excommunicated, because you came to New York without seeing me. On your next visit it will take several drinks and much conversation before you can be reinstated.

As ever yours,

ONLY STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

Tucson, Arizona,
January 30, 1950.

Mr. Edward R. Morrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
45 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Ed:

I got a note this morning from my secretary saying that about a week ago you had tried to get me by phone "after everybody had gone home."

I am sorry I wasn't available when you tried to reach me. The fact is that for some days now I have been on a ranch in Tucson Arizona with Bill Douglas, who as you know is recuperating from a very serious accident.

Yesterday -- perhaps because it helped him recuperate, he induced me to get on a horse and ride eight miles. I haven't been on a horse for two years and have never been on such a little crazy cayuse.

The first few days here I had a chance to go over the galley proofs of Bill's book. There is -- I thought -- in the book a tendency here and there to detail and preciseness which are not easy reading, but the book as a whole is, I think, something you might want to call attention to (if you ever do such things).

Please give my best to the family and to all. And if you get a moment which you can afford to spend gratifying my curiosity, please drop me an Air Mail letter letting me know about the phone call.

My address here is c/o Justice William O. Douglas, Box 5158. If you have occasion to call me, the number for the next few days is 5-4331. If we leave here before I go to Seattle or East, messages will be forwarded to me.

Best as always,

Saul

Ed—
Saul & I are drinking our lunch "too bad you aren't here" but regards & love to Romona
Lee

STATION KIRO 50,000 WATTS—CBS
COBB BUILDING • SEATTLE 1, WASHINGTON

January 11, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York.

Dear Ed,

Thank you for your kind Holiday Greetings.

To you and yours we hope the New Year and all the years to come will bring the best this world affords.

Cordially,

Saul

Saul Haas.

P. S. Sorry we didn't get a chance to get together but I'll be back before long and maybe we can. I'll probably be standing in need of a little advice and there is no one from whom I'd rather get it if you will give it.

Harsch, Joseph

November 13, 1953

Dear Joe:

Very many thanks for your nice note about the Harry Dexter White piece. As you know I value your comments above all. A copy of the script is attached.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Joseph C. Harsch
The Christian Science Monitor
1293 National Press Building
Washington 4, D.C.

rh

The Christian Science Monitor
An International Daily Newspaper
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One, Norway St., Boston 15, Mass.

WASHINGTON NEWS BUREAU
Telephone: National 2142

1293 National Press Bldg.
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

November 10, 1953

Dear Ed:

I think your tail piece of last night (Harry Dexter White) was as fine as anything ever done in journalism.

Your reasoning was flawless, your craftsmanship was perfect, and your conclusion was superb.

May I have a copy of it, please.

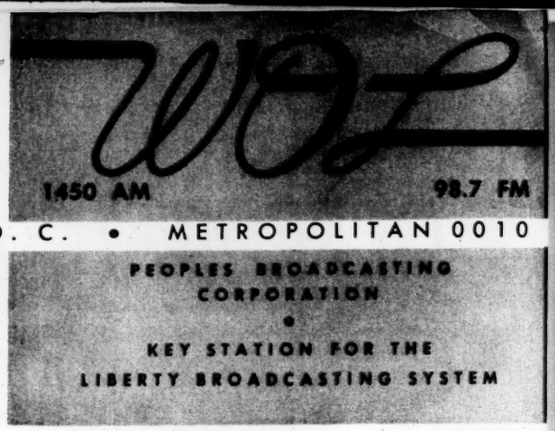
Cordially,

Joe

Joseph C. Harsch

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Harsch - Jos.



CONNECTICUT AVENUE • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • METROPOLITAN 0010

7.

March 20, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Yes, of course. In the new era which begins for me after April 14, I would be extremely happy to consider myself available for an occasional short piece for your show.

I wait with interest the outcome of the other approach by the M.S.A. people. Personally, I am not convinced yet that it's sound journalism. I always look with distrust on a project which derives from propoganda motives. I shall neither be surprised nor disappointed if nothing comes of it. I hope that if by any chance CBS shows interest it will be because of confidence in its journalistic merits, not out of any desire to please the M.S.A. people.

My original query to you was primarily to test the merits of the project against your judgment.

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph C. Harsch

JCH/ics

March 18, 1952

Dear Joe:

This is a hasty answer to yours of March 13. To me it adds up, but as you know, I no longer run the adding machine here. I will do what I can to further the project with Stanton and am taking the liberty of sending your letter along to Ed Chester.

Am I right in assuming that you will be available to do an occasional short piece for my own 7:45 show providing it stays on the air during the summer?

As ever yours,

/s/ E.R.Murrow

Mr. Joseph C. Harsch
Radio Station WOL
1000 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 6, D.C.

cc: Mr. Chester
with correspondence

September 2, 1919

Dear Joseph,

I have been buried since coming back, therefore the delay in saying my thanks for your generosity in coming to Quaker Hill. I can tell you quite honestly that in the two years I have lived there, I have not heard a talk produce such enthusiastic and appreciative comment.

The album is going forth to Dr. Ceppi.

I am trying to find out from McVane what he has arranged for Hoffman and we will try to turn out a respectable crowd.

I will probably see you in Washington the week after next.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph C. Harsch 5p
1293 National Press Building
Washington, D.C.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EARLE BUILDING, WASHINGTON 4, D.C.
METROPOLITAN 3200

1293 Natl Press Bldg
August 22

Dear Ed:

1) The name of the guy I spoke to you about (who admires your records) is
Dr. Charles Ceppi
Jamestown, Rhode Island.
Please autograph an album for him (he has the records and they are perfectly good) and send. And I would like to pay the freight.

2) Roscoe Drummond phoned me from Frankfurt this morning. He is coming back with Paul Hoffman on Saturday for a week over here. He is doing this because he thinks Paul has something to say which should receive the widest possible publicity. He asked me to line up a talk for Hoffman with the Overseas Writers here, and with the radio commentators in New York. I called John MacVane of ARNA, and John said he would call an ARNA lunch, but that during August he doubted that he could get more than five customers. Can you suggest any better way of getting a useful gang together to hear Hoffman's story -- providing you think he should be heard. Hoffman's date here is Wednesday, August 31. You could have him in NY any other day that week, except that he would a little rather come on Thursday or Friday than on Monday or Tuesday.

3) It was a swell evening. I'm very glad I came. My thanks to Janet -- and I will certainly come again this fall with Anne.

Cordially

Joe

May 30, 1949

Pay Joe Harsch $50 live spot - report on Iron Curtain countries

May 30/49

URGENT

MARSCH
HOTEL ASTON
STOCKHOLM

MURROW LIKE YOU DO SIX TO SEVEN MINUTES ON SUGGESTED IRON CURTAIN TONITE STOP YOU ORDER SELF UP 2200 GMT FOR RECORDING STOP WILL BE SET UP OUR END TO RECORD AS INTERVIEW IF MURROW HOPEFUL STOP TO COVER THIS POSSIBILITY SUGGEST YOU CABLE URGENT SIX OR SEVEN LEAD QUESTIONS COVERING YOUR PIECE REGARDS

CHURCH

Stockholm, May 29

Pay 25 pd-6/13

Dear Ed:

(Personal)

Just for your information.

The Monitor has proposed that I take over running their Washington Bureau for one year begining August first.

Drummond, the Bureau chief, is going to Paris for one year to run all European publicity for ECA -- I suppose this means Al Friendly is coming home.

I am strongly inclined to accept. I think I'd like to try running a good Washington Bureau for a year, particularly since the job includes doing Drummond's daily column.

If you know of any reason why I shouldn't do this better let me know by cable promptly. I know of no such reason.

Best

Joe

Hotel Aston, Stockholm
May 29

Dear Ed:

Report on Poland

Your letter says that some people at home are wonderring what will happen "If peace should break out". Personally I don't see much danger. But if it does I am fairly sure of one of the result. The communists will have an opportunity they need desperately to consolidate their position in Poland.

It has been assumed too widely, I think, that the first few years -- the years already passed -- were the crucial years for the communists. That, I think, is a complete mistake. I think they have had a relatively easy time of it up until now, and that this is a period when they pass over from having things almost their own way with hardly any effort at all, to having increasing difficulties.

The opposition to communism in Poland was never as romantically absurd as it was in Hungary, but it too based its tactics on a general tendency to assume that war was just around the corner, and that the mass of the people really wanted to step back into the olden times. But war has not come, and the lure of the olden times has proved extraordinarily inaffective as a lure for the masses.

What the communists did in Poland was to hitch their cause to the one great national urge of the Poles -- the reconstruction of Warsaw and the revival of national life. In Warsaw, more than anywhere else, you find conservatives, liberals and socialists all making excuses for the communists and all saying that "after all they did do a pretty good job of getting the country on its feet". And in many respects its quite true. The basic fact about the post-war period in Poland is that the communist leadership concentrated on making the country run, meanwhile deferring for a later date the erection of the Marxist state. They have gone so slow about posing as communists that Poland hardly seems yet like a communist country. The outer trappings have been kept at a minimum. The cap badge of the army is the Polish Eagle, devoid of crown, but not yet ornamented with the red star. Hammers and sickles are seldom seen. Icons are few and far between. (I mean the political icons). The Church appears supperficially to be undisturbed. Troops still march in formation to service as part of their regular military exercises. No priest is ever arrested without at least a specious pretext of justifiable prosecution under civil or criminal code. The communist party still declines to call itself such, and only the few old communists go aruno calling themselves communists. Communism still hides discretely behind the smoke screen of the "United Workers Party". In Poland communists have practiced the art of seeking the substance of power, while most carefully ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ eschewing the outer trappings of power.

Thus, Polish communism has had the better part of four years in which to pose as the champion of Polish recovery. And while neither you nor I would ever want to say it in public, we had better recognize in our own minds that ~~that~~ when it comes to putting a badly battered economy back in working order the devices of the tyranical state make for quick and psectacular results. There have been no "strikes" in Poland during the past period. Communism "solves" the problem of the "slow down". I would say that in actual operation the beaurocratic dictatorship which Poland has had for four years has been almost indistinguishable from a fiarly efficient and ruthelss

dictatorship of any variety, fascist or classic. Polish postwwar dictatorship has done a spectacular job of rebuilding Warsaw, has put people into the "reclaimed territories", has made the factories and the mines produce, -- has "made the trains run on time". And while the political opposition is potentially almost the total of the population, still the same total has by and large approved of getting these things done. The opposition is not directed against the way the country has been governed, but only against what it is assumed will come eventually out of the new dictatorship. Anyone who thought the Polish people would revolt against a government which was actually making the country run, while it was making the country run, was a fool.

But now, I think, a change is in the making. It is compounded of many factors. The prime factor is that the communistx leaders have their own special reason for wanting to convert Poland into the "most loyal" of the dependencies of Moscow. Their own personal positic hinges on their success in this direction. If Poland can be made a truly dependable satellite then Warsaw can command benefits from Moscow Warsaw wants benefits from her neighbors which only Moscow can bestow. Warsaw will obtain those benefits only if it can ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ convince Moscow that it is in factx more dependable than the neighbors. For one thing, Warsaw wants to raise its own economic level at the expense of the Czech level. It wants trade with Czecho under a formula which will ~~xxxxxx~~ contribute to the rapid rise of Polish industry. For another thing, Warsaw wants security of tenure of its new western provinces. But only Moscow can force the Czechs to trade with Poland to Poland's advantage, and only Moscow can protect Poland against German revisionism. Thus, Poland's desires depend on ~~xxxxx~~ convincing Moscow of Poland's reliability as a satellite. And that is becoming difficult.

For example, fulfillment of Polish committments to Britain under the British trade agreement are incompatible with any major speed up towards communization inside Poland. The market for Polish coal is dwindling as British mines increase their production. The time ahead will see a Poland, which must import machinery from the west, reduced more and more to dependance on food exports as the wherewithall for purching this machinery. Committments to Britain will require an annual increase in food production. If the process of farm collectivization were to be pushed now production would fall, not increase. Yet Moscow does not trust a satellite which defers farm collectivization. And pressures on the Church, if increased, would cause ~~xxxxxxxx~~ unrest, and unrest cuts production. And a communist party which came out more openly under its own colors would rouse grave uneasiness and uneasiness cuts production. The dilemma is that while Moscow wants Poland communized, it also wants Poland productive. So the government in Warsaw is laborring under conflicting pressures.

And coinciding with this development is a seriously emerging weariness with the ~~xxxx~~ pace of reconstruction. The best Stakanovites have been buried with pomp and honors, but they have been buried just the same, and the Polish workmen is begining to think that the speed-up is something to be avoided. Tricks are being employed. Workers form little groups. One is made the Stakanovite for the day. The others do the permissable minimum in their own name, and add a bit extra for the day's elected. Thus on successive days each one of the group makes a good record, but the effort expended is less than if ~~xx~~ each one tried to overfulifill his norm to the maximum. It amounts

in effect to a most carefully concealed slow-down within the framework of the speed-up. It is symptomatic of the fact that the great patriotic urge to get things going is finally wearing out and that the law of diminishing returns is begining to operate, as it must in any spped-up system.

Now of course communism exercises the actual power in Poland. But it has not been forced to exercise that power blatantly or very painfully, not up until this time. It has been able to exploit patriotism for the first task of getting the country running. But that process has not produced a "loyal" or dependable satellite. Only Poland's government is loyal to Moscow. The great majroity of the people are profoundly anti-Russian in sentiment. The fact that Poland alone of the satellites does not put the red star on the cap of the soldier is symptomatic. Communism and Russianism are too synonymous in the Polish mind to permit the communists to emerge as the open masters, or impose their ideologies vigorously, without trouble. Yet until they do they can not win that confidence of Moscow which is essential to their survival.

Most telling is the story of farm collectivization. One would judge from the papers that it is being launched fairly seriously. Eight big collective projects have been publicized, with much purported detail about peasant entheusiasm, and pictures of batteries of tractors, and accounts of early results. The Embassies have sent out scouts to investigate each one when this happens. Seven of the eight were completely non-existant. The eight was a small and falterring begining. They have no collective advanced far enough to be showable to the press. Western correspondents ask to visit one in vain. Collectivization in Poland is today a Potempkin village existing only in newspaper columns. Why this device? The only plausible explanatinn I could get is that Warsaw is trying to have its cake and eat it -- trying to persuade Moscow that communism is being pushed ahead, and at the same time holding back for fear of arousing the peasants, for fear of hurting production, for fear of upsetting a fairly successful apple cart.

This came out in the Gomulka demotion. It seems to be showing up again in the "illness" of Minister Minc. Minc is by common agreement the ablest man in the Polish government. He is also an advocate of maximum production, if necessary at the price of very gradual communization. Officially, he is still due to return to his post. Apparently he is somewhere in Russia. And no one seems seriously to think that he will ever return. He is being replaced by a man named Szyr (pronounced like Norma Shearer) who is Polish and gentile, but who spent most of his life in Moscow and is a thoroughly indoctrinated communist. Under Szyr there presumably will be a much faster communist pace.

Put it all together and you have a satellite which is loyal to Moscow only on the top government level, but which must be made loyal at progressively lower levels if it is to retain Moscow's confidence. Yet as that process is undertaken resistance is bound to mount, and perhaps the Poles, like the Yugoslavs will begin to think in terms of doing something for themselves about their own problems.

This brings me to a subordinate point about our own policy. I think the weakness of the opposition in all these countries has been the very large extent to which they have thought of relief in terms of western interference, rather than in

terms of their own efforts. We have encouraged that by the nature of our propaganda, and by such matters as the behaviour of Bliss-Lane in Warsaw, Patterson in Belgrade and Seldon Chapin in Budapest. We have continued to feed the assumption that some day we would march in and do the job for them. Only the Jugs, who didn't want us marching in, had the mental foundation for acting on their own. I would submit to you that only when the Poles abandon the idea that we will march in, will they begin to develop a sense of relying on their own devices. And at that point I suspect that effective resistance will begin to develop, but not before then.

Other points. The Polish army is considered to be just strong enough today to maintain public order inside Poland. It amounts to less than half a million men, is poorly equipped, and is used more as an internal police force than as a potential component of the Russian army. It is neither sufficiently reliable, nor sufficiently modernized or equipped, to do much more.

Russian troops are concentrated in the western recovered areas, particularly around Stetin and Breslau. This is logical as support for the occupation forces in Germany. But it also means that Russia possesses the physical power to dispose of the western territories at will.

Churches have never been so well attended in modern times. But Church tactics suffer from (1) the terrible decimation of the clergy during the occupation when the best of the priests died, and (2) an apparently incorrigable tendency to think that the old days were best and that there is nothing good in what has happend since the war. Since Warsaw is in fact being rebuilt, to the joy of most of its people, there is a serious danger that the Church will find itself drifting away from the public. If the Church can not learn the lesson Senator Taft has learned, then it will ultimately leave to communism a monopoly on modernism.

Cordially

Joe

R

Hotel Moswa
Belgrade
May 18, 1949

Pay #25
Paid 4/7/49

Dear Ed:

Herewith my report on Yugoslavia.

I am far from an expxrt after ten days. Even George Gallup would hardly considerring my samplings sufficient to justify long conclusions. I have seen three goverbment officials, including Bebler. Have picked the brains of our colleagues; the Embassy and the best of the British boys; and taken a quick trip by car into Mecedonia — Skolpje. Thats all. Yet I am willing to stake my reputation on two conclusions;

1) The Tito break is real and irreperable,

2) There isn't anything the Russians can do about it, short of war, beyond what they have already tried. They can increase the tempo of what they are doing. But there is no new trick availalbe. And I am satisfied that what they do isn't going to work, because its only effect so far is to increase the self respectk, pride, intependance, and courage of these curious Yugoslavs.

In other words, I think the Jugs have already "gotten away with it". Of course they could be smashed by war. But that would be a war, and almost inevitably a general war. If you can think of a way whereby the Russians could overcome Tito by war without precipitating a general war then you may have the key to their strategy. But I can't see it, nor can any of the peopoe here whose judgement seems sound to me.

What can the Russians do? First there is propaganda pressure — particularly the charge they the Jugs have sold out to the western capitalists, or gone nationalists. They keep it up, but there is not the slightest evidence anyone can produce around here that it has made any deep impression inside the country (on the contrary if anything it has more than likely made a majority of the peopl say, 'I just hope its true'). As for its effect in the satellite neighbors. Bebler says, and I suspect he's telling the truth, that there is evidence that Czechs, Poles, Hungarians and Bulgars, are prfoundly uncerned about Tito's nationalism or his allaged deals with the west -- except perhaps that they feel some jealousy.

Second there is the possibility of appeals to minorities, particularly Macedonians and Albanians. This did have some slight effect. They had to do a little purging down in Skopje. But apparently it wasn't much. I have seldome seen a more tranquil city than Skopje. Considerring the appalling primitivness of life down there I don't know why they should be tranquil, but it is alleged by all who seem to know the score that Macedonians and Albanians are considerrably better off in Jugo than they are in Bulgaria, Greece or Albania. So whey should they want to change? I know of no evidence that any significant number do.

Third, there is the possibility of infiltration into the top ranks of the party. That has been tried. Hebrang has disappeared. Jovanovic was shot. But that is all we know about. Defections seem to be fewer than in other satellite countries. Perhaps if the regime had been 30 years old bribery might have worked. But there is no evidence that the top ranks have yet been tainted with corruption. They still have too much of the early Christian ardor. It is outpinted as significant by our Embassy people that the party is made up of less than one per cent pre-war communists, 30% people who "were in the woods with Tito" and 70% those who have joined late in the war or since, who are devooted to Tito and the leadership which did the war job, and who have almost no knowledge of or training in Marxism. This is a party structure which is peculiarly non-susceptible to Moscow. There is no reason to think that Moscow has been able to penetrate it seriously

Fourth, there is frontier provocation. The Jugo Government explanation of this is that since the Cominform charges of nationalism are getting nowhere they hope to provoke incidents which will engble them to allege Jugo "agressions" against her neighbors. And of course if the Jugs did loose their heads and attacked somewhere it would certainly play into Moscow hands. This gambit might have the additional effect of discourging western loans to Belgrade on the "bad risk" theory. There is danger in this, of course. The Serbs can get hot headed. But so far they aren't. They recognize the danger. There is, seriously, no troop concentration around frontiers. (Don't use this, please, but their deployment mostly back of the main rivers — the Sava, Danube and Vardar. The frontier is held lightly, mostly with frontier guards, not regular army.)

On this same point, there is not, and never has been, any reliable evidence of troop concentrations against them. The stories of mobilizations in Hungary came either from Cominform sources — planted particularly in Vienna and Rome — or the alcohalic dreams of our so-called military attachees in Budapest. (That is a shocker which ought to be told some day. Remember the two attaches thrown out of Budapest for being drunk and disorderly with blonds at a frontier hotel? Thats just exactly what it is. Good God, when will we get some real spies. Those babies were supposed to be spying, of course. The trouble is that instead of doing what they were sent to do, they were actually whoring. We should have had them court martialed). But to return to the point. Moscow would make it appear that there is danger of frontier incidents, and mobilizations and all that — its war of nerves. But its all phony. These boyds aren't impressed. And they aren't taking any chances either of being caught with their army on the eastern frontiers, or or where they might be overrun if an attack did come. But it just isn't to be taken seriously. I am satisfied that it is war of nerves and only war of nerves — and it isn't working.

Then finally, there are economic sanctions. I suspect that this is the strongest weapon. But it has its advantages for Tito as well as disadvantages. He has been getting trimmed on his eastern trade deals, although probably not as badly as his press contends. He has been getting a lot of second class materials. The boycott hurts him most in oil, because his biggest and best refineries are on the Danube, to receive Roumanian oil. Now what he gets must come through Split or Fiume. He most import more refined products and less crude, simply because he can't handle the crude. But the boycott gives Tito a wonderful scapegoat for the fact that the five year plan has much too ambitious. They are going to have to set their sights down, and the Cominform is a convenient scapegoat, and a popular one. And he can get better stuff from the west than he was getting from the east. And he can also get sounder technical and economic advice.

Of course there is the possibility of assination. Always possible. Another danger is that we will take the line that this is a wonderful chance to get rid of Tito. (Strictly on the QT, some of our brighter boys in Triest played with the idea) That would be a beautiful way to hand Jugo back to Stalin on a silver platter. If there is an promising alternative to Tito, know one here can figure it out. Tito has in effect founded a new dynasty by classic Serbia methods. Its rought and tough. The people can think of happier ways of living. But Tito is strong enough to keep the Cominform out, and no one who would like to supplant him, is. If we were to back the Croats, and the Ustachi and thinks like that it would just be opening the plates of the ship to let Moscow back in. We may not like the ship. We have many reasons for not liking it. But at least it hasn't the slightest affection for Moscow -- which is what matters, I think. For the love of heaven, lets us not be the agency for handing Belgrade back to Moscow

To sum up, I am satisfied myself that Tito is over the hump. Not only has he survived the first wave of attacks. He has gone over to the counter offensive. Their propaganda is definitely counter attacking, all over the lot. I have no proof, but I am satisfied that they probably have done a better job infiltration the cominform countries, than the other boys have done here. These boys have a brusading religion of their own now. Its the idea that a country ought to be independant. They are saying to Poles and Czechs, Hungarians and Bulgars — lok at us, we aren't satellites any more, why don't you join us? The taunt of "satellite" hurts around these parts. The Jugs are hurling all around every day in every way. They think its sinking in. I couldn't prove that it is, but I incline to think they have something. Indenepndance is a heaider wine than "brotherhood of the proletariat". I don't see the others pulling out very soon. But I do see a good deal of infection developping which might someday become significant.

That leaves the question of what form communism will take in this country. I'm sure they will continue to consider themsleves communists for a long time to come. But as Charles Peake points out; Henry VIII continued to burn heretics to his dying day, and didn't have the vaguest notion that he was a Protestant. Right now the Jugos are overdoing their communism, just to prove that they really are. They are stepping up farm collectivization . And there are signs that they might start a new campaign against the Catholic Church. They are sensitive to the charge that they have abandoned communism. But it is my experience that one can now talk to their people as westerns talk to each other. But that I mean this. In Prague the local boys all gave me the good old party line; undeviating, admitting of no flaw. Here, they exhibit an interest in possible variations from the party line. In Prague I was assured that the American depression was coming.

Here they ask me if it is coming, and listen with ~~interest~~ respectful interest to my reasons why I don't think it will. I don't think I convince them. But I do know that I interest them. That is: I think there is the begining of a rebirth of the inquiring mind, only of course among the unbelieving masses, or at the sophisticated top leve of the party.. But here the middle level of the thoroughly indoctrinated Marxist is not very large. It is the soft spot in Tito's armor. If he didn't have such a good police, so much popularity, and such tight control over his party, he could be hurt here. But I don't think he will be. This doesn't mean that JUgo isn't a communist state. It is the most communized state in eastern Europe. They have put the ring through all noses except those of the paasants. And they are doing it pretty fast there, although a big majority are still private operators. But a lot of new seeds are sprouting. I have a feeling that they have gone so far with their communization now, that they simply can't go anywhere now except ultimately a little bit backwards. How far would be pure guessing, or how or when. Right now I just hope that Tito doewn't do the kind of moving anywhere or in any direction which would upset his apple cart. Its doing all right -- from our point of view. They like us a lot more than they are prepared to admit publicly. (Cannon, wisely, doesn't try to see Tito. It would only feed the fires of Cominform propagadan. And it isn't necessary). I think Tito has consolidated his position and is perfectly safe now against anything except assination, or some stupid blunder on our side. (Bebler talks as though he didn't really care too much about Greece, Carinthia or Trieste. He has a propoganda position to maintain. He can't be less Yugoslav than the Russians. But I am sure all three can be settled whenever a face saving device can be found).

Regards

Joe

PPS. After all the talk in my last about a ten day trip through the country I feel I should explain that after a wild ride down to Skolpje, and a foolish dinner on a chilly roof top I came down the next morning with a fairly nasty case of something or other, so turned my tailed between my legs and railwayed back to Belgrade. I'm just as satisfied. I think I learned all I needed from getting to Skolpje. The rest would have been sightseeing, not journalism. Dubrovnik would have been like Lake Placid, when bigger things are under way. Anyway, I took part of the week just convalescing. No Hungarian visa. So I'm off in the morning for Warsaw. I'll return to Hungary from there if I get the chance. A cable from you to Baldisar at the Hungarian Foreign Office expressing surprise that they won't admit your correspondent, might just conceivably do some good, although probably not. By this time they probably feel that their pride is involved.

Hotel Esplanade
Prague
May 8

Part #25
Paid 6/17/49

Dear Ed:

I could write you a very long report about this country, but I won't because it can all be told quite briefly. It is simply this; that the American legend of the "sturdy Czechs" always was and today is a complete phony. They aren't sturdy; they are profoundly plaint and, I think, still resilient. I think the most revealing incident I have encountered was this. A certain name was mentioned. I said, "is he a communist?". The answer was; "oh no, he's in the party". Everyone seems to be "in the party", except the really tough boys, who keep out of sight. The principal effort of the regime right now is to try to break down the memory of the days before "the events of February (1948) as being good ones". They are begining to attack the memory of Benes; trying to sell the theory that the Benes government was counter-revolutionary and plotting to undue the social revolution. One could get quite worked up about this but to me there is only one really important factor about this country; and that is that it must live with both worlds, east and west, to survive, and that goes for the communist government quite as well as for the country. The regime is on a spot. They have increased eastern trade a little. But Czech industry was built so heavily on western trade that the country simply can not survive without it. And if western trade should be stopped either by action of the west or the regime, then Czecho would at once become an enormous liability to the east. A workshop is valuable to its owner, or occupier, only when it works. This workshop works when it has raw materials, markets, and reasonably satisfied workers. The raw materials and markets are in the west. Without them, the workers can't be satisfied. It isn't too hard for them to satisfy the workers. They seem to be fairly happy now. They think they have made gains under the new order. I would say that the gains consist of about six parts soothing syrup, three parts security from unemployment from any causes except political deviation or total breakdown of the economy, and one part actual material gains. The soothing syrup still seems to taste good. They tell of a former Bata director who is now a timekeeper at the gate. They say the workers rather like going by every morning and evening and noting this "levelling" effect of the regime. I've no doubt they do. In my own present bruised state I would rather enjoy seeing a certain gent I know being office boy for a change. It would be dangerous, I think, to underestimate the value to the worker of being told every day that he is king, and of being secure from unemployment so long as he keeps his political mouth shut and so long as the nationalized state keeps running. And the worker, here as in any country on our side of the curtain, is glad that the black market is being controlled and the spivs being put behind bars. They are. Of course the reforms we perform in the west are being performed here too, the difference being that here the communists claim credit for communism and there is no voice to challenge them openly, or remind anyone that an improving currency and elimination of the black market are reforms which can be achieved without as well as with communism. The regime is managing now largely from two conditions which have nothing to do with politics or ideology. One is the expulsion of the Sudetenans, which provided a lot of wealth and land and a shortage of workers. The other is the going industry. Both were inherited. Both give the regime

its capital reserve which it is using in trying to build a viable state. It can in truth claim no credit for this capital, although of course it does.

The real question is what happens when the capital begins to run out, if it does. That depends on trade with the west. I am sure that we could wreck this regime in no time flat by a tight embargo on all trade. But of course there would be the retaliation to be reckoned with. Western Europe would suffer too, perhaps in the net as much or more. I couldn't make that calculation. I only make the point that a communist regime is managing here now because there is trade with the west. Condition are not too bad. Food in the hotels and restaurants is dull, nationalized cooking leaves much to be desired. Portions are small, though adequate. In fact its almost a relief after the flesh pots of the Park Hotel in Frankfurt and the Press Club in Vienna. The experts (ours) insist that the workers are actually getting a little more food on their rations, and more clothing, than at any time since the end of the war. The troubles you hear about were mostly the result of an almost total crop failure in 1947 coming after suspension of UNNRA aid. The government bridged that gap of short food by importing food at the expense of raw materials. Now they really worry about their raw materials. If they get them they can manage for a while longer. If they get enough I don't see any reason why they can't gradually improve the physical livingstandard of the working population, and plainly, that is what counts. Matters were improving before the Putsch. I suspect that one of the reasons for it was that only by seizing power could the communists hope to monopolize credit for improvements which were coming. With all due respect to John Gunther, I think he created a false impression by saying that you couldn't get shoes here because the leather had all gone for rifle straps for the workers militia. I wish it were true. Barefooted workers would make the soothing syrup less tasty. I just wish myself that we could trade off Italy for Czechoslovakia. I think it will be something of a miracle if we succeed there, and it will take an awful lot of communist fumbling and stupidity for them to fail here. This is a set up for anyone wanting to make a good propaganda record. Fortunately, they are doing some things which are not calculated to endear them to all the people all the time. I dismiss the wails of the dispossed as being political irrelevant, no matter how heart touching. I wish the communists would disposses more Czechs than they have. They haven't done enough to suit our purposes. They haven't hurt a majority of the population either by dispossesion or "class levelling" or even by police power. They have the Church worried, but they are using pretty shrewed tactics there. The only way a Church can recapture its integrity here is to go on a basis of living off the contributions of the faithful. But the recognized Churches here, which includes all except Mormons and Seventh Day Adventists and such numerically insignificant groups, are accomstomed to living off the state. Here the state maintains the Church buildings and pays the clergy. The Church budget is bigger this year than last. How can a Church ever be morally and spiritually independant of the state which roots the bill? If the Churches here are being prostituted to state ends, as they are, I am sure it is far more because the State pays the bills than because they maintain an average of about ten priests from each diocese in jail, on a rotating basis. It isn't the same ten all the time.

But still the commies are making one mistake, or what I think may turn into a long range mistake. That is the police power. Right now it serves their purposes. Its the goblin that'll get you if you don't watch out. It isn't being exercised nearly as brutally, yet, as the Nazis police power was. Its just there, as a potential threat. But there is the profound difference that these police are Czechs. The Czechs are used to be beaten up by foreigners, Austrians or Germans. But they've never been pushed around by Czechs before. I think they resent it. I think that in the long run even the worker will find the he resents ~~&~~ arbitrary Czech police power more than he likes the soothing syrup. That's only a guess. It depends on whether the regime does use its police power ~~more~~ blatantly than it yet has. And that depends on whether the raw materials flow to the factories fast enough to permit a regular increase in the standard of living of the majority of the people. Speaking as a westerner, I would wish that the regime here were to use its police power more roughly than it does. If that happened you might see some real resistance. But, truthfully, there isn't any resistance worth talking about. And I don't see myself where it is going to come from. This country doesn't start great political movements, not at least since the days of John Huss. It goes along with the tide. I don't think its too happy about the tide its riding now -- although that is only a guess and perhaps quite wrong. I think it would switch to a new tide if it ever started running, quite happily and easily. But it won't be out in front, It will probably be the last man ~~aboarmixtx~~ aboard the new band wagon. And if I sound bitter or cynical let me add this in fairness to the Czechs. They were apparently ready to change their nature in 1938. If their allies had stood by them then, they might have developped a new nature -- might have broken with their tradition of passive resistance. We of the west must certainly share a heavy portion of the responsibility for the fact that they bowed quite as easily to their new masters as they bowed to the German. We encouraged them to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ continue to be what they have been since 1620, always the last of the band wagon climbers.

I'm off to Belgrade on Monday. I may take quite a long trip -- as much as two weeks -- around the country. So you may not hear from me for a whole. I'm finding this part of the world quite fascinating and will certainly spend more time ~~here~~ than I contemplated, and therefore less in Paris and London.

Best

Joe

PS If you want to reach me while I travelling in Yugoslavia try to do it through the UP. I'll be travelling with their Belgrade man, Korry or Corry. Ed Allen can problem do something. Please tell Church about this. Porphyrogenis insists he would welcome me to his mountains. I'm no person to go off on wild adventure. But if I should happen to be around when the Greek civil war ends I might well have a look at the old battlegrounds.

May 6, 1949

Dear Joseph:

This must be brief. You will understand why when I tell you that it is being dictated at about midnight. As you know there is just never any time to keep level with correspondence.

First of all, my thanks for your letters. They have been enormously useful; also your cable from Prague on the Greek guerrilla Minister of Justice gave us a small exclusive although the times had a quarter-column on it the next day. I only wish it were possible to use your analysis on Vatican policy.

There's a bare chance that I will be flying to Paris for a week at the end of this month to have a look at the Council of Foreign Ministers.

Of CBS gossip there is very little. Steve Laird has been fired. There is increasing dissatisfaction on the part of management with the operation and administration of the Public Affairs Department. A guy named Murrow--much to his surprise--was elected a member of the Board of Directors of Columbia where his counsel won't be listened to.

The lifting of the Berlin blockade and the Greek move have caused real uneasiness in Washington, and financial circles here in New York are wondering what the hell will happen if peace should break out.

I send you my gratitude and my best salute and tell you that I am most anxious for a long weekend with you as soon as may be.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph C. Harsch
c/o Hugh Cumming
American Embassy
Stockholm, Sweden

Harsch

Pg used

RECEIVED
1949 MAY -3 PM 3:38
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

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PW1 VIA PREWI

PR6 PRAHA 203 3 2000 VIA PREWI

PRESSCOLLECT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NEWYORK

PRAGUE 02193 CHURCH FOR MURROW STOP MILTIADES PORPHYROGENIS COMMA QUOTE FREE GREEK UNQUOTE MINISTER JUSTICE YESTERDAY REQUESTED EXAMERICAN EMBASSY HERE VISA PRO TRIP LAKE SUCCESS PURPOSE CONSULT CUMEVATT REGARDING POSSIBILITIES ENDIG GREEK CIVIL WAR PARA LAST SATURDAY HE SAYS HE REQUESTED CZECH FOREIGN OFFICE ALSO COMMUNICATE

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HARSCH

JM 336PM

ACK PLS

WE HAVE A COUPLE OF LONG LINES

MIN

IN SHEET 3 PILED UP AT END OF FIRST AND SECOND LINES

READ IT STRONG MILITARY POSITION NAND ETC AN ALSO THEY HELD FOUR THOUSAND ETC

OK R1CBS

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PW1 42 PRAHA 315 1/5 2244 VIA PREWI

PRESSCOLLECT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NEWYORK

Ø12Ø1 CHURCH FOR MURROW STOP WATCHING PRAGUE MAYDAY PARADE MADE ME SUSPECT THAT NEW YORK COMMIES ARE PROBABLY MUCH HAPPIER THAN CZECH COMMIES STOP THEY PUT ON QUITE A SHOW PROBABLY WELL OVER HUNDRED FIFTY THOUSAND MARCHERS PLUS VAST EFFORT EXPENDED STREET DECORATIONS INCLUDING EVEN

2/

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3/

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4/

TELL ONLY OUTBURST THAT SOUNDED LIKE REAL ENTHUSIASM WAS

WHEN PHALANX WOMEN BYPASSED IN CLOTHING WHICH FORMED OZECH GLAG STOP HAND CLAPPING THEN REMINDED ME THAT TRULY SPONTANEOUS OUTBURST AT TRUMAN INAUGURAL WHEN CROWD SUDDENLY RECOGNIZED IKE STOP DONT ASK ME WHAT THIS PROVES STOP EYE ONLY FEEL THAT AFFAIR

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6/

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7/

SHOOTING AT ALLEGED FOREIGN ENEMIES STOP WITHOUT THEM THEY COULDNT BE AGAINST ANYTHING ENDIT

HARSCH

JM 612 PM

ACK PLS

APO 777

Vienna Press Club
Thursday, April 28

Dear Ed:

I keep longing for a good spot news piece I can cable you, but Vienna is another "situation", rather than a story. I've sent off several mailers to the Monitor on the subject which you will probably see and this may be something of a duplication. But it may be worth your while just for general background if I put down in more spcific form matters which can be stated quite so sharply when intended for publication.

Coming here was for me quite an exercise in adjustment of perspective. Perhaps you had yours under better control than I did, but I fully expected to find a city terrorized by kidnappings. That impression is both a reflection on our journalism, and also a service to the Russians, for it has obscured the true story of how very successful the western operation is in this funny little country.

Let me put the kidnappings in perspective first. There have been a lot, but mostly in the first year. The rate is progressively lower. The Austrian press kicks up an awful stink over each one. The Socialists lead the parade, and the commies have to take it lying down. There isn't any answer. Each kidnapping has in fact been an enormous asset for our propaganda. Frankly we must hope that they continue to pull off an occasional one, for the Russians are certainly on their best behaviour here now, so much so that the occasional "drunk" the GI goes on, inevitably, is now more conspicuous than anything the Russians do -- and of course the commies go to town with each one.

Further, our intelligence people tell me they are satisfied that the kidnappings do not represent a deliberat campaign

of intimidation. That was suspected at one time, particularly when they arrested several second rung Austrian officials. Obviously we done't know the whole story behind each incident. But, speaking privately, our boys say that there is a reason which a Russian would consider adequate behind each one. In most recent cases the person snatched either was in fact one of our agents, or a person who had "contributed to the defection" of some Russian solider. The desertions are at a high rate and it naturally worries them. Most kidnappings take place in the Russian sector, or in the international zone during months when the Russians have the guard duty. Our boys say that an Austrian who leaves intelligence alone and who keeps away from Russian soldiers is perfectly safe anywhere -- so far as the Russians are concerned.

The case of the two Russian fliers was a mile stone. It was the first time we openly granted asylum to a military deserter. We have done it sub rosa before, but in theory we returned deserters. There was a terrific battle over it. The Generals were scared to death, at first wanted to turn the boys back. Clay was worried about his air lift pilots. The Generals are the nervous nellies here. This is a nice life and they love the apple cart.

There is a feeling now that perhaps we took the Ross case lying down. The Generals were scared of it, didn't want a fuss. I think we should have made a real stink just because Ross was an American citizen. But there were several odd angles which had our people scared. For one thing, they found a batch of blank US passports in his room. The best version I get is that he was acting on his own as a sort of clearing house for political refugees from the Balkans. And the gal with him was known to have been an agent.

All of this seems important to me only because the way the story has been told has tended to obscure the bigger story of the weakening of the Russian grip on this place. Austrian cabinet ministers are not in the least afraid to go into the Russian z one and make anti-communist speeches. They do it constantly. The commies have been pretty well purged from the police force -- although not as completely yet as in Italy. The biggest victory for the west was, I think, in the ability of the Socialists to keep control of the trade unions even in the Russian zone. Next only to that is the gardual recapture of Austrian industry. As Wiston reported when he was here, the Austrians have just licked the Russian factories by superior operations in their own. The Russian factories always did make most of their money out of black market sales and since the black market is drying up the Russian business methods have become obsolete and their factories are loosing business so heavily that they are in effect bankrupt.

What are the true centers of power in any European country today? Certainly one is control of the police, a second is control of the trade unions and a third is control of industry. Here the Russians got a grip on all three, and have been loosing it. They have lost the trade unions completely. Police power is firmly in anti-communist hands and industry is being reclaimed. I am satisfied that Russia has only one device left for capturing Austria -- and that is the Red Army. But to use it would be an act of war, -- wuldn't it?

Gruber says the news about lifting the Berlin blocakde proves to him what he has always suspected; that the Russians operate on a limited risk basis. They take what the traffic will bear, but are careful not to go too far.

General Balmer, second in command here, insists that so far as he can deteremine the Russians here have never yet violated a specific written agreement regarding Austria. They pushed the written word pretty far, but have been careful not to go over. Do you remember all the fuss last year about British passes to their air field, and closing the road to Tuln and all that? There was speculatio at the time that they were going to pull a blockade of Vienna. Balmer read what he considers to be the real record on it. According t to his version it all started with a decision of ours to toss the Russian Repatration mission out of our zone. The Russian told him they would retaliate, and precisely how they would do it, and then proceeded to do it. And when we let the mission back the retaliation stopped. Balmer had opposed tossing out the mission. He argued that eight Russians in uniform are easy to spot, and tail, and so no danger in them. He didn't see why they needed to be put ought when our real worry ought to be over all the ununiformed commies less easy to spot.

(I don't think either Gruber or Balmer would like to be quaoted, but I thought you might like to know what they say)

I do not conclude from the above that there is any "good will" or sweetness or light in the Russians here. I do conclude that there overall strength is not sufficient to permit them to do what they would undoubtedly like to do here. The price would have been too high to break the local ground rules. And they needed Austria for east-west trade -- particularly when they decided to blockade Berlin.

And of course the Berlin blockade has been a good thing for Austria. It built up their transit traffic.

Military governments are wondrous things! How quickly the occupation governor fights for everything his subjects have always wanted. Clay tried hard to have ECA supplies for Austria channel through Hamburg and Bremen. Our top boys here beat him by teaming up with the Trieste crowd. Trieste is in fact once more the seaport of Vienna. The Trieste command regards itself as the defenders of the Trieste right to serve Austria. They have also welcomed any traffic they can for Czechoslovakia. They are the rivals of Hamburg and Bremen. And the Austrian command clings with a firece tenacity to what independance it has from Clay. I begin to understand why the Russians have so much difficulty coordinating their new empire. If Clay is pro-Anschluss, and Keyes and Airey are pro-Austria think of what strains there must be behind the curtain. I keep hearing interesting sounds of troubles in Czecho and Poland. I trust that by the time I emerge from those places I'll have something worth reporting. I still have a residual hope of reaching Budapest and Belgrade, but so far nothing to back it. I find it will be easier to reach them from Prague -- direct air connections and no gray cards for passing the Russian zone in Austria.

I feel a nostalgia for the usual CBS gossip. If you have a moment do bring me up to date via a letter care of Hugh Cumming, American Embassy, Stockholm. I expect to reach there anywhere from the middle to the end of May, depending on whether I get back to Budapest and Belgrade.

Regards

Joe

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

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[redacted]

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PRESSCOLLECT COLUMBIA NEWYORK

VIENNA 20170 CHURCH FOR MURROW EXHARSCH STOP EXCELLANT SOURCES PROVIDED ME WITH WHAT SOUNDS LIKE BEST APPRECIATION EYEVE HEARD YET OF YUGOSLAV SITUATION WHICH HERWITH ONPASSING PARA FIRST MOSCOW OBVIOUSLY CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN OPENING STAGES MAJOR ANTITITO CAMPAIGN STOP TIS CONCEIVABLE THIS WILL EVENTUALLY ONTAKE PROPORTIONS ACTUAL. ARMED ATTACK PRESUMABLY PARSATELLITE FORCES STOP THIS HOWEVER REGARDED HIGHLY IMPLAUSIBLE STOP FOR ONE REASON TITO HAS EXCELLANT PLAN PREPARED FOR SUCH CONTINGENCY AND EVERYONE KNOWS IT STOP HE WOLD IMMEDIATELY ABANDON LARGE CITIES WITHDRAWING INTO MOUNTAINS WHERE HES FULLY SKILLED GUERILLA TECHNIQUES AND WHERE HES ALREADY PREPARED AIR BASES.

FOR RECEIVING WESTERN AID STOP PROBABILITIES IN SUCH DEVELOPMENT ARE THAT ATTACKING FORCES WOULD BE FACED WITH LONG TEDIOUS COSTLY OPERATION OF EXTREMELY DOUBTFUL SUCCESS STOP CERTAINLY THEY COULD NEVER HOPE FOR QUICK VICTORY PARA THIS BEING CASE OUR ANALYSTS DEVOTING THEIR ATTENTION PRIMARILY TOWARDS ALTERNATE RUSSIAN COURSE ACTION STOP .

ESTIMATES RUN AS FOLLOWS PARA CAMPAIGN LIKE ALL CAMPAIGNS HAS BOTH MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM OBJECTIVES STOP MAXIMUM OBJECTIVE OBVIOUSLY ATTEMPT OVERTHROW TITO OUTWIPE HERESY AND RESTORE MOSCOWS CONTROL STOP PERHAPS THIS WILL BE DIVIDEND EXOPERATION PROVIDED ALL GOES WELL STOP BUT ITS STRICTLY A MACEDONIAN GAMBIT WITH OVERALL MINIMUM OBJECTIVE.

AS IMMEDIATE TARGET STOP THAT MINIMUM IS RESTORATION SOVIET CONTROLLED LAND CORRIDOR TO ADRIATIC IN ALBANIA PARA TIS TRUE THAT TRANSPORTATION OVERLAND THROUGH MACEDONIA EXTREMELY DIFFICULT YET TIS ESTIMATED SOVIETS COULD SUPPLY ALBANIA VERY MUCH BETTER DESPITE DIFFICULTIES THAN CAN DO CURRENTLY VIA AIR ETSUBMARINE PARA PROUS MAIN STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE.

ARISING FROM YUGOSLAV HERESY WOULD BE CHECKED SHOULD RUSSIAN PLAN

FORM 101 PW-C

SUCCEED STOP PROBABLY RUSSIANS INTERESTEDER IN REACHING ALBANIA VIA LAND THAN EVEN IN DOWNBRINGING TITO FOR THAT WOULD GIVE THEM COMMAND OVER MOUTH ADRIATIC WHICH THEN BECOMES UNTENABLE PROOUR NAVAL FORCES AND RENEWS DIRECT FLANK PRESSURE ON ITALY SWELLAS PUTTING PINCERS AROUND.

TITO PARA TITO UNDERSTOOD PERFECTLY AWARE HIS DANGER STOP BUT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT PROHIM TAKE CLASSIC COUNTER MOVE RESTORING REASONABLE YUGOSLAV GREEK RELATIONS STOP RUMORS THIS EFFECT BELIEVED ENTIRELY COMMUNIST SPONSORED PROOBVIOUS REASON WOULD EMBARASS TITO WITH HIS OWN COMMUNISTS WHO COMPLETELY SOLD DOCTRINE GREEKS ALL WICKED CAPITALISTS STOP HE MUST.

MOVE SLOWLY UNSELLING THEM WHICH PAINFUL PROCESS PARA TITO HAS BEGUN RELEASING SOME OFFICIALS AND BUSINESS MEN SKILLED IN COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS IN GENERAL PROCESS ATTEMPTING UPBUILD WESTERN TRADE STOP ALSO BUT UNFORTUNATELY UNUSEABLE FROM ME DUE CONFIDENCES HES BEEN HAVING PRIVATE TALKS WITH MORE COOPERATIVE RESIDUE OLDER ORDER WHICH STILL.

XXXXXXX
SURVIVE IN PRIONS STOP THIS EXPECTED PRODUCE FUTURE RESULTS BUT BEING DONE MOST SLOWLY CAUTIOUSLY AND QUIETLY PARA ON THIS LAST POINT MAIN FACTOR IS THAT COMMUNISTS FAR LARGER AND MORE INFLUENTIAL ELEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA THAN OLD ORDER PARA INCIDENTALLY TRIESTE DOCKS LOADED WITH YUGOSLAV TIMBER SO HEAVILY AMERICAN PORT.

AUTHORITIES BEEN FORCED DRASTICALLY REDUCE QUANTITY RECEIVABLE STOP TITO BEEN OUTSHIPPING TIMBER AS MOST READILY AVAILABLE FORM LIQUID CASH FOR PURCHASING FROM PRIVATE SOURCES STOP MAIN DOCK AT TRIESTE FREE PORT LOOKS LIKE ENORMOUS LUMBER YARD STOP QUANTITY CURRENTLY EXCEEDS DEMAND STOP ALSO INCIDENTALLY TRIESTE ALMOST DRAMATICALLY QUIET STOP DOCK.

WORKERS ALL COMMUNISTS UNDER COMPLETE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP YET PERFORMING PRODIGIES UNLOADING SHIPS STOP TRAFFIC NEARLY UP TO PRE WORLD WAR ONE VOLUME ENDIT ADDRESS VIA RCA VIENNA STOP ANY NEWS YUGOSLAV VISA PROSPECTS REGARDS HARSCH.

Noted
HW

CFM PRESS AU45 20170 .

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RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
FORM 101 PW-C

CATIONS, INC. RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC. RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC. RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC. RCA COM

Hotel de la Ville
Rome
April 12

Dear Ed:

There is certainly nothing I have gathered during the past week to justify cable tolls, but I do feel that my own perspective has been improved and I would try to convey some of it to you.

Coming to Italy straight from the rubble of Frankfurt provides quite a contrast. Rome seems miraculously clean, tidy and happy. I have long been hearing returned travellers go into ectasies over the way the Italians "work", and how they seem to be better off for having lost a war. I would doubt that there is any peculiar virtue in loosing a war. If that were so one would expect the Germans to be exhibiting the same joie de vivre so allegedly characteristic of the Italians. But this much does seem to be true; that the Italians, being politically more adult than the Germans, do not brood over their misfortunes, or indulge in paroxisms of self-pity. The German face is long, pale and full of self pity. The Italian face bespeaks a mind intent on making the most of each moment -- particularly if it offers a chance to gauge a tourist. There is a striking contrast. I note particularly the difference in appearance of goods in the shops. German goods appear to be make-shift, Italian goods look as finished and professiond as never. The rate of recovery in both is about the same, according to the statistics. The the prices to the consumer are about the same, in both cases completely out of reach of the average consumer. In Germany the percentage w ich can not buy consumer goods at present prices is estimated at about 85. In Italy it would run nearer ninety. But since 90 per cent of the Italians never did enjoy anything beyond pasta and a few dirty rags on the floor the awareness of privation is less.

Then apply this to Italian politics and ECA. Here there is rejoicing among all those in authority. Recovery is running ahead of expectations. The psychological corner has been turned. The mobile police are masters of the piazzas and the barricade has become an anachronism. The American bandwagon is rolling. The opportunists are all aboard. The feeling is plain, that the American cause is the winning cause. There is no "story" in Italy today, there is only a "situation". It is a good situation as of the moment, in fact its excellant. The fear of communist insurrection is gone. The government estimates the communist strength is down by 700,000. A better guess would be about 400,000, but even that is quite a loss. On the surface its beautiful.

But there is a worm in the apple. That worm is the Italian system. ECA is trying to do in four years what Mussolini failed to do in 20 years -- make Italy a modern and self sufficient industrialized country. ECA has two assets denied to Mussolini. 1) It provides real capital (Musso had to use paper money). 2) It is freer from the influence of the "vested interests", i.e. the old monied famlies. But it is also subject to the impediemtn which played such a role before in keeping modernism back; traditional methods of doing business based on a surplus of population.

I give the ECA boys credit for sensing what they are up against and for trying to do something about it. They have no illusions. They have a plan and an approach, but they are worried. Joe Alsop missed the point completely when he fumed about delay in breaking up the big estates. The big estates are only a manifestation of the underlying trouble; not a cause of it. You couldn't just parcel off the King ranch in Texas and expect people to live on it. First there must be water and then shelter and then after that perhaps people could set up viable farms. They are

approaching it that way. First land improvement, which begins with roads and artesian wells and irrigation. Then various devices for transferring land ownership to farmers. In the meantime attention to improvement in the laws of ~~xx~~ farm tenancy, which are at present probably far more damaging than the large holdings. Its a good plan. If it could be carried out it would do infinitely more good than an immediate parcelling out of the big estates. But can it be done? Four years is a short time. What we have succeeded in doing so far is restoring the kind of surface prosperity which was normal to Ita y in the pre-war period. But this is a prosperity founded on what is in effect the equivalent of a slave economy. The old rich and the new rich are beautifully well off and American wheat has filled the bellies of the mass of the people and they feel so much better that for the moment there is no pain. The communists are at a loss for their next move. They have been beaten in the first round, completely.

But there is a second round coming, not now but three or four years from now. Italian nature drags its feet on what must be done if in four years Italy is to become really viable. The government is all for reform, but it is coming so slowly that even Jimmy Dunn is anxious about the future. Can tax reform ever be achieved. The rich don't pay taxes. You can take their land away, but unless you can bring them under the tax laws they will be just as happy as ever, from putting their money into industry instead of lands. Land reform without tax reform would still leave the colossal dispartiy between the few and the many which is red, raw meat for the communists. And the goverhment moves so slowly towards reform, in spite of its apparent sincerity, that it is loosing its socialist left-wing. The Sarragat party is slowly melting away. If it disapears eventually then deGaspari looses the balancing force in his government and the communist regain control over the mass of the workers and peasants. In other words, the first, easy battle has been won hands down, but the second battle is opening and that is going to be much the harder one, for it is a battle against everything that is traditional in Italy. The problem is to convert a slave economy into a free economy which can be done only by eliminating the labor surplus in Italy. But the old system is built on the existance of a labor surplus. The ECA boys insist that the labor surplus is not inevitable for all time. But there are vestedintersts in a labor surplus. If it were removed then industry would have to become efficient, and the rich would have to learn to do with fewer servants. So much is tied to the concept of the labor surplus that a change requires first of all exorcising the belief in its inevitability, which is quite as fervent as the faith of the peasant in his church. The American m nd believes that it can be done. For example, they have licked malaria on Sardinia which opens that island to settlment by as many as three million persons. Then they are tapping undergound, natural steam for power. And they hope to make about 5 million acres of largely unused land productive. ~~If~~ By such means they hope to expand the domestic market. In theory Italy does not have a surplus of labor. But in practice and in the dogma of its own people, she does. Its quite a tall task for Americans to perform in four years. Perhaps they can do it. If they don't the communists will ~~have a xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ come to bat again. As I said; its not a news story, its a situation.

I saw dalla Torre. He wasn't as enlightening as I had hoped. He says that we think the Russians want war and the Russians think we want war, but that in realiyt neither of us wants war, so we can have peace if we can each convince the other of our pacific intentions, but he sees no way of doing that. He just hopes one will be found. Then he

adds that the great Catholic communities in the eastern countries will never be liberated by any means short of war. So I can't decide whether he thinks war is avoidable, or desireable.

At the moment it looks bad for my Jugoslav visa. The only reason I can think of is that matters are getting so touchy that they don't want any more American journalists looking at it. The Trieste observers keep reporting that they hear gun fire across the frontier and that obviously cominform revolts have begun. They also say that Tito has had to disarm all but three of his divisions; the three being the only ones he can trust. I shall be extremely disappointed if I fall to get in, but don't quite see what I can do about it, The local Yugoslav Legation writes me formally that the authorization "has not been granted".

Cordially

Joe

APRIL 11th, 1949

JOSEPH C. HARSCH
C/O BURDETT
VIA VENETO, 7
ROME, ITALY

FROM MORROW YOUR MAILER FROM FRANKFURT MOST USABLE. REGARDS.

CHURCH

BUSINESS

Park Hotel
Frankfurt
April 3

Paid 4/18/49 Dm

Dear Ed:

I haven't cabled you yet partly because I had nothing which which seemed of an argent character, and partly because the first week is always a bit baffling. As a matter of fact it seems to me that what I can get of most value anywhere can probably go just as well by air mail as by cable. My inclination at the moment is to write you such letters whenever I feel sure of myself and then I can always go on the air in more formal fashion if any of the ideas in the letters seem to fit your needs as of any particular time. You will see from the letters what I am getting and can call on me at will for details by cable or voice.

By now I do have some observations on Germany which I think are worth passing on to you.

First, the air lift. (The correcness of this observation is confirmed, off the record, by Tunner). The current average daily tonnage has passed the 5.5 thousand ton mark and is working up towards the 6 thousand mark. But it is going up more slowly now and is bound to level off somewhere between the 6 and 7 marks during the summer. It is doubtful that they can ever sustain an average of much above 6 thousand tons. And that, as you know, isn't good enough to ever take west Berlin off the dole. If they could get another hundred C-47's they could probably take the average up to 8thousand tons. But there aren't any more.

Just about every limiting factor has been licked now except the capacity of airplanes. There are nearly as many flights into Berlin each day as is possible in such a congested area. Maintainence is getting close to maximum -- although the Air Force admit they can learn some tricks from the Navy. The two Navy squadrons beat the Air Force squadrons on tonnage every day, due largely to superior personnel and maintainence. (This is not just Harsch, the Navy propagandists talking. Tunner admits it.) The supply system to the lift is more than adequate to keep traffic moving at full capacity. Loading and unloading systems admit of only minor improvements in efficiency. So the only real way left to get more tonnage is to increase the carrying capacity of each flight. The British are retiring their 3.5 ton Dakotas as fast as they can replace them with 7 ton Hastings, but they only have 14 Hastings operating now and the replacements are very slow coming in.

If Clay and Tunner had their way they would at once order about 300 new 25 ton cargo planes. That would be settling down to break the blockade over a period of about two years. You could really break it that way. If you could bring the average daily tonnage above 10,000 then west Berlin could flourish. Right now its an old lady sitting in her invalid chair changing scarcely at all from day to day, and yet you know that her energy is just a tiny bit less each day. On anything less than 9,000 tons she is a perpetual convalescent gradually approaching a quiet death. The death might take two or three years in coming, but it would come. About 9,000 tons she could get up on her feet again and take a new lease on life.

But here we come, I think, to the meat of the matter. To commit major resources for breaking the blockade would be to commit ourselves to a battle which is rapidly becoming irrelevant. The Air Lift has served its purpose. It checked the advance of communism in Germany. In fact it discredited the communist party. Due partly to the air lift, partly to the beurgeois character of the Germans, and partly to American occupation policy communism has lost its momentum in Germany and ceased to be an effective implement of Russian policy in Germany -- at least at this time. If we put great effort into expanding the Air Lift tonnage we will be like the old Generals fighting the last war. The field of battle is shifting. The Air Lift belongs to the old battle. It has little importance in the new one now in the preliminary rehearsal phase.

Clay insists that he is leaving soon. Says he won't be here when I get back from my tour through the satellites. If so, it is probably all to the good. I still think he was a good front line fighter for the old days when the battle was on the bareicades of Berlin. But he, like so many of his subordinates, have become so engrossed in that battle and so accostomed to its tactics and strategy, that I think them neither equipped for nor aware of the new issue now coming. In fact it seems to me that we have devoted so much energy to the battle against communism in Germany that we have unwittingly manufactured the very elements which will most aid the Russians in the new battle.

My own guess is that the Russians will one fine day just lift the blockade, perhaps without saying a word about it. I doubt if the time is quite ripe, but I think its coming fairly surely. It will be the signal that the Russians have shifted their strategy from the communist weapon to the "we will do business with you" weapon directed at the promising middle grade professional soliders, at the Rhineland industrialists, and at the combination aristocrat-diplomat. We have been fosterring all three groups as weapons against communism. Now they are getting up into influential position again. Hans Thompson is out of the woodwork. So are a lot of others of their ilk. And they are all easy game for the Russians if Moscow elects the alternative strategy.

The industrialists would be the first to go the moment the blockade is lifted. They are highly dubious about ever recapturing their pre-war western markets. Take the drug trade for example. The German drug houses had a monopoly on the South American drug market in the days of Beyers aspirin. But now penicilin is the new thing, and the American manufacturers have completely captured the markets. The Germans are too far behind to be able to catch up. Their only great potential market lies to the east. We won't trade with the east. They will -- and gladly. Their mouths are fairly drooling over the prospects of supplying that eastern market. The big shot Rhinelanders would shout their glee to the skies were the blockade lifted, not because they would consider it a deaft for Russia, but because it would open the way for their goods into the eastern countries.

Then take the professional soliders. Mark down for future reference the name of Vincdnz Mueller. Paulus and Seydlitz are kept around in the east for the value of their names. But they are has beens. Mueller was at the corps level at Stalingrad. He is the next generation. His only interest is having experience in troop command. He runs the constabulary in the Russian zone, and many an officer of his level looks longingly in his direction, not from love of the Russians but

because there is where an officer can get experience in troop command. Mueller is a wonderful decoy for the Russians, just as the eastern markets are a decoy.

Finally the aristocrat-diplomat. Nadolny came west to see where he could get with his old cronies. On the surface it was a failure. But was it? Adenauer had to repudiate Nadolny when the story got out in the papers. But Adenauer was glad enough to see him. It was a feeling out operationx -- the Nadolny visit west. All respectable western Germans had to repudiate it. But there it was, One of Russias "Kept" diplomats making his first exploratory visit west. Was it really ad failure? I don't hink so. Suppose the blockade is lifted. Suppose Moscow decides to play it on the high level. She wins the industrialssts with the eastern markets. She wins the professional soliders with troop experience. She dangles before the eyes of the old diplomats the prospect of regaining the eastern provinces. What happens to our influence in westerm Germany when that time comes? I wouldn't give a tinkers damn for it, unless we shift our strategy as fast as the Russians do. It would be an envelopment of Germany on the upper class levelmx, and we have already nearly made it possible by reviving that upper class level.

If we don't look out in a hurry we may destroy our only possible line of resistance by our economic policies. Right now the Socialiss are doing fairly well. But Clay was so anxious to end inflation that he has deflated below the danger line. Unemployment and bankruptcies are booming. You hear about the shops being stocked with goods -- but so were ours during the great days of the depression. One major effect of the currency reform too frequently overlooked is that it raised the costs of retns and utilities. A worker feels his rent bill now. He would love to use that money for foods and shoes. This is no boom economy. This is an incipient depression economy. And a real depression would be duck soup for the Russians. The bright boys at the Farben building know all this. They know that they must do some fast "counter-deflating". Perhaps they will move quick enough. The trouble is that when you work so long and so hard to stop and inflation, and are so proud of your currency reform, its difficult to adjust to the new problem. Leon Keyserling still thinks our problem at home is inflation. Clay is so proud of having licked the inflation here that he can hardly grasp the sudden change in the nature of the danger. It can wreck everything he has built, and turn western Germany over to the elements most ready and eager to sell out to the Russians. I think we are in the most dangerous mmm period of the whole occupation. We must come to realize -- and fast -- that communism isn't the only avenue of approach to Germany available to the Russians.

Incidentally, I couldn't find a single barricade at the sector line in Berlin. East sector police stop cars going out for a quick inspection. The day I played it the inspection was completely cursory and done with an amused grin. Had a lunch at the Adlon restaurant. No difficulties. East sector coupons supposedly required, but none needed.

Regards

Joe

P.S. I go to Rome on Friday, April 8.

March 24, 1949

Dear Joe:

That's right--about two cables a week and don't hesitate to use the phone if you think it's worthwhile. Incidentally, it would be helpful if I could have some sort of itinerary, or maybe the Washington office will know.

God go with you.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph C. Harsch
c/o Mr. Bill Downs
Berlin District Press Camp
A.P.O. 742-A, c/o P.M.
New York, New York

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EARLE BUILDING, WASHINGTON 4, D.C.
METROPOLITAN 3200

March 15, 1949

Dear Ed:

Just in case I don't see you again before taking off:

My recollection of your conversation is that you want from me an average of about two informative cables weekly, plus an occasional recording whenever I think I have something worth saying. Is that correct?

I overlooked saying that in all probability there will be occasions when you in your editorial chair in NY will will have a want which I will not sense on the groun itself. You know the gaps in the flow of news better than the correspondent. By which I mean, please send queries. I maintain that the best stories are not the volunteered ones, but those resulting from questions in the mind of the guy in the home office.

And I would like to make one point clear. I will send you what I can quite regardless of whether CBS pockets the payment or not. If Zack Becker thinks they have the right to it let Zack decide. I feel that I owe CBS something during this trip, but I'm going to discharge that obligation through Edward R., rather than over some mid-saturday afternoon waste time period, to the limit of my ability.

I'll return the Laird letters tomorrow by separate cover. They are excellant, and thanks for letting me have them.

The conversation with Velotta was good. I like him. I would like to do business with him. He seems to be a straight guy, intelligent and sensible. What comes of it is problematical, as of course everything seems to be these days. But I'm quite pleased with the way matters seem to be shaping up.

Good luck
and thanks
Joe

Harsch, Joseph

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22 N. Y.

February 24, 1947

Dear Joe:

You are a gentleman and a very sensitive one, but I can't help feeling that in connection with the Campbell-Young affair you are inclined to take too much of the blame upon yourself.

The whole affair is altogether understandable and I think probably the situation arose as much as anything else from my casual and unspecific assumption that I could outstraighten the whole matter. I beg you not to let the incident disturb you further. I am quite certain that I can work out alternative plans for Miss Campbell.

As ever yours,

Mr. Joseph Harsch
Station WTOP
Washington, D. C.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
EUROPEAN OFFICES
FLAT 71, 49 HALLAM STREET, LONDON, W.1

OFFICE OF THE EUROPEAN DIRECTOR
HOWARD K. SMITH

TELEPHONE LANGHAM 1166 & 1167
TELEGRAMS COLBROSYS LONDON

February 17, 1947.

Dear Chief,

I was in the middle of writing you a long letter when yours of February 10th arrived with the one from Joe enclosed. It is just as well that nothing really surprises me any more! Not knowing what you said to Joe during the telephone conversation he mentions, I am in the dark concerning the cause of the sudden change of mind.

You say that you find Joe's letter surprising in view of my report of our conversation in Washington. The report I gave you on my return was perfectly accurate. Joe said he was convinced that I could do the job to his satisfaction. I was certain that I was capable of handling the work and would enjoy doing it. The one outstanding unsatisfactory element was the uncertainty concerning Miss Young's assignment. I said frankly to you, to Joe and Miss Young that in my opinion the London Office under present circumstances would not be able to provide Miss Young with the background and experience she seeks. It seemed to me only honest to make this clear to all concerned. As you may remember, I suggested Paris as the most suitable spot.

I resent very strongly Joe's somewhat rambling inference that I permitted what he calls my "eagerness" to cloud my judgment, thereby creating the present mess. It would seem to me that the crux of the matter is that - and I quote - "the protracted uncertainty has been too much for Miss Young, who has now decided firmly that she is no longer interested".

I will later resume my other letter to you, which is mostly chatter about conditions in general over here. Meantime, I wanted to tell you that my quota visa was granted within ten days of my return to London. If it is not used by the end of April it will be cancelled, and I shall have to start all over again with fresh affidavits. So until I hear from you again I shall be feeling very Micawberish!

My warmest regards to you and Mrs. Murrow, and love to the adorable Casey.

As ever,

K.S.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
C.B.S., New York.

February 4, 1947

Dear Edward:

I gather from our brief conversation of last Saturday (fitted in with Miss Campbell's parting telephone remarks) that an essential element in the transfer problem has not been conveyed adequately to you.

Perhaps Kay, in her eagerness, failed to register in her own mind the impact of her description of work opportunities in Europe on Miss Young. Kay thoroughly convinced the lady at this end that there is no place at all for her in London. And nothing else has been proposed in sufficient detail to permit serious consideration. The way it was left between the two ladies was that Kay would canvas the possibilities with you, and after she got back to London, and report to us. As we understood it, unless something turned up quite different from what anyone here at the time could foresee, the deal was off.

Since then the protracted uncertainty has been too much for Miss Young, who has now decided firmly that she is no longer interested.

I am inclined to think that it is better this way, for a number of subsidiary reasons; including Eric's strong feeling that my job is not one which would satisfy Kay, or in which Kay would satisfy me.

It seems to me that all that is left to do is for me to explain to Kay why what was once a good idea must be laid aside, and regret profoundly that I let you in for a lot of unproductive exploratory work.

Regretfully

Joe Harsch

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
1522 DOBSON STREET
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60202

11/2/73

Dear Mrs. Horan:

Thank you very much for your letter on behalf of the E. R. Murrow Center. I am very, very pleased that the memory of Ed is honored in such an appropriate way.

I wish I could be more generous for such an excellent purpose, but unfortunately other obligations don't let me do more.

With many good wishes

Sincerely yours

Paul Heller

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
376 HERRICK ROAD
RIVERSIDE, ILLINOIS

May 10, 1965

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
Pawling, New York

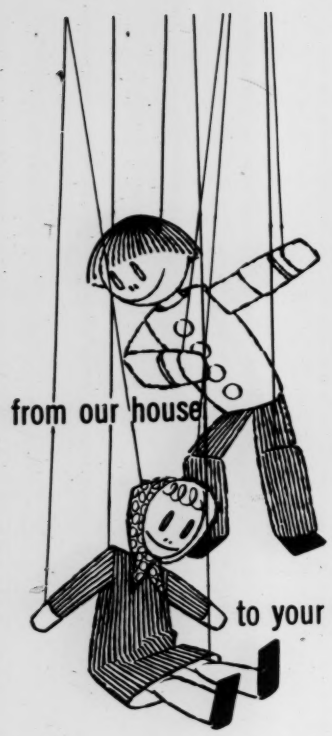
Dear Mrs. Murrow and Casey:

The gap between words and feelings cannot be bridged at this occasion. Let me just say this simple truth; Ed was the first American whom I met when Buchenwald was liberated; he returned there a few days later to bring me news from my brother and friends who had heard his broadcast. I knew then that I had met a great man whose mind and heart were tuned to each other in perfect resonance. This knowledge was confirmed a thousand times whenever I heard his voice or saw his face; both expressed his wise and deeply felt concern for humanity. The world is better for having had him, and we all are grateful, but saddened and deprived.

With the expression of my and my family's deepest sympathy,

Sincerely yours,

PAUL HELLER, M.D.



from our house

to your house SEASON'S GREETINGS

Alice and Paul Heller
Tommy and Carol

Heller, Paul

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
376 HERRICK ROAD
RIVERSIDE, ILLINOIS

December 28, 1955.

Mr.Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcating System
New York City

Dear Ed:

On November27, 1955 I sent you a letter which, I am afraid, might have been lost in the Christmas mail rush.

I hope you will forgive me this second attempt to reach you. Enclosed is a copy of the letter which, I fear, has not reached your desk.

With many good wishes to you and your family for a peaceful 1956,

cordially yours,

Paul

November 27, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

To-day I meant to write to you solely about my own affairs, but after having seen and listened to your masterful study of Jefferson County, Col., and especially to the eagerly debating ladies of Pine and Buffalle, I cannot help adding my praise to the many which you probably have received by now. And the commercials were magnificent.

To my own problem:
As you knew the German Bundestag passed an indemnification law for the intende benefit of Nazi victims. My lawyer tells me that I am entitled to a substantial claim if I can prove that my health has suffered and my earning capacity has been impaired as the consequence of the imprisonment. As the law consists of unclearly formulated and confusing regulations the lower authorities do their own interpreting , or better misinterpreting, with the result that until now only very few claims have been settled. (By the way, this is a matter which Dick Hottelet might find interesting).

In support of my claim my lawyer wants me to furnish strong and convincing documentary evidence. Since there are apparently no official lists of former prisoners available, it is necessary to submit statements of witnesses who saw the claimant in the camp.

May I ask you to help me to establish my identity. Is there still a copy of your Buchenwald broadcast available?

If so, could you let me have one, or could you send me a statement that you met me in Buchenwald.

Also in the matter of the impaired earning capacity I would like to ask you for your help.

In 1946 I had a severe hepatitis which had an unusually protracted course. I was out of work for more than six months. The delayed convalescence was attributed to the previous damage to the liver by the many years of malnutrition. My physicians will certify this.

During that time you were kind enough to lend me 500 Dollars. I am sure this is a preposterous request, adding work to your kindness, but my lawyer believes that a note from you stating that you lent me money during my illness in 1946 would be helpful. Forgive me this strange and unusual request, but strange and unusual is the mind of the German Herr Beamte.

As you see our address has changed again, this time only the residence, and it is our first own home. I still am at the Westside V.A.Hospital in Chicago, having recently been promoted to the "Chief" grade, the highest possible under the system of the V.A.Medical Department. In addition I am Assistant Professor at the University of Illinois College of Medicine, and enjoy the work tremendously.

My family is fine, the kids are growing and growing. I trust that Janet and Casey are in best health. Many thanks for your kind help,

with best regards from house to house,

sincerely yours,

Paul Keller

Heller, Dr.

December 22, 1954

Dear Paul:

Very many thanks for your nice letter.

It was good to hear from you again and I am delighted to know that you are so well established in Chicago.

It hardly seems possible that almost ten years have passed since we first met, but I know this to be true; and I know also that you have put those years to the best possible use.

I am sorry I missed seeing your brother, Erich, when he was here last year. I hope you continue to have good news of him.

Janet and Casey join me in sending very best wishes to you and yours.

As ever,

Dr. Paul Heller
118 North Mayfield Avenue
Chicago 44, Illinois

fc

PAUL HELLER, M.D.
118 N.Mayfield Avenue
Chicago 44,Ill.

December 12, 1954.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

Dear Ed:

In a few months it will be 10 years since I had the great fortune of meeting you in the shambles of Buchenwald, 10 years since you helped me to be reunited with my family and friends in the midst of the organisational turmoil of the first few weeks of peace.

Very, very often during the subsequent years I felt like reaffirming in writing my gratitude , but somehow the almost daily closeness of your voice, and during the past few years your weekly presence in the living room seemed to render writing an almost paradoxic act. One just does not write to a man whom one sees, and to whom one listens that often. In this intimate atmosphere, brought about by technical wonders, it seemed more appropriate to say "Thank you" when "you were there". When the temptation of a letter to you was greatest - after your historic McCarthy telecast - I felt too humble to add my small voice of approval to all the other testimonials of great praise heaped upon you at that time. With 1955 around the corner during which I shall celebrate the 10th birthday of freedom I want to add this little letter to our Christmas greetings.

The more distant the liberation is removed in time the more intensely I find myself pondering about its significance for my little soul and - more pretentiously - for the world. Let us hope and believe that the act of liberation in 1945 may still become the symbol of the reassertion of western culture against evil forces.

PAUL HELLER, M.D.

We have been in Chicago since last January. I am Section Chief of the Medical Service of the V.A.Hospital here, and am on the Staff of the University of Illinois Medical College. I also have become a Specialist certified by the American Board of Internal Medicine. Ten years ago all this was not more than a dream during the restless sleep of apparently hopeless imprisonment.

My brother Erich was here last year lecturing at Harvard and the University of Chicago. When he spent a few days in New York you were in Europe.

With all our best wishes to you ,Janet and Casey

Yours

Paul H.

Please, give my best regards to Miss Campbell.

Heller, Paul Dr.

October 9, 1950

Dear Paul:

I'm sorry to hear that you have been ill again and hope you are feeling much better by now. Please do forget about the loan until such time when it is altogether convenient for you to pay it.

I hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Dr. Paul Heller
4103 Fourth Street, S.E.
Washington 20, D.C.

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
4103 FOURTH STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON 20, D. C.

9/25/50

Dear Ed:

These few lines only to tell you how deeply embarrassed I am: I had promised you that I would return the loan, with which you helped me so kindly during my illness, this fall.

A second time my liver threw me out of normal gainful life and work for quite a while since I saw you the last time. To-day is the anniversary of my illness, and I am painfully reminded of the personal setbacks which the year brought me. This past - I know it is past - illness ~~will~~ probably will deprive Uncle Sam of a soldier, and myself of a more appropriate expression of thanks to him for everything he has done for me.

You will understand that I am more in the red than last spring, and I should like to ask you for your consent of a deferment of payments until next January or February. After this last year the calculation of my budget has become a tough problem.

I hope you and your family are in best health.

With many, many thanks, wishes, and regards

Yours Paul H.

Heller, Paul

Columbia Broadcasting
System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 28, 1950

Dear Paul:

I am delighted that you're recovered and back at work. Won't you come have lunch with me one day next week?

I trust you didn't inconvenience yourself by sending the check. Please don't feel that there is the slightest urgency about repayment. In the American vernacular: Put the whole thing at the bottom of your priority list.

As ever yours,

Dr. Paul Heller
4103 Fourth Street, S.E.
Washington 20, D.C.

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
4103 FOURTH STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON 20, D. C.

April 17, 1950

Mr. Edward R.Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ed:

It is good to hear your voice now coming from nearby. Although it certainly is not gratifying to listen to the news of the state of the world these days, it is at least a great intellectual pleasure to follow your keen analyses which sound like chapters from a future history book.

I hope, Janet, you, and Casey are in good health, and not even the Washington spring fever has affected you of which you gave us such a vivid clinical account tonight.

My illness lasted longer than I expected, and it was only at the beginning of this month that I started to work full time. I feel fine again - at least I believe so - and it seems that the long forced vacation has done me some good, but not financially. The latter cicumstance is somewhat embarrassing, as it forces me to ask you for permission to remain your debtor for a few more months.

Please, take the enclosed as a token of my gratitude. It would be very kind of you, if you agreed to my settling the balance later in the year.

With best regards from Alice and me for you and your family,

very cordially yours

Paul

Dear Ed
Check
$100

Heller, Paul M.D.

PAUL HELLER, M.D.
4302 THIRD STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON 20, D. C.

12/5/49.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
New York City.

Dear Ed:

These lines just to tell you that I am in deepest gratitude

Yours
Paul

Heller, Paul Dr.

December 2, 1949

Dr. Paul Heller
4103 Fourth Street, S.E.
Washington 20, D. C.

Dear Paul:

We were deeply distressed to learn of your illness. I trust that your recovery will be rapid. Please regard the enclosed as a loan which you can repay in a leisurely fashion and entirely at your own convenience. I shall probably be working out of Washington during the month of February, and we must arrange a meeting.

Please forgive the brevity of this letter, but I wanted to get it off to you immediately.

As ever yours,

HERMANN HOSPITAL

HOUSTON 5, TEXAS

R. OSWALD DAUGHETY
SUPERINTENDENT

May 1, 1947

Mr. E. R. Murrow, Vice-President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

RE: Paul Heller
New York, New York

Medical Residency

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The above named individual is applying to Hermann Hospital for a position on the residency staff as signified by the title below his name.

He has given you as a reference. We would appreciate any information from you regarding his character, ability, or any other pertinent remarks you would care to make.

Yours very truly,

ROD/a

Superintendent

4103 Fourth

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
~~4302~~ THIRD STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON 20, D. C.

November 29, 1949.

Dear Jeanet and Ed:

I hope you and your family are well. It is an easy guess that you, Ed, are in good health and in as good a mood as the blessings of the atomic age permit: The invigorating freshness of your broadcasts and your renewed phonographic record achievement testify to this. Congratulations.

My - may I say: promising - career in the States has recently been interrupted. In September I suddenly fell ill with virus pneumonia and virus hepatitis (inflammation of the liver). Since it seems to be an unwritten law of nature that a disease in a doctor does not run a smooth course, and probably also because my liver had been somewhat mistreated before in the long years of malnutrition and impaired in its power of resistence, the hepatitis is still with me, and is not expected to disappear before March of April, as estimated by the best Washington physicians. This is a sad situation. I am not permitted to do anything else but to lie flat in bed, to follow the dietary* and other prescriptions of my doctors, and to let thoughts and worries cross my troubled mind.

A now aggravating matter is the fact that we are expecting another baby in January, a fact, which was believed to be a proof of our "family optimism" (with the world ... that is different), and a source of enjoyment and looking-forward-to a few months ago. Nevertheless - let us not be too gloomy - this expectation has not lost its thrill completely.

As you will imagine, the savings of a year's practice in Washington are just about to be exhausted, and my horizontal position will deprive me from any earning power in medicine for the next 3 to 4 months.

It is with great hesitation and with some embarrassment that I ask the question whether you

* By the way, you may tell Bob Dickson, that French-American belongs to my diet.

would know of any way how to get a short term loan which would help carrying my family and myself over the next 3 months. I certainly shall be able to start repaying in March or April, when I expect to be back at work.

If you could help my imagination and have some advice how I could make some money out of the horizontal, I should gladly accept it.

With many thanks and many friendly regards from house to house

Yours,

Paul

Heller, Paul Dr.

December 7, 1948

Dear Paul:

Today you will be taking your oath of citizenship; that is altogether fitting. It is the anniversary of an event which caused my country, however reluctantly, to start deploying its strength to redress some of the evil things that had been done to your former country.

I regard this event that has occurred today as a useful and happy acquisition on the part of my country, and tonight I shall drink a small toast--maybe two, to you and yours.

As ever yours,

Dr. Paul Heller
4302 Third Street, S.E.
Washington 20, D.C.

PAUL HELLER, M. D.
4302 THIRD STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON 20, D. C.

11/25/48.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York City.

Dear Ed:

I hope you and your family are well, and I am sure you enjoyed the turkey dinner as much as you were looking forward to it at last night's broadcast.

This is my ~~real~~ first real Thanksgiving's Day, and I feel as if I had just joined the Mayflower Compact: yesterday I was informed that I was found worthy of American Citizenship, and I was invited to take the oath on December 7th.

I believe I h a v e to notify you of this great event in my life, since you were the first American to whom I spoke after the liberation, and since you contributed so much to overcoming the difficulties in the way to my early arrival in this country. It is partly your merit that I shall probably be the first of the liberated prisoners to become a citizen.

I wish I could celebrate the day in New York as I should, and I hope I can arrange for it; if not on the 7th, so some time in the near future.

Tommy continues to be a source of undiminished enjoyment.

With best regards from house to house

yours
Paul

Greetings to Miss Campbell; please, let her know of the development of things.

Heller, Paul

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 15, 1947

Dear Dr. Daugherty:

It gives me pleasure to answer your letter of May 1st. I first met Paul Heller on the day of the liberation of the infamous German concentration camp at Buchenwald. He was in charge of a group of barracks housing Czechoslovakian prisoners. His leadership was immediately obvious, and it was clear that he was held in respect by his fellow prisoners. After the liberation of the camp, Heller remained for some several weeks assisting our Army Medical Corps. Subsequently, with the help of some of my friends in London, I arranged to get him to Paris and finally to London.

I cannot, of course, speak of his professional qualifications, but I can vouch for his character and integrity. He makes friends easily and is devoted to his work. I know little enough of his family background, but do know his brother who is a professor at Oxford. In spite of six years in a concentration camp, he seems to me a remarkable well-adjusted, intelligent, young man who shows surprisingly little evidence of the experience he underwent. Heller's decision to seek an appointment outside of New York is, I think, wisdom. He wants to become an American and feels that this is not the ideal place to do it. The only additional comment that I could usefully make is that I have met his wife once or twice and she seems to me an attractive and altogether acceptable individual.

If I can assist you in securing additional information regarding Mr. Heller, I shall, of course, be delighted to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. R. Oswald Daugherty
Hermann Hospital
Houston 5, Texas

dm

E. R. M.
F. 1155

THE WHITE CROSS HOSPITAL

700 NORTH PARK STREET
COLUMBUS 8, OHIO

12 May 1947

CARROLL H. LEWIS, D.D.
GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT

Mrs Mac
same as letter to Texas.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Your name has been given me as a reference by Dr. Paul Heller, who is applying for a residency in medicine in this hospital. I will greatly appreciate your help in this matter and would like to have your opinion of the character and qualifications of the applicant. Would you please tell me the facts about Dr. Heller that you would like to know if you were contemplating associating him with your organization, or with yourself personally?

Thanking you for your helpfulness, I am

Very truly yours,

Carroll H. Lewis

Carroll H. Lewis
General Superintendent

chl-vn

HERMANN HOSPITAL

HOUSTON 5, TEXAS

R. OSWALD DAUGHETY
SUPERINTENDENT

May 1, 1947

Mr. E. R. Murrow, Vice-President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

RE: Paul Heller
New York, New York

Medical Residency

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The above named individual is applying to Hermann Hospital for a position on the residency staff as signified by the title below his name.

He has given you as a reference. We would appreciate any information from you regarding his character, ability, or any other pertinent remarks you would care to make.

Yours very truly,

ROD/a

Superintendent

Isaacs, Harold
f

DOMESTIC

MAY 18, 1959

to:

HAROLD R. ISAACS
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASS.

HOW ABOUT DINNER ON MAY 26? REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-70

Isaacs, Harold R.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

May 11, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am going to be in town, I find, on May 26. I will be busy that whole afternoon, but what chances that evening?

Yours,

Harold R. Isaacs
Research Associate

HRI:lwf

Isaacs, Dr Harold R.

April 30, 1959

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your thoughtful letter of April 24. I am afraid you are right. My question was not very well phrased and Blair's answer probably was not very informative.

I would like to write at length, but the pressure is just too great. I am an example of what Bob Hutchins meant when he said: "We all become so much concerned with the urgent that we never get around to the important".

I, too, have appetite for a long talk. Is there any chance of your being in town between now and the middle of June? If so, I will juggle the schedule so that we can have an evening together.

Thanks again for your, as always, candid comments.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Dr. Harold R. Isaacs
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Center for International Studies
50 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Mass.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

April 24, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Your conversation last night with Blair Clark drives me to my typewriter. If I caught it correctly, you asked Clark whether things in West Africa were turning out as the European powers had "expected" and he said they were not, and went on to cite the less-than-democratic evolution of affairs in that area.

I am ready to share anybody's grim forebodings about the shape of politics to come in many of these new African states. I think we and they are in for a very rough time in this department. But reasonably now, just what were any "expectations" to the contrary by Europeans based on? When did the colonial systems become training grounds for democratic politics? Indeed, how late in the game did the colonial administrations themselves become anything that could even be called "a guided democracy"? Only the barest outlines of any form of representative government appeared in almost all of these countries only since World War II and then only with no real power democratically granted to the majority, much less any true freedom for an opposition. And before that of course -- well, we know at least the outlines of the story of colonial power as it was exercised in Africa as well as elsewhere. Add not only the nature and experience of the political institutions on which Africans were raised by their Western guardians but the very nature of the states which they inherit. Virtually every "state" is shaped by boundaries that were drawn without regard to any geographic or ethnic sense, so that there are divided peoples and built-in hostilities which have to be reconciled, federated, or somehow otherwise liquidated following independence. This set of problems alone presents the Africans with truly formidable if not insurmountable obstacles to the successful achievement of orderly democracy for quite some time to come.

Just why, out of all of this may Europeans "expect" the immediate establishment and smooth functioning of some ideal kind of democratic machinery anywhere in Africa? And why should anyone now feel entitled to shake his head and cluck over African failures to accomplish this miracle?

I would like to suggest that there is a pressing need for Americans to appreciate these starting points in Africa. That we have to realize that the handicaps are enormous and that they were created in very considerable measure by the colonial past. And that this colonial past while it was being lived, <u>never</u> envisaged its own end and therefore

never really prepared for it. We and the Africans are going to have to wrestle hard for our birthrights in some new common interest, some new common cause and it is no simple matter to see where we will come out. Indeed, considering the whole past -- in which we willy nilly shared by the assumptions we always accepted about both Europeans and Africans and by a great deal of our actual behavior -- we will be miraculously fortunate if African developments in any way favor our future success, not to say survival in the world. It is really a matter of how heavily the children are going to be called upon to pay for the sins of the fathers.

I write because I have begun to hear and read a good deal of a kind of self-purging, finger-pointing, history-ignoring, self-righteous criticism of emergent African politics and politicians. I wouldn't dream of charging you with this kind of simple minded clap trap. But where you stand there on your bridge, we all look to you to stand as firmly as a man can.

Before you take off on your year's sabbatical I would like a chance to have some talk with you. I have been for the last seven or eight months interviewing top American Negroes to get at the impact on them of world affairs in general and Africa in particular. I am about to start to try to put my findings on paper. It makes quite a story.

Meanwhile I trust that nothing in the hugger-mugger in which you are engaged involves any real danger that we won't continue having you on the air to prove what it could be like.

Yours,

Harold R. Isaacs
Research Associate

HRI:lwf

Isaacs, Harold

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

October 17, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your note. I could never have considered the possibility of your doing anything else but a "legitimate news item."

Without quite generating enough thrust to get into orbit, this little experimental tilt at apathy has managed to legitimize itself as news to a surprising extent, to wit: An AP story originated out of Providence about the spread of the chain letter there. All the Boston papers picked it up. The Harvard Liberal Union staged a collection in all the dining rooms. From Harvard, no doubt, the word spread to Smith whence we got a call from the paper's editor and there they evidentally are planning some kind of campus campaign. Then I understand Drew Pearson's column reported the receipt in Clinton of a number of contributions. He was quoting one of the frustrated Clinton money raisers who went to Washington last week. He actually mentioned our names along with a number of others, all from this area, suggesting that they all must be listeners of Louis Lyons. Lyons had read the letter as a news item of a reaction occuring in these parts to the Clinton bombing. There has been a fair amount of telephoning from various points, letters and other messages and somebody from Clinton sent me a copy of the Clinton paper with items in it about these efforts.

It struck Viola and me that the Clinton High School bombing provided the most direct opportunity for people to express their feelings on the whole business. Surely a massive and demonstrative response to Clinton's need would be the best kind of answer to Faubus and his letters asking for money for a private segregated school system. We just wonder whether the impulse to make this response is present.

On another front, many cheers for your speech the other night. I don't think these two situations are unconnected.

I think it is high time we had one of our biennial or triennial luncheons. I was by to see Fred a week or so ago, but it was late and you were deep in your broadcast. I will try giving you a call one of these weeks when I am in town.

Yours,

Harold R. Isaacs

HRI:lwf

Isaacs, Harold

May 24, 1957

Dear Harold:

Thanks for yours of May 20th.

I don't get to Washington very often myself, but I am trying to stimulate the boys down there to ask a few pertinent questions about Bill Worthy.

I hope you will spend at least a little time in this miserable city before taking off for England and if not, I hope I have a chance to see you back here.

As ever yours,

Dr. Harold R. Isaacs
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
50 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

fc

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

May 20, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I have noticed that in the recurring discussion of the China entry business at the Dulles press conferences the issue of Bill Worthy's passport seems to have largely disappeared.

Shouldn't somebody be asking Dulles at these press conferences why Worthy should be the only one of the three reporters who went into China to be penalized for his action? This situation comes about, I gather, because Worthy's passport happened to be the only one that expired at this particular time. He had to apply for renewal and this renewal is being denied. Since passports of none of the three were yanked at the time, Stevens and Harrington remain in possession of theirs and are free to continue functioning in their normal duties. Which is a fine and good thing. But how about Worthy? Why, pending resolution of the larger issue, should he have to bear what amounts to a rather severe penalty?

I understand that he has to go through a prolonged procedure within the State Department itself before he can properly make a court case out of it. Dulles said in his last conference that he would welcome a court test of the issue. Would he be willing to cooperate by expediting or even bypassing the State Department procedures, hearings, etc., on Worthy's passport--assuming that these would all result in negative decisions for Worthy--so as to allow the case to get before the courts immediately?

I believe that Worthy, who finishes his Nieman Fellowship at Harvard next month, is hoping and expecting to resume his normal work and that this would include going to Ghana in October for the projected Pan-African Conference. Is there any chance that by judicious and persistent questioning at the press conferences he can be helped in resuming his regular livelihood and his normal pursuits?

In discussing this matter with Worthy I have found a certain natural diffidence on his part, since he is

anxious not to be put in the position of seeming to suggest that the others should be "punished" equally with him. He has therefore tended to avoid pressing his case too hard. I think this is a tough spot for him to be left in and I have therefore taken upon myself to write you and others in the hopes that something can be done to give him a hand.

I have just about finished the opus on which I have been working so long. It will bear the title SCRATCHES ON OUR MINDS and will be published by The John Day Company about seven months hence. I am leaving for England on July 3 for six or seven weeks, partly on an assignment, partly to get some direct impressions of England-in-transition, partly--maybe--plain holidaying.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold R. Isaacs

HRI:lr

Isaacs Harold
51 n

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

November 29, 1955

1

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. Fred Friendly
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:
Dear Fred:

The local dinosaurs relented and allowed us to see your show on education and the school problem. Once again, salutations for a first-rate job. So long as you go unsponsored for work like this it is going to be impossible to avoid a sinking feeling of apprehension about the future of this fantastic medium.

Yours,

HRI:lr

155A 4/5

Isaacs, Harold R.

1

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

June 17, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for lunch and the talk. Sorry we could not pursue it further. Perhaps other opportunities will offer.

Best regards,

Harold R. Isaacs

HRI:lr

Isaacs, Harold

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

June 1, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

In what I hope was not an ill-considered moment a few weeks ago you agreed to subject yourself to one of my interviews. I know this must be close to the end of your somewhat active season, but I write to ask whether it will be possible to get a couple of hours of your time for this purpose in the next two weeks. I recall that you said a Monday would be good. If this still holds, would Monday the 13th or Monday the 20th work?

I will be in New York next week and will call to find out.

With best regards,

Harold R. Isaacs

HRI:lr

Lunch
Mon.
June 13
1 – Century

Isaacs, Harold

November 23, 1954

Dear Harold:

I don't know whether your ideas are sane or not, but I think they might be. Do let me know when you are going to be in town again.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harold R. Isaacs
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
50 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts

rh

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
50 MEMORIAL DRIVE
CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS

November 4, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Would you go so far as to discern a glimmer of hope that the new situation might lead Eisenhower to begin acting like a President of the United States? The new congressional picture, it seems to me, would at least give him the opportunity.

He could appoint Adlai Stevenson secretary of state after elevating Dulles to the Court. He could send Chester Bowles as a special presidential envoy to Asia to pave the way for a fresh orientation for American policy there, let in new breezes, etc. He could send Ralph Bunche as special presidential envoy to Africa with the mission of traveling the continent from North to South to re-examine and redefine American interests and possibilities in that continent and come back with a report which in itself could have major repercussions on our whole world policy picture, especially in Asia and most particularly in India.

Is this a completely insane notion? What would happen, do you think, if suggestions of this kind of a turn toward real bi-partisanship and re-orientation were to begin emerging from the right places?

It is wonderful how incorrigibly optimism can thrust itself through the general bleakness. I am at least enjoying the sensation of having these thoughts.

Warmest regards,

Harold R. Isaacs

HRI:lr

Isaacs, Harold

MONUMENT 2-5264

HAROLD R. ISAACS
333 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 25, N.Y.

May 20552

Dear Ed:

I have been holding off writing to say thank you for your prompt and extremely kind note to Morgenthau in hopes that I could at the same time report a resolution of the matter. It has taken longer than I had been given to expect.

The Morgenthau Plan (!) fell by the wayside as a result of one of those academic snafus. It turned out that the money wasn't there!

However, I have been working at the National Opinion Research Center this past month and it has been interesting, though precarious. I appear to be scheduled for work there that will keep me engaged at least through July.

Experience seems to consist of either landing on one's feet or landing on one's can. Having had 20-odd years of the former I am now learning - with as much objectivity as possible - about the latter posture. It's only the flesh that sits: the spirit remains upright.

Thanks again for everything.

regards

hri

EDWARD R. MURROW

April 17, 1952

Dear Professor Morgenthau:

I venture to write you this brief letter at the suggestion of my friend , Harold Isaacs. My information regarding the nature of the post for which he is being considered is too limited to permit me to relate my comments regarding Mr. Isaacs directly to the project itself, so perhaps you will permit me to make a few general observations regarding him.

I am familiar with his writings and with his professional record; I have had ample opportunity in the course of prolonged conversations to appreciate his respect for truth and his determination to base his opinions on fact. I am no expert upon Far Eastern affairs, but I am aware of the high regard in which Mr. Isaacs is held by those whose knowledge of the area far surpasses my own.

Recently in replying to an inquiry regarding Mr. Isaacs' loyalty and integrity, I had occasion to say that were it possible, I would be prepared to trust him with my conscience or my country.

If I can supply you with further information which might be more pertinent to the project you contemplate, you need but to command me.

Sincerely yours,

Professor H. J. Morgenthau, Director
Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy
217 Social Science Building
1126 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois

(Dictated but not read by Mr. Murrow)

bc: Mr. Isaacs

SP- Cable file drawer.

Isaacs, Harold

January 25, 1951

Dear Harold:

What cheer and what news!

I am off to the South for a week, planning to recuperate from a severe cold but will be back February 5. Let us foregather.

As ever yours,

Mr. Harold R. Isaacs
333 Central Park West
New York 25, New York

HAROLD R. ISAACS
333 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
MO. 2-5264

Jan. 2-51

Dear Ed:

During a New Year's Day call yesterday, I saw your roundup show on TV. Some of it was quite impressive.

However I write, by way of some mild needling, to point out what you doubtless well knew: how gaping the hole was on Asia in that program. Considering the part played by Asian affairs in the crisis, the program was something less than adequate. Even by judicious use of personalities available here during the last few months (Romulo, Mohammed Roem, Rau, Pandit, etc), the balance could have been redressed without undue difficulty.

This may sound like a plug, which can't be helped, since that's what it is; but I could have taken care of a chore like that quite handily. And there will be so many such!

If Tom Paine could become the American Patron Saint for this Year of Big Trouble, all indeed would be well. I've been thinking too of a line Victor Serge gave one of his characters in a little-noticed novel a few years ago: "The world is always new - if your nerves are strong enough."

Yours,

hri

WU 019 NL PD

WUX WASHINGTON DC DEC 8

EDWARD R MURROW

C B S

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM JUST RECEIVED EXPECT DECISION EARLY NEXT WEEK APPRECIATE YOUR PATIENCE

R B SHIPLEY CHIEF PASSPORT DIVISION

756A DEC 9..

Western Union

DECEMBER 8, 1950

MRS. RUTH SHIPLEY
PASSPORT DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

AS I TOLD YOU ON THE PHONE I HAVE NO DESIRE TO EMBARASS YOU OR THE DEPARTMENT BUT FEEL ENTITLED TO REQUEST AGAIN INFORMATION REGARDING THE STATUS OF HAROLD ISAACS APPLICATION FOR PASSPORT RENEWAL STOP THINK YOU WILL AGREE THAT UNLESS AN ANSWER IS FORTHCOMING SHORTLY I WILL BE ENTITLED TO ASK QUESTIONS PUBLICLY

WARM PERSONAL REGARDS

ED MURROW

cc: Mr. Isaacs

RECEIVED
1950 NOV 20 PM 1:32
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU022 GOVT DL PD

WUX WASHINGTON DC NOV 20 110P

EDWARD R MURROW,CBS

SP

MR ISAACS' PASSPORT APPLICATION RAISES SOME NEW QUESTIONS REQUIRING CONSIDERATION BY VARIOUS OFFICES REGRET DELAY AND WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE EXPEDITE FINAL DECISION

R B SHIPLEY CHIEF PASSPORT DIV

130P.

3-C-21

WESTERN UNION

NOVEMBER 17, 1950

RUTH SHIPLEY
PASSPORT DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

UNDERSTAND HAROLD R. ISAACS' APPLICATION FOR A PASSPORT RENEWAL HAS BEEN HELD UP FOR PAST THREE MONTHS STOP IT WAS MY PLAN TO HAVE MR. ISAACS SUPPLY ME WITH CERTAIN INFORMATION DURING HIS TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA FOR USE IN MY BROADCASTS STOP MY OWN PLANS, MR. ISAACS', AND THE WORK HE WAS TO DO UNDER A GUGGENHEIM FELLOWSHIP IS HELD IN ABEYANCE UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE PASSPORT IS ISSUED STOP I WILL BE GRATEFUL FOR WHATEVER INFORMATION YOU CAN GIVE ME AS TO WHEN IT WILL BEISSUED WARM PERSONAL REGARDS

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS NEW YORK

July 28, 1950

Dear Mr. Isaacs:

I regret to have to report that my check with UP regarding your cables was unsuccessful as far as any further enlightenment is concerned. Ed Allen was on vacation; however, Wayne Butler, who handled your cables when they came in, checked with Manila and reports that they had records of only two cables received from you and they had no memory of any others.

I'm sorry I couldn't do better at untangling the confusion. When Mr. Murrow returns and the opportunity presents itself, I shall ask him about his understanding regarding your fee for the pieces we did receive.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Harold R. Isaacs
333 Central Park West
New York 25, New York

Miss Tanner

HAROLD R. ISAACS
333 CENTRAL PARK WEST
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

MOr-5264

June 29-50

Dear Ed:

I suppose that somewhere down in the bowels of CBS a check is on its way to me for the four Philippines pieces. It would be convenient if I could receive it before the end of the week.

Am still trying to act as though I'm going to carry out my summer plans. I suppose you are too.

At any rate, I will have to leave as shceduled Saturday because I cannot fail to do so without damaging my daughter's belief in the good faith of my commitments. She cannot see that a war is more important and by god she's right.

I'll probably not stay up there long, though. I've been doing pieces for the NY Post, and they want me to continue for awhile and I'll probably do so.

Yrs

Hal

hri

Mr. Ralph Teetzel
Manila

4 pieces - May 25 June 5

Hold payment 6/5

SPECIAL NEWS SERVICE

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
Special Services
C. EDMONDS ALLEN, Director

FOR Mr. Murrow--DBS

June 3, 1950

A 50

Pay asked 6/23

From Mr. Isaacs---

Manila--Regarding Acheson's request for military funds, including money earmarked for the Philippines, it seems useful to point out that the problem in these islands right now is only in a minor degree military. It's true that agrarian unrest, headed by the Communist-led Hukbalahap guerrilla movement, represents a focus for the developing social crisis. But, at the same time, it is not accurate to suggest, as some current reports are doing, that there is in imminent military crisis. The essence of the matter is precisely that there is still time to make an attack on the social problems here which are most directly feeding Communists their prime material.

According to the most solid intelligence reports, the Huks currently represent a military force of some fifteen thousand men. They were, until recently, concentrated in six provinces in Central Luzon, but during the last two months they have moved under military pressure, spreading northeastward into Cagayan area, which is a remote valley noted mainly for producing the tobacco which goes into Corona cigars. They have also spread thinly into new areas to the south.

They are well organized, have the capacity to make coordinated raids and have no trouble keeping supplied with ammunition.

But, while the administration seems incapable of suppressing them, they are not now, nor in the forseeable immediate future, capable of forcibly taking power. As one political leader put it here, "We have discontent to fight more than the Huks."

It is acknowledged here by all but the most hairbrained irresponsibles that a purely military approach to the problems of the Philippines is bootless. Actually, the Philippines armed forces heavily outnumber the organized Huks and are equipped with the best American weapons. But, as Malayan, not to say Chinese, experience shows, successfully fighting revolutionary guerrillas is not simply a matter of arms and equipment. This is particularly so here where the major accumulating problem is that of a government that is breaking down on the rocks of corruption, maladministration and incompetence, but most of all on unwillingness to come to grips with basic social problems.

It so happens in this case that American State Department representatives here are acutely aware of this. They know, for example, that its probably correct to say there is more danger to peace and order from unruly constabulary and, more particularly, from growing groups of so-called special policemen who are expanding as virtually private armies of civilian governors in several provinces.

These conditions go back to the responsibility of the central government in which such drastic reforms are so badly needed if any kind of American aid program is going to achieve its purpose of helping the country to achieve inherent stability.

333 C.P.W.

SPECIAL NEWS SERVICE

UNITED PRESS ASSOCIATIONS
Special Services
C. EDMONDS ALLEN, Director

FOR Edward R. Murrow--CBS

Paid $50 pd 6/23

Baguio, May 28--(UP)--In this mountain town, five thousand feet up, in Luzon, representatives of seven South Asian and Pacific countries (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and Indonesia) have been timidly exploring, for the last three days, how they might get together on some kind of program for regional cooperation.

These Asian countries have been feeling the immense pressures of their internal problems and the closing in of the pressures of the cold war. They all sense the desire to huddle together in the face of a gathering storm. But none feels it decisively or clearly enough to take any bold steps toward greater regional self assertion. Hence, the prime note here has been caution and timidity.

It was about this region that the foreign secretaries of the United States, the United Kingdom and France made fateful decisions only two weeks ago. These decisions have to do with stepping up the cold war as it is centered in Viet Nam by lending military aid to the French army and to Bao Dai, who is generally regarded among Southest Asians as being the hopeless puppet of the French.

Among South Asians there seems to be a kind of helpless resentment that the Western Powers go on making decisions about Asia without asking for the views of Asian nations. But, if the attitude of the delegates here at Baguio is any indication, they seem particularly fearful of mustering themselves to act in their own behalf.

Wayne Butler

Oddly enough, the boldest figure at this conference has been Carlos Romulo, the man who fathered it against all sorts of obstacles

and reluctance. Romulo is personally willing to go farther in the way of bod assertion of Asian attitudes than any of the others present here. He is seeking, for example, a decision on setting up a permanent cooperative operating body for South Asia. But, he will be lucky if he even gets an agreement on a mild form of future consultation. Once again it seems that the opportunity for the new South Asian nations to rise above narrow localisms is being missed.

This can be understood only as an expression of deeper underlying weaknesses and a lack of dynamic strength caused by an inability to grapple with their own enormous problems.

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dm

Isaacs SP

333 Central Park West
New York 25 NY
Mar. 14-50

Dear Ed:

I am sorry I missed you before you took off for Washington. I wanted a chance to suggest to you that if there was ever a time for "saying harsh things" about this Indochina business, the time is now. Today's announcement of a naval-air "show of strength" in the area is a further indication of how incredibly far the myopia has gone. The very idea and the very term come out of the history and the lexicon of 19th century colonialist strutting. If anything were needed to confirm the apparent nature of US policy and US intentions in Indochina, this is it. For what conceivable purpose could this demonstration serve? It is an expression of that ancient and obsolete notion, applied traditionally by the powerful Westerner to the benighted heathen, to the Ay-rab, the fuzzy-wuzzy, all the animals that walked liked men: force is the only thing they understand. I remember a Frenchman in Casablanca once shaking his fist under my nose and saying: "This, this, this is the only thing they know!" And now, preposterously, the United States navy is going to fly 80 planes over Viet Nam in order to show the local benighteds that Bao Dai is good for them or else. Or else precisely what? That the next time the bombs will drop? Or what?

The extent of the disarray, confusion, and frustration among friendly South Asian nationalists over this issue now defies exaggeration. The "show of strength" by the navy is being matched by a clumsy continuation of pressure on the Filipinos, the Indonesians, to come along. And they aren't buying. How much heavier will the pressure get? The Siamese govt was broken in two by this pressure. Similar splits would threaten the others. How, precisely is this going to serve any useful American purpose?

Since we met before your departure for England, the situation has progressively worsened. I have begun my sting for the Monitor and sent them my first piece yesterday - on this subject - and I've got my fingers crossed as to their reaction. I've done another piece for Max Ascoli's Reporter. But it won't see the light for some weeks. The McCarthy headlines over the security risks in the State Dept make pretty mordaunt reading when the fact is that the security of the United States is being actually threatened infinitely more by the makers of these policies.

Let me add only one story: during one of the many talks I've had with South Asians in the last few weeks, one of them, a man of age, experience, wisdom, and goodwill, said to me: "Tell me, what is the chance of there being a United States government in the next year that will follow a policy in our part of the world with which we can really associate ourselves?" I said I didn't know. He threw up his hands and said passionately: "But I've got to know the answer to that question. I've got to decide it in my own mind. I have the responsibility of shaping policy, policy over the next several years. I have to

estimate our own course in the near future. And everything hinges on that, one way or another. What do I say to my government?"

What does he say to his government? Where do they go if they follow us? Where else do they go if they cannot follow us? Or can we find the wisdom to begin to follow them?

The head is on the block on this one, Ed. Nobody's taken it up because nobody yet seems to realize the full significance of what's been done. I suggest to you the clips on Chris Rand's pieces in the Tribune in the last few weeks. Especially the one today. And if the Monitor is true to me, my own first piece for them might be worth your while picking up. I will also send you a carbon of my piece for the Reporter.

Yrs

HR Isaacs

February 9, 1950

Dear Hal:

All right then. But my thanks for a stimulating hour's conversation and, again, my apologies for suggesting that we have it here in my office. I shall be back from London on March 4th and will be giving you a shout shortly thereafter.

As ever yours,

Mr. H. R. Isaacs
333 Central Park West
New York, New York

S00

333 Central Park West
New York, NY
Feb. 3-50

Dear Ed:

I was bothered by your mention of the exchequer this morning. I respect your thought. But let us not risk a misunderstanding. Professionally-earned revenue is one thing. But neither you nor I would, I am sure, know how to put a price on mutually-interested friendly conversation.

Have a fruitful trip to England.

best,

HR Isaacs

December 27th, 1949

For my friends, this is notice of a major shift in my working arrangements.

For those concerned, this is a notice of change of address.

For all, this is season's greetings.

I hope nobody minds my combining these functions in a single communication.

I am leaving Newsweek, as of January 1, 1950, to devote myself to writing in my own major field of interest: Asian affairs, American Asian relations, Point Four, the problems of colonies, ex-colonies, and everything to do with the so-called "backward" world.

First of my new tasks is a booklet pertaining to Point Four, part of a bigger project being carried out by the Public Affairs Institute of Washington, D. C. Then I have a book to finish and, concurrently, some special writing and lecturing assignments.

Please note: My quarters for the next few months will be at the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1 East 54th Street, New York City. Telephone: Eldorado 5-1759

Please note: My permanent mail address will be at my home, 333 Central Park West, New York 25, New York.

Sincerely,

Harold R. Isaacs

SP

May 31, 1949

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for letting me see the copy of the material sent to the Council. I hope something comes of it.

As ever yours,

Mr. Harold R. Isaacs
NEWSWEEK
Broadway and 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

May 25, 1949

To the Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations

From Harold R. Isaacs

Re: Biographical details accompanying application

.....

1. Business address: Newsweek, 152 W 42 St, NYC; Home: 333 Central Park West, NYC.

2. Born at NYC, Sept. 13, 1910; Nationality: U. S.

3. Education: Columbia College, NY, 1926-30, majors in political science and philosophy, Bachelor of Arts, February, 1930; University of Hawaii, summer 1930, international relations. Travel across United States, 1927; Europe, 1928, also Middle East, partly as working seaman.

4. Previous Employment and Activity:

1928-30	New York Times, assignment reporter (while at college, working nights, weekends). Shipped out of NY as seaman, March, 1930.
1930	Mar-Sept, Honolulu Advertiser, reporter.
1930	Oct-Dec, freelancing in Philippines, travelling throughout islands.
1931	China Press, Shanghai, city editor. Extended travel across Central and West China, by boat, bus, pony and on foot.
1932-34	China Forum, Shanghai, editor; Havas News Agency, rewrite; travel in Japan.
1934-35	Resident at Peiping, library research and writing study of Chinese revolution of 1925-27; travel in Manchuria.
1936-40	New York, Havas News Agency, rewrite, with bulk of spare time devoted to completing Chinese revolution study, published in 1938.
1940-43	Columbia Broadcasting Co, NY and Wash DC, writer of documentary public affairs show, "Report to the Nation."
1943	Newsweek, Washington bureau, assigned to make special studies of post-war problems in foreign affairs, production, transportation, communications, labor problems, etc.
1944-46	Newsweek war correspondent, China-Burma-India, Korea, Japan, Indochina, Indonesia, etc.
1946-48	Newsweek, New York, Special Projects Editor. In this period I set up editorial handling of Newsweek's international editions and then undertook series of special reports on wide variety of subjects. Also wrote and completed No Peace for Asia, published in May, 1947, and New Cycle in Asia, a selection of documents on international relations in the Far East, 1943-47, published in November, 1947.
1949	Newsweek special foreign assignment to India for the Delhi Conference on Indonesia, and to Indonesia, Malaya, Burma, Siam, Philippines. Just completed.

5. Present Employer: Newsweek, 152 West 42 St., NYC; Associate Editor, responsible for special reports and studies. Prior to special South Asia assignment, these covered among other miscellaneous subjects reports on foreign monetary problems, foreign trade, the merchant marine, American public opinion on world affairs, problems of American Far Eastern policy, etc. Employment dates from Aug. 1, 1943. Present salary: $10,500 per annum.

6. War Service: as correspondent in CBI and in the Pacific area postwar. Reported Burma and Salween campaigns, 20th Bomb Command, Chinese political developments, occupation of Korea, first phases of Japanese occupation, early phases of postwar nationalist conflicts in Southeast Asia, etc. Awarded War Dept Certificate of Merit and the Pacific Theater ribbon.

7. Publications:

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, London, 1938
No Peace For Asia, New York, 1947
New Cycle in Asia, New York, 1947
contributor to As We See Russia ("Russia in Asia"), New York, 1948
in preparation: Independence Is Not Enough, a report from South Asia, scheduled for 1950.

Besides reports to Newsweek, have published articles in Harpers, Toronto Star, United Asia (Bombay), Modern Review (Calcutta), Hindustan Times (New Delhi).

Have lectured at Knox College, University of Washington, Reed College, etc. Conducted seminar for Nieman Fellows at Harvard, also for the Far Eastern Regional Studies Program at Harvard (i.e., single sessions); Served on faculty of Northwest Institute on International Relations, 1948; Lecutred to successive classes of the Army Information School, Carlisle, Pa., 1946-48; Presenting a panel paper on "The Problems of South Asian Nationalism" at the University of Chicago in May, 1949. Numerous radio forum participations etc.

8. References:

Edward W. Barrett, Editorial Director, Newsweek, 152 West 42 St., NYC
Peter Odegard, chairman, Dept of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
George E. Taylor, Far Eastern Institute, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

May 24, 1949

To the Advisory Committee on Fellowships,
Council on Foreign Relations

From Harold R. Isaacs

Re: Purposes in applying for Council Fellowship

.....

I have spent a total of nearly eight years residing or travelling in the Far East; more than five years prior to the war in China, two years during and just after the war in China, Burma, India, Japan, Korea, Indochina, and Indonesia, and most recently on a special Newsweek assignment to South Asia, during which I visited India, Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. I have only just returned from this assignment. Beside my current reports, my published work includes a history of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, an account of immediate postwar conditions in Asia, and a selection of documents on Far Eastern international relations covering the years 1943-47. I am currently engaged upon a series of special reports for Newsweek on South Asia, and on a book which will discuss the problems of emerging nationalism in Asia, the new Communist movements, the changing relationships between Asia and the West. In due course I would expect to return to other parts of the Far East for further work.

I am interested in this Fellowship as an opportunity to spend a year studying American Far Eastern policy. That policy stands today in a kind of vaccuum, emptied of all immediate practical perspectives in China and undefined as to the rest of Asia. On my recent swing from India down to Indonesia, it was made abundantly clear to me that American opportunities there are running out, that unless in the near future the United States makes a turn toward a forceful, bold, and intelligent policy in that area it will face there the same contingencies now faced in China.

In this year I would propose to find out what actually goes into the making of American Far Eastern policy. This would include any university courses that promise to contribute to my understanding of the subject, although I would also expect to find in the library and other research facilities of the Council a great deal of what I would need by way of documentary and current materials. Beyond these, it would be my purpose to examine in Washington the people, the attitudes, and the specific official machinery involved in the making of Far East policy. I want to examine, for example, the channels through which matters relating to countries like India, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, etc. must pass before they reach policy-making levels in the State Department. I would want to find out how Far Eastern matters stand in the thinking of top policy makers and the members of the Senate and House Committees on Foreign Relations.

It would be my hope that the Fellowship would give me the opportunity through the council to meet with various specialists in Far Eastern affairs, to match, check, and test data, to pool ideas, and see perhaps whether out of the whole common examination of the problem it might be possible to develop some useful ideas on what American Far Eastern policy might be in the coming period. Certainly it

would be possible in this way to shake down the main elements, the alternatives, difficulties, and obstacles, and to put a finger on the spots where changes are needed, in attitudes or in the machinery we have for carrying out existing policies.

My working program, tentatively, would include intensive library work; such courses as I find it useful to take; the spending of considerable time on a quasi-commuting basis, in Washington for first-hand research. Finally, I would be much interested in any suggestions from the Council on methods of bringing together other people to broaden the use of the information thus gathered.

It goes without saying that I would expect to learn enough from this year's work to write usefully about it. But I would regard the term of the Fellowship as primarily a period for learning things rather than a subsidised period for writing. I would assume that the Council's ideas on this would be just about as flexible and tentative as my own. I am of course concerned with equipping myself with a better-informed perspective on American Far Eastern policy. The obligation to put the knowledge gained to good use is more than that of a journalist. It is a matter of discharging the duties of a citizen.

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Newsweek

NEWSWEEK BUILDING • BROADWAY AND 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18

mac –
Thank him x

May 24, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
NYC NY

Dear Ed:

Herewith the material going in with my application for the Council Fellowship. It is being accompanied by a number of sample pieces of mine of recent years from the Newsweek files.

My many thanks for your friendly interest.

Sincerely,

HR Isaacs

[redacted]. I believe that both he and the profession that he represents would benefit greatly from a year's study of the sort provided by your fellowship.

[redacted]

May 23, 1949

Joseph Barber, Secretary
Advisory Committee on Fellowships
Council on Foreign Relations
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Barber:

On behalf of the Editorial Board of Newsweek, I am happy to endorse the application of Harold Isaacs, a Newsweek associate editor, for one of the Council's resident fellowships for American foreign correspondents.

Mr. Isaacs' experience as a correspondent has been impressive, as shown in detail on his application. In our opinion, he combines an admirable degree of unusual abilities as a reporter, as a writer, and as a student of public affairs. I believe that both he and the profession that he represents would benefit greatly from a year's study of the sort provided by your fellowship.

Newsweek would be glad to grant Mr. Isaacs a leave of absence for this purpose.

Sincerely,

Edward W. Barrett
Editorial Director

ewb/jdg

Batavia, Mar. 1, 1949

DUTCH BLIND ALLEY IN INDONESIA -I

by Harold R. Isaacs

.....

The Dutch have driven themselves up a blind alley in Indonesia. Their policies and behavior, even when viewed in terms of Dutch self-interest, are a curious compound of malevolence and myopia, of desperation and plain stupidity. In their effort to retain the largest possible measure of power and position in the world's richest archipelago, they are bankrupting themselves and paralyzing the Indonesians. They are sowing a crop of hatred and violence. They are ensuring that when they leave, as they eventually must, Indonesia will be rent by bitter and costly internal divisions.

Three years ago when I last visited Java, it was difficult to find a Dutchman who favored independence for the Indonesians; it was a preposterous notion imposed upon the simple minds of a docile people by the Japanese. Since then they have become dimly aware that Indonesian nationalism is a forced to be reckoned with, to be adapted and converted, if possible, to Dutch advantage. Now it is difficult to find a Dutchman who will not insist, verbally at least, that Indonesian independence is his dearest, indeed his only desire. Only he wants to grant it in his own way and he intends to do so whatever the cost to the Indonesian people.

This Dutchman likes to see himself as the stern yet kind parent of a family of wayward children. He knows best what is good for them and intends to do his duty. From conversations with Dutchmen right across Java, this parental figure emerged repeatedly, the familiar and terrible man of good intent with rod raised, saying: "This hurts me more than it hurts you." He simply does not understand why this attitude evokes resistance and even hatred. He sees the Indonesians as a mass of recalcitrant ingrates whom he must nevertheless serve with his superior wisdom and guidance even if he has to beat them into submission. He goes about it with an air of self-sacrifice. He is baffled by the world's condemnation and is strengthened in his conviction that he is sorely misunderstood and must bear this trial too.

His mood of self-sacrifice is fed by the fact that life is no longer comfortably pleasant for the colonial Dutchman in Indonesia. The advantages of colonialism were not only the means to easy wealth it provided. It also offered access to the attributes of wealth at pretty low cost. Even the small man, the employe or petty official, could exchange the dullness of lower middle class life at home for the comparative grandeur of spacious homes, docile and numerous servants, club life in the grand manner, and a sense of superiority fed every hour of every day by the teeming presence arpund him of a subject race dumbly contributing to his comfort and well-being. That is largely gone now. Dutchmen in Indonesia not only have to put up with the incomprehensible hostility and ingratitude of many Indonesians. They also have to put up with conditions of life which are anything but comfortable.

Housing is scarce, crowded, and costly. Out of salaries that run up to an average of 1,000 guilders per month (for older, more experienced men(, the single man has to pay up to 600 guilders for his room and board, 400 guilders for a suit of slothes, more

than a guilder for a pack of cigarettes. Good liquor is beyond his reach. Cheap amenities have disappeared. But what is worse, economic incentives are disappearing. Dutch businessmen have no real confidence in the future. Young and old alike, they are oppressed by uncertainty and insecurity. And even where there is money to be made, current regulations make it difficult to reap adequate benefit from it. Dutchmen may now repatriate to Holland no more than 25,000 guilders, and that only at a rate of 10,000 guilders a year. The Dutchman is not noted for sentimentality in business affairs. I met a number of businessmen who said quite simply: "We're getting out as soon as we can."

Other Dutchmen with deeper roots in the country and a personal stake in official or military positions or in older established businesses with large fixed capital investments will, on the other hand, almost hysterically insist that they could readily settle the Indonesian situation "if it were not for foreign interference." Their resentment of the UN action in Indonesia is immense. Their newspapers have stooped to printing scurrilous and libellous comments on UN personnel. In all official relations there is a constant strain placed on UN officials, who are made to feel like unwanted intruders. From the standpoint of these Dutchmen, the outside world simply does not understand what is going on in Indonesia. UN interference is at best a matter of ignorance, at worst a thinly-cloaked attempt, especially by the United States, to wrest the wealth of the Indies from Dutch hands.

For their part, the Dutch say, they want to see Indonesia "free" - but free under conditions of "law and order" and "avoidance of chaos." What they mean by this is a transition to some new system in Indonesia in which the Dutch will lose as little power and economic position as possible. That is why they have so stubbornly resisted the Republic. They could not bear to have any independent force in Indonesia, with its own army, its own unassisted government, its own ideas of what it wants to do with its freedom. On this issue every set of negotiations and agreements during the last three years has broken down. On this issue, first in July, 1947, and again last December, the Dutch set out to crush the Republic and leave the field clear for a Dutch-dictated "settlement" between themselves and more tractable politicians whom they have placed in positions of nominal power in a patchwork of contrived states and special territories in the rest of Indonesia.

As a result, the Dutch in acting to enforce "law and order" have completely disrupted law and order. To prevent "chaos" they have created a state of affairs that looks very much like chaos in large sections of the country. And they remain completely unaware that these are the consequences of their own acts. For their failures they blame the Indonesians, the United Nations, the United States, everyone, indeed, but themselves.

The unrationalized reality of this process is an ugly one. There has been a lot of killing, by Dutch and by Indonesians. The war the Dutch have launched is inevitably a war of terror that follows the pattern set by the Japanese. Whenever a Dutch patrol runs into a guerrilla band or is attacked by unseen opponents, the nearest kampong, or village, pays the price for it. So-called "nests of gangsters" or places suspected of harboring guerrillas or aiding them are promptly razed by gunfire and burning. The Dutch do not allow foreign military

observers to accompany their patrols. But there have been numerous reports from other sources, from Indonesian villgers bringing their wounded into nearby towns, from guerrilla contacts. From one source in north central Java I was told of ten kampongs in the vicinity of Bati that were shot up in this manner.

But the most decisive evidence has from Dutch soldiers themselves. The Dutch use Indonesian soldiers as a rule to do the dirtiest work. In their Ambonese troops, schooled as mercenaries for many decades, they have willing tools. Eurasians, who suffer all the consequences of being fully accepted by neither community from which they spring, are, as everywhere, the readies to prove their worth as jailers and executioners. Dutch troops who went through the humiliating experience of being defeated by the Japanese and maltreated through four years of prison camp life, have profound psychological scars to erase, if they can, in action against a weaker enemy. But young Dutchman, coming out from Holland ill-trained and without combat experience of any kind, perhaps with memories of their own life under Nazi occupation, are still often untouched by the notion that a master race can do no wrong. Some of them have written horrified letters home describing some of the incidents that have taken place. The Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, aliberal paper, has quoted these letters as speaking of "inhuman treatment of prisoners and killing of inhabitants" and demanded a government investigation.

Terror begets terror. Indonesians fighting the Dutch in the hinterland can hardly be expected to observe the niceties that the Dutch themselves ignore. They have to fight the way they can, attacking isolated posts and estates. The Dutch, who never report their own punitive activities, are pleased almost daily to announce acts of murder, arson, and kidnapping perpetrated by Indonesian "terrorists" and "gangsters." Many of these reports are true. Even organized and controlled guerrilla warfare is no picnic. The regular Republican forces today in East and West Java are confronted with the problem of fighting their war in such a way as not to bring terror down on the villagers on whom they must depend for food and assistance. They also have to contend, inevitably, with freebooters who invariably crop up in such conditions and prey upon friend and enemy alike.

The tragic fact is that in Indonesia a lot of people are getting hurt because they happen to be in the way. This does not help the Republicans. Neither, certainly, does it help the Dutch. It is, in any case, the unanimous testimony of every source in Java except the Dutch that "law and order" prevailed in the countryside until the Dutch moved in to establish it. Then it disappeared entirely. The Dutch say confidently they will "mop up" comfortably in two, four, or six months. It is much more likely that for a long time to come neither the Dutch nor the Indonesians in Java will know any peace.

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Batavia, Mar. 1-49

DUTCH BLIND ALLEY IN INDONESIA - II

by Harold R. Isaacs

The Dutch are defeating themselves in Indonesia. Their own acts conspire against them. They have demonstrated a remarkable genius for achieving almost always the precise opposite of what they say they intend. This may be in a way more of a study in psycho-pathology than politics, but here are some of the clinical details:

Military: The Dutch said they had to move with force against the Republic because Republican forces were infiltrating Dutch-held territory and threatening Dutch positions. Their object was to destroy or otherwise eliminate the Republic's armed forces. They occupied Republican towns and cities without difficulty but they by no means eliminated the Republican army. Large forces filtered right past the invading Dutch troops and moved in considerable numbers east and west. They re-occupied the "pockets" in East and West Java from which they had been evacuated under the terms of the Renville Agreement in 1947. The Dutch themselves acknowledge that as many as 4,000 Republican troops moved eastward and slightly more than that westward. Republican sources incidate that the figures were much larger. The Siliwangi division, the best single Republican unit, has arrived nearly intact in West Java where it will be heard from before very long.

The result is that the Dutch who moved to execute a "police action" in Central Java now have a guerrilla war on their hands in all of Java. By all accounts, the Dutch are incapable of imposing a decision by force. They have only an estimated 30,000 combat troops and their military efficiency is not highly rated by foreign military observers. Their training has been inadequate, the food given them is execrable. Replacements of both menand equipment are scarce. The Dutch are chary of giving out casualty figures but up to Feb.15 they admitted a total of 302 killed and 897 wounded. Many times this number must be sick, especially from gastro-intestinal illnesses.

Military information is scanty. The Dutch make it exceedingly difficult for UN military observers to see what they want to see wherever they want to see it. They give out very little information on their own. But daily reports in the news of guerrilla actions in territory hitherto held secure by the Dutch are sufficient testimony that the guerrilla war iswidening and that the Dutch are in no shape to cope with it, at least not without considerable reinforcements and new material.

Economic: The Dutch justify their course in Indonesia by arguing that they have large interests there which must be protected, that Dutch economy is dependent in large measure on a stabilized and profitably-functioning economy in Indonesia. But to bring about this presumably happy situation, the Dutch are going deeply into the red. In 1948, a relatively peaceful year, the military cost was officually stated to be 600,000,000 guilders. This did not include the cost of material shipped from Holland, the cost of operating the navy, or of Red Cross medical services. With these items included, the actual cost was probably closer to 800,000,000 guilders. At the official rate of 38 U.S, cents per guilder, this amounts to $306,000,000, or more than $800,000 per day.

Taking the smaller, official figure of 600,000,000 guilders, a number of rather striking comparisons can be made. This sum represented 120 percent of the total return on Dutch investments in Indonesia prewar, which was carried at 500,000,000 guilders annually. In the Indonesian budget, it swallowed up 70 percent of all revenue received. Measured against trade figures, it was 300 percent of the Indonesian favorable trade balance in 1939. Finally, the total cost almost equalled the total of American ECA funds given to Holland during 1948 and was nearly twice as much as ECA funds alldted to the Indies.

These figures apply to the costs for the year preceding the military action that began on December 19 last. Since then, in action, the Dutch army has been consuming material at a greater rate and requiring a greater expenditure of money both for men and equipment. Where is Holland to get these resources? However the book-keeping is done, it seems impossible to avoid the clear-cut implication that American ECA aid to Holland is the one factor that keeps Dutch policy in Indonesia going. And if ECA funds are rnewed for the Netherlands for 1949 on a similar scale they will constitute the ultimate source of the money spent by Holland to wage its war in the coming months.

The Dutch presumably hope that these costs can eventually be recovered from resumption of large-scale profits from Indonesia. At least they constantly reiterate that that their purpose is to restore stability so that the big estates can resume production. But here again their action is having quite the opposite effect. There is no consistent or complete economic information from various parts of Java since the military campaign began. But the closing down of sugar and coffee and other estates in East Java is being reported almost daily. In West Java the trouble on the estates is only just beginning. In Central Java the Dutch attack was countered by the Republicans with large-scale scorching of the earth. Millions of dollars' worth of buildings, shops, railroad installations and factories were dynamited. Economic recovery in Central Java has been set back for many years to come.

Political: In the sphere of politics the boomerang thrown by the Dutch has come around and struck them hard and true and with maximum disabling effect. The Dutdh believed they could eliminate the Republic from Indonesian politics by occupying its capital and its territory. Their spokesman did indeed jubilantly announced: "The Republic is dead." But the Republic remained very much alive. Its leaders were weakened vy dissension on the eve of the Dutch attack. They were firily united after it. They were losing ground popularly because of the Dutch economic blockade of the Republic. After the attack, exiled in remote places, they became unassailably the high moral symbols of Indonesian nationalism. Not only was the attention of the whole world focussed upon them. but internally in Indonesia the Republic became the decisive factor to a greater extent than ever before.

The Dutch had hoped that with the elimination of the Republic

they could form a suitably pliable United States of Indonesia out of the conglomeration of states and special territories they have created ad hoc during the past three years. These now number 14, with a 15th being formed in Central Java. Only a few of these states correspond in any serious sense to the ultimate federal structure that Indonesia obviously must have. The rest are creatures of Dutch policy and of Dutch imagination. Their representatives were brought together in what was called the Federal Consultation Assembly. When the Dutch attacked the Republic the two most important of these states, East Indonesia and Pasundan (West Java) had government crises and resignations. Their delegates to the Federal Assembly have since taken the stand that no settlement is possible without the Republic and they have been followed in this stand by five other Federalist states.

When the Dutch, after two months of faltering and hesitation finally came forward with a proposal for a new conference at the Hague, the success or failure of the plan actually dependedon the assent of the Republican leaders. Peter Koets, No. 2 man in the Indonesian government, flew to the island of Bangka to proffer the invitation and returned to Batavia, crestfallen, with a refusal. Louis Beel, High Representative of the Crown, insisted the conferennce would be held anyway. But everyone knew the invitation had fizzled. The Dutch thought they had killed the Republic but they are haunted still by a very live Republican ghost. They cannot even hold a conference unless the ghost agrees to sit in.

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UP2 LONDON 321/320 1/50 15 548A

PRESS UP NEWYORK

15051 EXBATAVIA 15110 EDALLEN PROMURROW CBS EXISAACS

DASH FIFTEENTH IS DEADLINE FOR IMPLEMENTATION UNINATIONS RESOLUTION INDONESIA BUT ALL UNINATIONS COMMISSIONERS HERE CAN REPORTS COMPLETE NONCOMPLIANCE PARDUTCH EXANY RESOLUTION TERMS STOP THIS DOESNT MEAN HOWEVER DUTCH PURSUING ANY COHERENT POLICY THEIR OWN STOP CONTRARWISE BEHIND THIS SITUATION THIS

2/50

MOMENT LIES COMPLETE DEBACLE HOLLANDERS OWN EFFORTS RESOLVE PROBLEM PARMILITARY ACTION STOP HAGUE CABINET CRISIS BEELS DEPARTURE PROCONSULTATION FORM PART EXATMOSPHERE RATHER BLIND DESPERATION STOP PETER KOETZ PAREN PRONOUNCED COOTZ PAREN CABINE DIRECTOR WHO ACCOMPANIED BEEL HAGUEWARD YESTERDAY ONLY THREEDAYS AGO CALLED SUTAN SJAHRIR EXREPUBLICAN PREMIER NOW FREE IN BATAVIA

3/50

VIRTUALLY APPEALED TO HIM TO HELP EXTRICATE ALL CONCERNED FROM IMPASSE STOP INSOFAR AS ITS POSSIBLE FOR DUTCH OFFICIAL THERE WAS NOTE PLEADING INSISTENCE HIS APPEAL STOP BUT DUTCH THEMSELVES HAVE CREATED SITUATION WHICH ACCOMPLISHED EXACTLY OPPOSITE THEIR INTENTIONS ETCALCULATIONS PARA SEEMS INCREDIBLE BUT THEY ACTUALLY BELIEVED THAO SWIFT MILITARY

4/50

DRIVE WOULD OVERKNOCK REPUBLIC BY SIMPLE OCCUPATION ITS CAPITAL STOP DUTCH SOLDIERS WERE TOLD THEYD HAVE EASY TWOTHREE WEEK CAMPAIGN THEM COULD GO HOME STOP SOCALLED QUOTE ACTION UNQUOTE WEICHTERM USED HERE SAME WAY PARDUTCH THAT JAPANESE USED QUOTE INCIDENT UNQUOTE CHINA DID RESULT EASY CAPTURE JOGJAKARTA OTHER REPUBLICAN CITIES

5/50

STOP BUT THATS ALL STOP REPUBLICS ARMED FORCES WERE DIVIDED BUT NOT DESTROYED STOP THEY MOVED PAST DUTCH INTO HILLS ALSO BACK INTO PREVIOUSLY DUTCH OCCUPIED TERRITORIES EAST ETWEST JAVA WHERE NOW NEARLY TWO MONTHS LATER THINLY SCATTERED DUTCH BATTALIONS ETCOMPANIES PROVING INCAPABLE COPE WITH GUERRILLA WARFARE WHICH ONLY IN

6/50

FIRST STAGE STOP TWELVETHOUSAND TROOPS EXREPUBLICS BEST DIVISION CALLED SILIWANGI SILIWANGI HAVE JUST ARRIVED WESTJAVA POSTLONG TREK HAVENT YET GONE INTO ACTION STOP DUTCH CASUALTIES MOUNTING STEADILY NOW REACHED MOREN THREEHUNDRED KILLED AND ACCORDING MILITARY ADMISSION MOREN SIXHUNDRED WOUNDED STOP DUTCH MILITAUTHORITIES TRYING KEEP LID ONCLAMPED MILIINFORMATION RESTRICTING MOVEMENTS UNMILOBS

7/20

BUT EVEN BARE REPORTS AVAILABLE SUGGEST STRONGLY DUTCH INCAPABLE UPCLEANING WHAT THEY CALL QUOTE GANGS UNQUOTE THEIR INFREQUENT COMMUNIQUES

MORE

FIGS 15051 15110

VIA CIAL 603A

Cy to

2/15/49

Paid 3/7/49

FS LONDON 295 15TH 6AM

PS UP NYK

15052 PROEDALLEN BATAVIA ADD PROMURROW CBS EXISAACS SECOND

STOP ECONOMICALLY CONSEQUENCES ALSO UNHAPPY STOP SINGLE WEEK

EASTJAVA THIRTYFOUR

EASUGRYADTHIRTYFOUR COFFEE ETSUGAR ESTATES SUSPENDED

OPERATIONS STOP UNLONGER SAFE ANY DUTCH WHOLE AREA STOP SAME

CONDITIONS PREDICTABLE SOON WESTJAVA PARA POLITICALLY DEBACLE

DUTCH CALCULATIONS EVEN MORE OBVIOUS STOP FIRST EXALL

REPUBLICAN LEADERS OUTSMARTED THEM BY WAITING PROCAPTURE DECEMBER

NINETEENTH STOP IN DUTCH INTERNMENT REPLEADERS WERE ACTUALLY

RESCUED FROM POSITION EXTREME WEAKNESS ETDIFFICULTY ETPLACED IN

STRONGEST MORAL POSITION THEYVE EVER BEEN WITH INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION

FOCUSSED ON THEM ETWITH NONREPUBLICAN INDONESIAN LEADERS COMPELLED

MOREN EVER BIND THEMSELVES TO REPUBLICAN AGREEMENT FOR ANY

DEAL THEY TRY NEGOTIATE CUMDUTCH STOP ON BANGKA ISLAND THIS WEEK

IN HIS FIRST PRESS CONTACT SINCE CAPTURE PRESIDENT SOEKARNO

CONFIRMED WHAT HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY GUESSED THAO REPLEADERS

AWAITED CAPTURE AS DELIBERATE STRATEGY STOP ITS OBVIOUSLY OFFPAID

MOREN THEY COULDVE DREAMED STOP DURING SAME VISIT BANGKA

PRIMINISTER HATTA ISSUED STRONG

STATEMENT UPBLOWING TORTUOUS DUTCH PROPAGANDA ATTEMPTS LAST TEN

DAYS CREATE IMPRESSION THAT NEGOTIATIONS VIRTUALLY UNDERWAY

BASIS SOME NEW PLAN FOR TRANSFER SOVEREIGNTY STOP HATTA DEMANDED FULL

IMPLEMENTATION UNINATIONS RESOLUTION STOP THIS APPARENTLY CUT

ACROSS LOCAL POLITICAL CONFUSION AND BACKPUT DUTCH WHERE THEY

WERE STOP PERVASIVE MOOD DUTCHMEN LOCARLY ONE EXFRUSTRATION

ETPESSIMISM UNKNOWING WHAT DO NEXT STOP REPUBLIC WHICH THEIR SPOKESMAN

JUBILANTLY ANNOUNCED WAS NO MORE ONLIVES WITH STUBBORNESS WHICH

BAFFLES THEM STOP HANDFUL LEADERS NONE EXWHOM CHARACERIZABLE

MAJOR STATURE INTERNED REMOTE ISLAND HAVE BECOME SYMBOL WHICH

COMMA DUTCH NOW DISCOVERING COMMA UNEXTINGUISHABLE BY

INSENDING ARMY OCCUPY FEW TOWNS PARA SITUATION

NOW WIDE OPEN PROSTRONG UNINATIONS INITIATIVE STOP FEW HERE

BELIEVE UNINATIONS WILL SEIZE OPPORTUNITY STOP IF IT DOESNT

UNDERLYING PROSPECT IS EXTENSION EXWAR COMMA DEPENDING

POLITICAL DIVISIONS WITHIN REPUBLICAN CAMP COMMA ETGROWTH SITUATION

WHICH NEITHER DUTCH NOR REPUBLEADERS WOULD BE ABLE COPE ENDIT

REGARDS

ISAACS

--VIA COMMERCIAL 610AM--

FIGS 15052 LETTERS CBS

40 RELAY NEWYORK FOR MURROW CBS EXISAACS
NEWDELHI 25170 OFFTAKING EXTRUMANS INAUGURAL
ANNOUNCEMENT REUNDEVELOPED COUNTRIES QEUSTION
HERE IS WHETHER THIS HERALDS AS SHARP
ETSIGNIFICANT NEW DEPARTURE REGARDS ASIA AS
DID MARSHALLS HARVARD SPEECH VISAVIS EUROPE
STOP DELHI CONFERENCE NINETEEN ASIAN
ETMIDDLEASTERN NATIONS DEMANDING STRONGER
ACTION PARSECURITY COUNCIL
HALT DUTCH AGRESSION INDONESIA WAS PRIMARILY
AIMED AT SHOCKING WESTERN CHANCELLERIES INTO
REALIZATION THAT GLOBAL POLICIES REQUIRE
WESTERNERS TO REGARD ASIA AS SOMETHING MOREN
APPENDAGE EUROPE STOP AMONG FEW BEST
FORWARDLOOKING ASIAN POLITICIANS PRESENT AT
CONFERENCE THIS WAS ESSENCE WHOLE MATTER
STOP AS FORMAL DIPLOMATIC GATHERING UNANIMOUS
ON SINGLE SUBJECT
INDONESIE THIS CONFERENCE HAD CERTAIN
IMPRESSIVENESS STOP BUT IT WAS ONLY PALEST
REFLECTION OF TURBULENT UNDERLYING PRESSURES
SOCIAL ECONOMIC TENSIONS BESPEAKING MUCH MORE
OF DISSOLUTION ETCONFLICT THAN COHESION PARA
ARAB COUNTRIES PAREN INVITED BY NEHRU
PARTIALLY TO SWELL SIZE UNINATIONS BLOC
PARTIALLY AS GESTURE PROVE HIS CLOSE
RELATIONS CUMMOSLEM WORLD
FOR PURPOSES EXHIS RELATIONS CUMPAKISTAN
PAREN ARE NOT MERELY EMBROILED OVER PALESTINE
ISSUE BUT REPRESENT ALMOST EVERY CASE
BACKWARD FEUDAL RULERSHIPS SCARCELY CAPABLE
OPENING NEW PERSPECTIVES TO ARAB PEOPLES STOP
INDIA ETPAKISTAN ARE DIVIDED HALVES OF ONE
COUNTRY SUFFERING ACUTEST AGONIES OF
DIVISION AND TENSIONS NOT MERELY BETWEEN SELVES BUT
INTERNALLY STOP BURMA IS IN STATE CHAOTIC
CIVIL WAR STOP VIET NAM PAREN IGNORED AT
THE CONFERENCE PARTLY OUT OF FEAR ITS
COMMUNIST CHARACTER PARTLY BECAUSE CONFERENCE
COULD NOT CONSIDER IT WITHOUT ARABS
INSERTING PALESTINE ISSUE AS WELL PAREN
MALAYA INDONESIA ALL STILL PROCESS EMERGING
EXCOLONIAL STATUS STOP SIAM TINY
COUNTRY SUBJECT WHIMS WARRRING POLITICAL
CLIQUES OVERRULING PASSIVE PEOPLE STOP CEYLON
PERHAPS STABLEST BUT ALSO TINY STOP
PHILIPPINES NOT EXACTLY MODEL EXDEMOCRACY ETIN
ANY CASE INSULAR WITH ITS LINKS ASIAWARDS
NOT YET FORGED PARA NOTHING SERIOUSLY
LABELLABLE QUOTE ASIAN BLOC UNQUOTE COULD
EMERGE FROM THIS YET IMPULSE TOWARD
GROUPING WAS
EXTREMELY STRONG AS PART OF COMMON
RELIZATION THAT THEY NEED SOME MUTUAL
PROTECTION AGAINST HOSTILE OR INDIFFERENT
WORLD POWER BLOCS STOP MORE

UNIPRESS

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Forwarded by U.P. Wm. Sold

Essacs'

Paid 2/15/49

S RELAY NEWYORK FOR MURROW ISAACS ADD
GENTEEL POLITICIANS WHO MET AT DELHI WITH
SUCH METICULOUS CONCERN FOR UNINATIONS
LEGALITIES ETWESTERN SENSIBILITIES MIGHT WELL
ON SOME NOT DISTANT TOMORROW BE REPLAED BY
CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD NOT EXCLUDE AS THIS ONE
DID COMMUNIST CHINA ETSOVIET ASIAN
REPUBLICS ETWHOSE
TONE ETPURPOSE WOULD BE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT
STOP SILENT ONLOOKIN EXCHINESE OBSERVER THIS
CONFERENCE AS CONSTANT REMINDER THIS FACT
STOP CHAING KAISHEKS DEPARTURE EXNANKING WHILE
CONFERENCE IN PROGRESS DRAMATIZED IT ALTHOUGH
IT REMAINED AN UNSOKEN AND UNACKNOWLEDGED
SPECTER OVER ALL DELIBERATIONS STOP AGAINST
PROSPECT THUS OPENED UP THERE IS PERSPECTIVE
OUTLINED
BY CEYLONS DELEGATE IN SPEECH POSTCONFERENCE
SAYING SOUTHASIANS HAD TO ACHIEVE SOME COMMON
IDEOLOGY IN ORDER WORK TOGETHER FRUITFULLY
ETDECLARING THAT DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM ADAPTED
ASIATIC CONDITIONS WAS ONLY REAL BASIS
PROCOMMON GROUND STOP NEHRU TOLD ME LAST
NIGHT HE STILL BELIEVED REST OF WORLD WELLS
INDIA MUST ULTIMATELY COME TO SOCIALIST SOLUTION PAREN ALTHO AS
LEADER INDIAS GOVERNMENT NEHRUS PURSUING ANYTHING
BUT SOCIALIST POLICIES WTMTER STOP BURMA HAS
SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT NOW FIGHTING OFF COMMUNIST
PRESSURES STOP VIETNAMESE LEADERS ONLY
INCLUDE SOME COMMUNISTS OTHERS ARE SOCIALISTS
WHO WANT NO PART RUSSIAN STYLE TOTALITARIANISM
STOP INDONESIAN LEADERS ALL DESCRIBE
THEMSELVES AS SOCIALISTS
SOME KIND PARA SIGNIFICANCE IS THAT EVEN
MORE SO THAN EUROPE AMERICANS EMBARKING ANY
KIND PROGRAM FOR SOUTHASIA WILL HAVE TO
UNDERSTAND NECESSITY PARTNERSHIP CUMPEOPLE
SEEKING SOCIALIST OBJECTIVE RATHERN ANYTHING
RESEMBLING PRESENT AMERICAN SYSTEM WHICH
HOPELESSLY UNTHINKABLE ASIAN COUNTRIES WHOSE
JOB NOT MERELY REHABILITATING BUT UPBUILDING
NEW ECONOMIES ALMOST EXSCRATCH
IN SOME KIND COHERENT REGIONAL PLAN MAKING
BEST COMMON USE THIS AREAS IMMENSE RESOURCES
STOP SOUTHASIA ON SUCH TERMS INFINITELY MORE
CAPABLE EXPAYING ITS OWN WAY THAN EUROPE
PARA IF SOME SUCH PARTNERSHIP FAILS EVENTUATE
ONE CAN EXPECT HERE IN COMING YEARS
NOT MERELY ADVANCE OF COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM
OVERFLOWING EXCHINA
ETDEVELOPING INTERNALLY BUT ALSO OF WHOLLY
INDIGENEOUS REACTIONARY FORCES SOME EXWHICH
SERIOUSLY WANT TO TURN CLOCK BACK STOP MORE

UNITED PRESS

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RELAY NEWYORK FOR MURROW ISAACS THIRD
EXAMPLE COLON RIGHT WING CONGRESS
SECTIONALISTS IN INDIA CURRENTLY AGITATING
FOR DIVISION EXCOUNTRY INTO LINGUISTIC
PROVINCES APPROXIMATING SOME SIXTEEN OR
EIGHTEEN PRINCIPAL LANGUAGE GROUPS THEREBY
FRAGMENTING THIS ALREADY TRAGICCALLY
FRAGMENTED COUNTRY PARA THERE IS MORE IN
THIS THAN POLITICS ETECONOMICS STOP THERE
HAS BEEN HISTORY EXVIOLENCE ETBITTERNESS
WHOSE DEPTHS ITS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR
US TO APPRECIATE STOP OTHER EVENNG EYE
TALKED WITH AN AGED RESPECTED SIKH LEADER
SIRDAR SANT SINGH ONCE LEADER LEGISLATURE
IN PUNJAB SUBSEQUENTLY VICTIM AND REFUGEE
FROM TERRIFYING SIKH DASH MUSLIM KILLINGS
IN PARTITION EXTHAT PROVINCE
STOP IN HIS WHITE TURBAN FLOWING WHITE
BEARD HIS GREY EYES FIXED ON ME WITH
SARDONIC STARE HE SAID COLON QUOTE SUCH
THINGS CAN NEVER BECOME CLOSED BOOK STOP
THERE WILL BE MORE ANGER MORE BLOODSHED
STOP EYE THINK WE COULD BEAR THESE
THINGS MORE EASILY IF WE WERE CONTENT
TO ACCEPT BRUTE FORCE ON ITS OWN TERMS
STOP LET US STOP PREACHING HUONITY CLAM
LOOK AT YOUR WARS ETFRIGHTFUL MASSACRING
OF PEOPLE IN THEM ALL IN NAME OF
BROTHERHOOD OR FOUR FREEDOMS OR ATLANTIC
CHARTER AND SUCHLIKE STOP EYE SAY THAT
WHILE THIS IS OUR WORLD LET US STOP
PREACHING HUMANITY SO THAT HUMAN BEINGS
CAN BE LEFT TO CONTEND WITH PHYSICAL
SUFFERING ALONE AND BE RELIEVED OF MORAL
CONTRADICTIONS IMPOSED BY THESE HYPOCRISIES
UNQUOTE STOP PARA MULTIPLY THIS PLACE IT
IN ANY ONE OF DOZEN MORE CONTEXTS ETYOU
GET PICTURE EXWHAT CAN HAPPEN EVEN TO
PEOPLE OF INTELLIGENCE
ETSENSITIVITY STOP DELHI CONFERENCE OFFERED
ANOTHER EXAMPLE STOP WHEN IT CONCLUDED WITH PURELY VERBAL RESOLU-
TION ONE OF INDONESIAN LEADERS HERE SHRUGGED STOP QUOTE
FORCE UNQUOTE HE SAID QUOTE FORCE IS ONLY
LESSON ANYBODY LEARNS FROV APPARENTLY STOP
WERE GRATEFUL FOR ALL THIS BUT FORCE IT
SHALL BE FROM NOW FAR
AS WERE CONCERNED PARA THESE ARE
MATERIALS EXNEW CATASTROPHES ETBLIND ALLEYS
FRUSTRATION IN ASIA STOP IT HAS BECOME
PART OF ENORMOUS RESPONSIBILITY AMERICAN
PEOPLE TO TRY AVERT THEM NOT BY
MARSHALLING MILITARY STRENGTH BUT BY
HELPING CREATE NEW MORE CREATIVE OUTLETS
FOR HUMAN ENERGIES STOP OPPORTUNITY DO
SO STILL EXISTS IN SOUTHASIU BUT WILL NOT
LAST INDEFINITELY END REGARDS

UNITED PRESS.

MR

RH 217P

December 30, 1948

Dear Mr. Isaacs:

Thank you for yours of December 22nd. I have communicated with Ed Allen. We shall, as discussed, pay you $75.00 a piece over a period of three months.

I am quite willing to designate you as a "Newsweek" correspondent, but feel entitled to add to that something to the effect that you are doing a certain amount of special digging for my program.

Let's lunch before you push off.

As ever yours,

Mr. Harold R. Isaacs
"Newsweek"
Broadway and 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

December 29, 1948

Dear Ed:

I have made a deal with Harold Isaacs from "Newsweek". He will file for us from the Pacific--probably one piece a week. It is suggested that he will use Undigrass via Montreal to "Edallen for Murrow CBS". I assume with the utmost confidence that you will bill us for same.

As ever yours,

E.R.Murrow

Mr. Ed Allen
United Press
220 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

cc: Mr. Church

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK BUILDING • BROADWAY AND 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 18

Dec. 22, 1948

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Re our discussion yesterday, I will be sending you at least one piece a week, by cable or airmail, and more if it seems advisable, from various points in Sputh Asia during the next three months or so. For your information, may I note here the following:

1. Query Desk at Newsweek will be in touch with my whereabouts in the event you want to reach me.

2. Checks covering payment for these pieces should be sent to my home address at 333 Central Park West, NY 25.

3. For cabling I will use Unipress channels, filing via Montreal to "Edallen for Murrow CBS" and Allen will bill you directly for cable charges. It would be useful if you would drop a line to Allen confirming this arrangement.

4. This arrangement is acceptable to the editors of Newsweek with the understanding that when my material is used I will be identified as a Newsweek correspondent.

Sincerely,

Harold R. Isaacs

Harold R. Isaacs

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

THESE ARE COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL LETTERS.

LBJ

Mr. Murrow:
attached is the broadcast.
RH

Johnson, Lyndon

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
TEXAS

C
O
P
Y

United States Senate
Office of the Democratic Leader
Washington, D. C.

C
O
P
Y

March 19, 1956

Dear Mr. Jones:

As far as the poll tax constitutional amendment is concerned, I am already on record for its adoption. As a matter of fact, I have advocated abolition of the poll tax for many years and that plank was part of a program which I presented publicly last Fall.

As for Mr. Murrow's news broadcast, I am very surprised that he would even suggest that I might lend my name to the "Dixiecrat" movement. In the first place, I know of absolutely no one who is advocating such a movement and in the second place anyone who has studied my record should be aware by this time that I would not lend myself to a party splitting movement.

As for the document issued by a number of Senators, I thought you might be interested in a statement that I made on the issue, which I am enclosing for your study.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. George F. Jones
Wilson House
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Medford 55, Massachusetts

C
O
P
Y

Wilson House
Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
Medford 55, Massachusetts
March 14, 1956

The Hon. Lyndon B. Johnson
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Johnson:

I am a Texas resident and voter, currently doing graduate work at a New England school. I am writing to express my appreciation for your courage and statesmanship in not signing the so-called Manifesto of the One Hundred, the declaration by a group of Southern Congressmen which has the effrontery to challenge the authority of the Supreme Court as the final interpreter of the Constitution. In a time when we have all become very nervous about "subversive" activities, it seems to me that nothing could be more subversive of law and order than a direct challenge to the supreme judicial body of the land. Unfortunately, however, there are many people who are willing to put personal prejudice and political expediency ahead of constitutional principle and the welfare of the nation. I am delighted that you are not among them.

I was, however, quite distrubed at Edward R. Murrow's news broadcast last night. Mr. Murrow suggested that you might lend yourself and your distinguished name to a new "Dixie crat" movement, which, as Mr. Murrow correctly pointed out, would have only one certain result: the defeat of the Democratic Party. I hope and pray that you have no such plans. It would be a shockingly cynical and unprincipled act for the Senate Democratic Leader to join himself with Eastland, Talmadge, Byrnes, and men of their ilk in a last-ditch stand for unreasoning bigotry, and it would certainly be in contradiction to everything for which Lyndon Johnson has stood.

My family has lived in the South for many generations. All four of my great-grandfathers were plantation owners in Mississippi. But it is my firm conviction, as it is of most of my living relatives, that the United States can not long continue either to merit the respect of other nations or to respect itself unless it puts an end to second-class citizenship. That the problems are many and that the process of desegregation must be gradual, I readily admit. But much can be done immediately--for example, adoption of the constitutional amendment, now before the Senate, for abolition of the poll tax. Most nations fine their citizens for not voting; we are the only country which fines them for voting. I hope you will lend your support to this amendment.

Sincerely,
/s/ George F. Jones

COPY

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
C.B.S. RADIO NETWORK

TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 1956
7:45--8:00 P.M., E.S.T.

This is the news:

Thi first presidential primary of the election year was held today in New Hampshire. The main contest is between Senator Kefauver and supporters of Adlai Stevenson..the first test of strength between the two Democratic candidates. Most of the polling places will close in about 15 minutes. No significant trend is to be found in the early, scattered returns. C.B.S. Radio will broadcast a special report on the primary at 10:05 tonight, Eastern time.

Mr. Eisenhower had a private talk today with Vice President Nixon. The nature of their talk was not divulged. There has been a lot of speculation over whether Nixon will run again for vice president. Last week, the President said he had told Nixon "to art his own course."

Mr. Eisenhower had his regular weekly meeting today with Republican congressional leaders. Afterwards, Senator Knowland said he believed the President's mind was "open" on the question of the Bricker Amendment, relating to the chief executive's treaty-making powers. The wording of the amendment has been revised, and Knowland said Mr. Eisenhower had agreed to talk it over with his top advisers. The President was also quoted as being pleased with the progress the farm bill is making in the Senate..where, so far, efforts to junk flexible price supports have failed.

It now appears that the Senate will not complete action on the farm bill until Friday, and possibly not until sometime next week. Today, the Senate set up a two-price plan for wheat. It tacked an an amendment whereby farmers would be guarantedd full 100 percent parity. for wheat used for domestic human consumption. For wheat that would be exported, or fed to livestock, farmers have to be satisfied with the going market price. This amendment was sponsored by Republican Senator Carlson of Kansas. It was passed by a vote of 54 to 39.

The House passed measures today..cancelling the scheduled cuts in ex-cise taxes and taxes on corporation profits. Under existing law, the taxes would be reduced automatically on April first, and cost the government 3-billion dollars in revenue. The legislation, continuing the higher rates, now goes to the Senate.

Florida will challenge yesterday's Supreme Court ruling that Virgil Hawkins..a Negro..must be admitted to the University of Florida law school. The Florida cabinet, composed of Governor Collins and six other state officials decided to ask the court to reconsider its ruling. The cabinet also proposed a conference of school and state officials next week, to discuss means for circumventing the court order.

Secretary of Defense Wilson said today that congressional investigations into military matters whould be "carefully handled", so the Pentagon will not be forced to make public information of value to tn enemy. Wilson told the National Press Club that the nited States. now.. and for the foreseeable future..has the capability to inflict "vast destruction" on any aggressor. And this capability, he said, "cannot be thwarted". Wilson said that, if properly spent, the money prescribed in President Eisenhower's budget will be sufficient to carry out the military program.

The Army issued a call today for 12-thousand draftees in May. That's double the quota for recent months..and will permit the early release from service of about 8 thousand draftees in June.

Greece took the Cyprus question ot the Uni ed Nations today, in a formal request that the matter be taken up by the General Assembly. The assembly does not meet until next fall. Butt the Greek delegate said the case might be taken before then, to the Security Council. Greece charged that Britain.. in its negotiations .."never had the intention of restoring freedom to Cyprus."

Britain said the Greek action "was calculated to inflame the situation," and that Cyprus is not a matter for U.N. debate.

In Washington, eighteen senators prepared a resolution saying that the legitimate security interests of Britain should not be used "for the frustration of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Cyprus." The resolution asks the State Department to express this view to the British government.

In Athens, American Ambassador Cannon called on the Greek foreign minister today, to express the "sympathetic concern" of the United States over recent developemtns in Cyprus. This action surprised British officials in London. And the British ambassador in Washington has been instructed to seek an explanation from the State Department.

The British foreign secretary..Selwyn Lloyd..arrived in Tel Aviv today, to confer with Israeli leaders and the chief United Nations truce supervisor, General Burns. And the British ambassador to Jordan conferred with the Jordinian prime minister in Amman.

Jordan said today that an Israeli fighter plane burst into flames over Jordinian territory, and crashed into the demilitarized zone. It did not say whether the airplane had been fired upon.

In Algeria..in the last 24 hours..clashed with Arab nationalist forces have cost the French at least 15 dead.

Secretary of State Dulles arrived in Thailand today, and signed an agreement to help Thailand in the peaceful uses of atomic energy..including the construction of a small nuclear reactor. Dulles also conferred with Thai prime minister who said afterward that it was impossible for Thailand to follow a neautralist policy.

The "manifesto of the 96" againsts school integration, which was laid before Congress yesterday, has now become the manifesto of 100, and presumably more names will be added. This is an impressive number to join in denouncing

the Supreme Court, for what is called "an unwarrented exercise of power, contrary to the constitution", and accusing it of creating chaos and confusion.

But this number of 100 is fewer than one-fifth of the total membership of the two houses of Congress. That is, it is a minority view. In the segretation crisis, the nation is facing two minorities. The negroes are a minority fighting a for equal rights under the law. And the Southern opposition to the Supreme Court's ruling is a minority. It is inherent in a true democracy that monorities are free to state their case. The maiifisto took full advantage of that right.

Some satisfaction has been expresed because the maniststo did not, as in its original draft, call the court's action "illegal and unconstitutional", though it went nearly that far. The final draft also omitted endoresment of the interposition policy, by which some states would interpose their soverign rights between the Supreme Court and their citizens.

But the manifesto also did not askfor congressional action. The floor of Congress was being used to generate political power, rather than to exercise it. The only action Congress could take, would be to amend the constituion, or to impeach the court, and a demand for either step would bet nowhere now. What the Southern members were doing, was to marshall their forces For one thing, they were giving citizens in the South who dislike integration, but like to be lawful, a respectable formula for denouncing the Supreme Court. The manifesto showed how a southerner can oppose the highest expression of law under the constitution and yet feel that he is the one supporting the highest expression of law, while the Supreme Court is against it. This must be designed to help organize the full weight of latent oppsoition in the South.

What seems to be shaping up is not congressional action - amendment of the constitution or impeachment - but an appeal to voters. The possibility now looms up of a third party movement. It would be much more formidable than the states' right revolt against President Truman in his last election. It is too early to say this is going to happen, or is even likely to happen. In the end, the decision about it should depend on what result the Southern opposition expects to get out of it. As things look now, the only sure result would be to make a Democratic defeat in November absulutely sure. Mr. Turman managed to be elected despite the loss of votes to two splinter parties, the States Righters and the Progressives. The Democratic candidate this year could not hope to do ao well.

A third party could have a sensational effect on the election. It might well prevent either major candidate from receiving an absolute majority of the electoral votes. Then, by our obsolescent system, the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives. The House would have to meet at once - that is, concurrently with the electoral college in December. It would be the present House, not the one chosen in November. And it would have to vote for the President by states, each state casting a single vote.

An overwhelming Republican victory at the polls, or in the House, would nor further the South's fight on integration. It would not open the door to legislation to nullify the Court's ruling. The Court's personnell would not be changed, nor would its judgement be affected so far as can be foreseen. The only result would be to break up the long and not always happy marraige between Northern and Southern Democrats, and that would assure the Republicans easy victories until the marraige was mended.

This being the outlook, a third party seems improbable unless the South consults its passions rather then the dictates of political prudence. Perhaps that is the way things are going. But two distinguished Southern names were absent from the manifesto - Sam Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson. They have worked zealously to prevent a party split over civil liberties. Senator Johnson now is being mentioned as possible leader of a third party, even though he didn't sign the maniststo, and States' Rights spokesmen say they much prefer him to Adlai Stevemson.

If it should develop that the only way to save the Democratic Party from a suicidal split would be to nominate Senator Johnson, the country would be in the odd position in November, of having to choose between two men, both of whom have recovered from coronary thrombosis.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now, here is Bob Hite.

HITE: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: A major issue..segregarion..is being decided by the democratic process. Plato said, "Democracy is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder." Some conflict is inherent in democracy. For as Juscice Robert Jackson observed, "Thoughtful, bold and independent minds are essential to wise and considered self-government."

Good Night and Good Luck.

This reporter stands before family and friends of Edward Klauber, as a result of an undertaking given several years ago. It was a request casually asked, and almost laughingly agreed to, without a thought of the total absence of qualifications to honor the pledge, when it was called. On that happier day Ed Klauber said to me: "When I am finished, I want you to do something for me - just say a few words." Having lightly agreed, I realized his seriousness and inquired as to what I should say. He replied: "That's your problem." And he added: "You'll at least be brief, though not brilliant, and this will give some pleasure to those friends who may be there.

He wanted no eulogy, and I shall attempt none. He fully realized the futility of words, when friends draw together for a few tranquil moments of remembrance and respect.

Being unable to voice what is in <u>your</u> hearts, I shall try to speak of what is in <u>mine.</u>

Ed Kaluber was an intolerant man - intolerant of deceit, deception, distortion and double talk. He was also a man equipped with great curiosity, prepared and eager to pursue the truth wherever it might lead him. He was willing, and indeed determined, that the citizenry should be supplied in abundant quantity, with that most dangerous and explosive force known to mankind - knowledge. He deeply believed, that equipped with this weapon, they would in the end of the

day, consolidate and secure the position of tolerance, human dignity, due process and forbearance, the vision of which had sustained and uplifted our ancestors. Democratic processes were to him not something to be jettisoned in time of peril.

Upon one occasion this reporter was unable to finish the draft of a speech. It had to do with these very subjects wo which I have referred. I sought Ed Klauber's advice. He said: "You have it all there, in your fashion." And then he leaned back in that red leather chair, and said: "It is our heritage, and it must remain our habit."

Ed Klauber believed that: "Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man. Its publication is a duty." He was always willing to "give to every other human being every right that he claimed for himself."

He was a great editor, always insisting that it had to be right, before it was written. He was sparing with his praise and penetrating with his criticism, sometimes satisfied with the best a reporter could do, but always expecting improvement. If there be standards of integrity, responsibility and restraint, in American radio news, Ed Klauber, more than any other man, is responsible for them. Insofar as those elements are lacking, those of us who worked for him have departed from his teachings.

He was not a doctrinaire man. He believed, I think, that a man should be held accountable for everything he said, not throughout eternity, but until facts

or events caused him to change his mind. He believed in what has been called the long, sober second look of the American people. He did not, I think, require agreement with his views as aprerequisite for friendship; and he would, I think, have stood with Thomas Moore when he said: "Shall I ask the brave soldier, who fights by my side in the cause of mankind, if our creeds agree? Shall I give up the friend I have valued and tried, if he kneel not before the same altar with me?"

I have said that Ed Klauber was an intolerant man. Someone once said: "It is easy to be tolerant when you do not care." He cared till the last. He believed that democracy was both workable and exportable. He knew that there were mysterious areas in human faith and belief, and he was prepared for them to remain mysterious. But he wanted no mystery about discernible, ascertainable facts and actions. He would, I think, have agreed with Milton, who said: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose, to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do ingloriously by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple who ever knew truth put to the worst, in a free and open encounter." He believed that the greatest friend of truth is time. Her greatest enemy is prejudice." And the greatest weapon against prejudice is knowledge and yet more knowledge. He knew of no alternative.

I do not know whether he believed in the essential goodness or badness of man, but I do know that he believed passionately that the communication of information, unslanted, untarnished and undistorted, was the only means by which mankind would progress. He knew that just because injustice, indignity and inhumanity was not happening to him - he knew that it was still happening. He was capable of feeling the suffering of others, capable, too, of great confidence in a future that often appeared to him both dim and dismal.

His confidence and friendship were not easily won, and once given were not lightly withdrawn. I do not know that he loved his fellow men, but he trusted them collectively.

It would be presumptuous of any reporter to attempt to express what an old and well-beloved friend believed. But I do know that last year - ill, tired and thoughtful - Ed Klauber cut out of a newspaper and kept, these lines written by Wallace Stegner:

"In all honesty, what I believe is neither inspirational nor evangelical. Passionate faith I am suspicious of, because it hangs witches and heretics, and generally I am more in sympathy with the witches and heretics, than with the sectarians who hang and burn them. I fear immoderate zeal, Christian, Moslem, Communist, or whatever, because it restricts the range of human understanding,

and the wise reconciliation of human differences, and creates an Orthodoxy with a sword in its hand.

"I cannot say that I am even a sound Christian, though the code of conduct to which I subscribe, was preached more eloquently by Jesus Christ than by any other. About God I simply do not know; I don't think I can know.

"However far I have missed achieving it, I know that moderation is one of the virtues I most believe in. But I believe as well, in a whole catalogue of Christian and classical virtues; in kindness and generosity, in steadfastness and courage and must else. I believe further that good depends not on things, but on the use we make of things. Everything potent, from human love to atomic energy, is dangerous; it produces ill about as readily as good; it becomes good only through the control, the discipline, the wisdom with which we use it. Must of this control is social, a thing which laws and institutions and uniforms enforce, but much of it must be personal and I do not see how we can evade the obligation to take full responsibility for what we individually do. Our reward for self-control, and the acceptance of private responsibility, is not necessarily money or power. Self-respect and the respect of others are quite enough.

"All this is to say, that I believe in conscience, not as something implanted by divine act, but as something learned from infancy, from the tradition and society which have bred us. The outward forms of virtue will vary greatly from

nation to nation; a Chinese scholar of the old school, or an Indian raised on the Vedas, has a conscience that will differ from mine. But in the essential outlines of what constitutes human decency, we vary amazingly little. The Chinese and the Indian know as well as I do, what kindness it, what generosity is, what fortitude is. They can define justice quite as accurately. It is only when they and I are blinded, by tribal and denominational narrowness, that we insist upon our differences, and can recognize goodness only in the robes of our own crowd."

I have attempted no words to describe our collective sense of sorrow, nor our sympathy for the members of Edward Klauber's family, because I do not command such words. And even if I did, they would be altogether superfluous. Those of us who worked for him, and with him, will remain in his debt. We are beholden for what he taught us, for he lived a life and not an apology.

Klauber, Ed

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

November 28, 1952

Dear Ted:

I hear tell that there is some thought being given to a special Peabody Award for Ed Klauber. This would be very good news indeed if your committee decides to do it. There has never been anybody associated with radio news who made a greater, and less recognized, contribution to such standards and policies as radio news may have. Klauber was a tough-minded guy of great integrity. I know, because I fought with him for years and came out of it with respect, admiration and deep affection for him.

I am not unappreciative of the Peabody Awards I have received - indeed they are about the only ones that I value, but I would gladly have them all melted down and handed to Ed Klauber in a lump for he is more deserving than I ever was.

As ever yours,

Mr. Edward Weeks
The Atlantic Monthly
Boston, Massachusetts

mic

cc: Mr. Paul A. Porter
Mr. Edward W. Barrett

EDWARD W. BARRETT
237 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

November 20, 1952

Dear Ed:

The enclosed will explain further the little matter I mentioned to you at the Century. I imagine a letter to Ted Weeks would be a good way to start the ball rolling.

Cordially,

Ed

enclosure
ewb/fmb

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

November 20, 1952

Dear Paul:

Taking up the subject of our recent conversation about Ed Klauber:

In doing some consulting work in the television field, I have been both surprised and pleased at the extent of the recognition among radio news veterans of the pioneering work done by Ed Klauber. Among first-rate newsmen on all networks I have repeatedly run into such comments as: "Whatever integrity radio news has is due in large part to the early efforts of Ed Klauber;" or "Radio's handling of news would probably not be half as good today if it were not for the pioneering work of Ed Klauber."

I believe some belated industry-wide recognition is due Ed. Although I have not seen him for several months, I know it would mean much to him and would probably actually add to his life.

Since talking with you, I have talked with Ed Murrow, Jap Gude, Jim Fleming, and a couple of others. All are most enthusiastic about the project for seeking a special Peabody Award for him. Ed Murrow, for example, said he would be glad to write a strong letter to Ted Weeks or whoever is the appropriate person. I feel confident that Elmer Davis would be happy to do so also.

The proposal, of course, is that the Peabody Jury simply create a special one-time award for the purpose.

I called you originally, of course, because you are a member of the Peabody Committee. How do you suggest we proceed from here?

Sincerely yours,

cmb/fmb

P. S. I need not add that obviously none of us should mention this to Ed.

The Honorable
Paul A. Porter
1200 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Klauber Ed
(not in Griffin Index)

November 21, 1951

Dear Ed:

Here's what the TIMES said. I still think my report was more adequate.

As ever yours,

Mr. Edward Klauber
33 East 70th Street
New York, New York

Klauber, Ed.

December 19, 1945

Dear Ed:

I have read the document and am much impressed. It is a powerfully persuasive presentation. You have plowed a straight furrow, but I have the feeling somehow that it is a little too deep and wide.

My only experience with the presentation of such projects was when I was associated with Foundation work, so my comment may be without validity. However, for what it's worth, it seems to me that you have presented such a variety of activities that a prospective backer may be in some danger of concluding that you propose to spread yourself too thin. It seems to me that the presentation would be strengthened if you could establish, perhaps somewhere near the end of the document, a list of priorities, indicating especially those that could reasonably be expected to yield results in the course of the first year or two of operation.

The only other thing I want to say is that I am more than ~~half~~ persuaded of the value and, indeed, the urgency of undertaking such activity.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Edward Klauber
55 East 70th Street
New York, New York

P. S. I am returning the document, thinking that you may be short of copies.

Irving Kupcinet

7¢ THE WEATHER

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES

FINAL
HOME EDITION

Dear Ed,

Hurrah for your mention of a national information institute. This is in keeping with the subjects we discussed on At Random the other day.

If I can be of any assistance in pushing for this one, please let me know.

And, again, my thanks for your cooperation the other day, even tho the "moment of silence" threw me for a few seconds.

Warmest,

Kup

Kup

This is a proposal for the creation of a privately financed National Information Institute.

Its purpose would be to better the whole pattern of information in America.

It would be an organization staffed by men experienced in public affairs, journalism, probably the law, and certainly the appropriate social sciences. They would devote themselves continuously for an experimental period of seven years to independent measurement, study, exploration, experimentation and public education in the methods used and the results obtained by the principal media of mass communication of information.

Thus, this institute would be the only organized and independent body in the entire world wholly devoted to continuous study and examination, solely in the public interest, of the methods and the results of written and spoken journalism, including discussion on the air and news on the screen.

In the period of its experimental life it would be continuously gaining skill and experience. It would

develop expertness in techniques and procedures, and gradually acquire authority and standing which would give it a growing influence for good. It would therefore be enabled year by year to make larger and larger contributions to the public welfare. Steps toward converting it into a permanent institution would be taken when it had proved its value.

Vast sums are devoted by foundations and individual philanthropists to education and to many other worthy social causes. Yet the immediate day-to-day impact on men's minds of the radio, the press, the movies and the magazines is of at least equal importance in the critical years now upon us. The information field as one for independent research, study, analysis and public education has been unbelievably neglected. Endowment has tended to follow conventional grooves rather than to create new cultural undertakings. The situation is made worse because the media themselves--as opposed to the industries which affect men's bodies rather than their minds, which spend vast sums on research--spend very little and that little far from disinterestedly.

PURPOSES

The institute would have four main purposes:

(1) To encourage and help to bring about improvement in the purveying of information, discussion and argument by existing publications both written and oral. It would do this in two principal ways. One is by making the public more and more aware of what it wants and needs, thus creating consumer demand which is bound to react on all the information disseminating industries. The other is by finding out and helping others to find out by experimental methods what the public wants and needs, what helps it and what hurts it and what economically feasible methods can be developed to serve it better.

(2) To create a more favorable climate in the form of readier public acceptance and reward for all those now controlling or managing oral or written publishing enterprises who want to do a better public service job in the information field and for all who wish to come into the field with high ideals and high purposes.

(3) To analyze and publicize threats to the public welfare that take the form of assaults on freedom of the press, including all efforts or factors tending to hamper or limit the purveying o information to the American people such as legislative, regulatory or economic factors and efforts at censorship or suppression by individuals or organized groups.

(4) To make ever larger numbers of the public more and more proof against bad news handling, bad editorials or poor arguments by teaching people to weigh and judge for themselves in reading listening and looking and to detect at least the more obvious devices of inadequacy, unfairness or intellectual dishonesty.

The institute would be modern in its methods so as to serve effectively in these times of swift change. Its techniques would be as nearly scientific as qualified experts can possibly make them in a field which to some degree is always subjective. Its spirit would be wholly

scientific since it would seek to make no preconceived notions of its own prevail and since it would publish its results whether it or anyone else liked them or not.

To sound techniques, acceptable to reasonable men of science, would be wedded lively, interesting, forthright and ingenious promulgation of its work and of other pertinent work in the field. Information about information would be made news. And the widest possible public interest in information would be stimulated so that there would be increasing discussion of all problems and points of view. Thus specially interested groups and the public as a whole would become more and more aware of what it needs, when it gets it, when it does not, and why.

WHY THIS INSTITUTE IS NEEDED

There are three main reasons why such an institute should be created as speedily as possible and armed with enough funds so that it can do an effective job in a modern world.

First, the faith on which our democracy is founded--and on which great numbers of thoughtful persons think it must always be founded--is this: There can be no real, lasting and improving democracy unless the people understand the basic political, social and economic issues upon which their welfare depends. Understanding, the people can

intelligently exercise their voting right and exert the force of public opinion. Thus they can choose and change their Government and affect its actios, as well as the actions and influences of large organized groups, to the end that the public welfare is served.

If a deceived or a confused public is betrayed into creating or allowing to be created an America in which it loses faith, democracy will not survive. Neither will it survive if the combined effect of all the skilled and the unskilled, the selfish, unselfish and in-between efforts to inform people, to enlighten them and to argue with them finally convince them that the nation's problems are beyond their grasp. If the people finally come to believe either that they cannot grasp and cope with America's problems or that those who inform, those who argue and those who act are inept or malign or both, then distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and laziness can combine to turn them in desperation to that "strong man" who can take them only to destruction.

There are many faint-hearted students of the American scene who believe that our form of government, at least to the degree that free private enterprise is a major element in our present structure, cannot survive another severe economic collapse. The more the pattern of

information contrives to be confused, distorted and manipulated, the more likely are these prophets to be right, because cynicism, distrust and despair will be added to the physical sufferings and the fears of the population.

Furthermore, there obviously are many penalties short of the extreme one that the nation pays and will continue to pay for an information job that is less adequate for modern needs than it could be.

Second, improvement today is slow, sporadic, haphazard and far too dependent on the character and purposes of a few men and far too much at the mercy of a few others. And by no means is all change in this field improvement, nor are all competitive pulls upward.

Third, this is peculiarly a field in which Government can do little and ought to do less. This is true because freedom of the press must be preserved at all costs, and every time Government steps in or tries to step in, it destroys or threatens to destroy the very thing it is trying to preserve in the interest of the public. (1)

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(1) - In such fields as patent medicine advertising, lotteries, obscenity and things of that sort, the FCC and its predecessor Commission have regulated with some success. The same cannot be said about the program field generally or the field of news, and discussion in particular. It is also true that to the extent that the Commission has succeeded it has too often done so by the undemocratic, extra-legal and dangerous method of the nod or the frown. Moreover, even if it were possible to devise a satisfactory system of regulation (and no one has yet) two factors in the near future would militate against

In virtually every other field intimately and importantly touching human lives, there is one type of regulation and often several. We have Federal, State and City departments of health. We have the Interstate Commerce Commission and State public utility bodies. We have Better Business Bureaus and Pure Food and Drug Acts.

None of these things and nothing like them is safely and properly applicable to the information field.

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such regulation. One of these is the multiplication of channels which will come with frequency modulation broadcasting. It is obvious that the more channels there are, the more does broadcasting become like newspaper publishing in the sense that there is no adequate reason for the Government to regulate it except for policing the physical traffic. The other factor is the vast increase there undoubtedly will be, judging by the applications for FM licenses, in publisher-ownership of broadcasting stations as FM becomes fully operative. The publisher interest already is great and when it becomes something like dominant, or very nearly dominant, hope for radio improvement through any act of the Congress will virtually disappear. This is true because Congress looks upon broadcast proprietors as lucky people who have become easily and quickly rich through its own largesse and knows that with their relative lack of editorial pages they are without political influence. Congress, on the other hand, gives very great consideration to newspaper publishers and their interests. In addition, new technical developments in broadcasting may some day make the number of possible radio stations virtually unlimited. Regulation under these circumstances, except regulation against lotteries, obscenity and such, would either be expunged or become a dead letter. Before this happens the public should learn vastly more than it knows today about how to listen and what to expect in the way of information, analysis and discussion because only the public will then be in position to see that this incalculably important instrument actually serves the public interest in the field which is all the writer is here concerned with.

The result has been that the operators in this field have been by and large the principal spokesmen about it and, to far too great a degree, their own judges. Because of the lack of other voices speaking loudly, consistently, accurately and in the public interest, publishers have been less affected than the operators of most other industries either by the intervention of Government or by the demands of a public properly aware of its rights and its needs.

This absence of adequate and informed public opinion is particularly dangerous in this field because it is a field in which the public cannot spontaneously educate itself, as it can to a great degree in the field of commodities. There probably are ten men or maybe a hundred who can tell what is a good automobile or a good suit of clothes to one who can tell what is a good information service.

There are two main fields in which this institute could be a highly useful public servant. One is the general field of disinterested study, experiment and education already described. The other lies in those situations where the Congress, the courts, some such commission as the F.C.C., or the Administration itself is considering a broad public question of information. There exists no

trained, competent and disinterested body to ascertain facts and let them be known in the public interest in such recent or current situations as:

> The radical alteration of the whole structure of broadcasting by the F.C.C. with its so-called network rules.
>
> Proposed changes in the basic radio law.
>
> The assault on the motion picture industry by a group of Senators not long before the war started.
>
> Currently proposed legislation regulating commentators and analysts on the air.
>
> The current question of the whole program of information about America for the rest of the world.

In such situations interested voices create a loud clamor and are not likely to be objective, fair and disinterested. Even when they are right, they are so suspect of self-interest that they are often ineffective. It is true that in a given situation which is important enough, some sort of public commission can be created But this is seldom done, and even when it is, men so acting must divide their time between their own interests and the public job. Besides, they lack the <u>independence</u>, expertness and experience that such jobs require, and which only a permanent institute could develop. The institute would always be able and ready to step into any given stituation on the side of the publisher or the public, or both, with facts and indications as to where the public interest most nearly lay.

Such intervention with fact-finding studies and analytical summaries of arguments in debatable information questions in which Government either is a party to the argument or needs trained, honest and public-spirited information specialists to illuminate for it, would be only one line of activity, and that an occasional one.

There are these main questions to answer about the institute's more general activities: What would it do? How would it do it? How would it create public awareness of its activities? How would it be organized? And what would it cost?

The answers here submitted are the fruit of a year's maturing of this project and discussion of it with a few competent persons able to approach it from angles differing from the proposer's own. They are submitted with full recognition that they can be fruitfully modified and improved by the contributions of other minds.(1)

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(1) - There is now in existence a temporary commission for a two-year study of freedom of the press set up by the University of Chicago with funds supplied by Henry R. Luce. Its members were chosen for general public standing and divergence of points of view, and appointed on a part-time basis. All persons having either professional experience in journalism or financial interest in any of the media were excluded. Except for its public announcements, the writer is not authoritatively informed as to its precise scope or the methods it has pursued. It is expected to make its report in six or seven months. That report should be closely studied for leads it may uncover, competence manifested by members of its staff, and light it may possibly throw on useful methodologies and procedures.

THE FIELD TO WORK IN

The principal media sources from which the public derives information, in the broad sense in which the word is used throughout this presentation, are these:

The daily and Sunday newspaper--headlines, news, pictures, articles, editorials, cartoons, comic strips, and so forth.

The radio (and soon television)--news, comment, analysis, forums and debates, and speakers.

The motion picture--newsreels, documentaries and shorts of a news-giving or opinion-forming nature.

The weekly newsmagazine--news, analysis, opinion (both openly expressed and disguised as news).

Publications carrying news articles with or without overt editorial opinion, such as Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Atlantic Monthly and Harper's.

The labor press.

The weekly or country newspaper.

The farm press.

The Liberal press-The Nation, The New Republic, and such newspapers as PM and the Chicago Sun which stand in a category that differs radically from the conventional press.

The extreme left-wing press-the Daily Worker and such.

The special interest magazine, circular or bulletin ranging all the way from the organs of fraternal orders through journals of special pleading for various economic, social and political points of view, including both valid and phoney research.

Privately and limitedly circulated utterances in behalf of special interests.

The nego press.

The foreign language press.

The religious press.

Trade journals.

Educational and scientific journals.

With the foregoing elements in mind, there follows an exposition of the kind of work the institute would do. Some of its activities would be continuous, whereas others would be completed within a given year or even less.

The projects fall into two main groups: research and experimental. The first category further divides into two sub-groups: first, those which involve study of the media themselves, with a view to determining whether they could be improved and how they could be assisted; and second, those directed at the reader and the listener, with a view to finding out how he gets information, how it impresses him, whether he gets what he wants, whether he realizes its importance to him and how far he can be helped and educated information-wise.

MEDIA PROJECTS

To take first those research projects which are concerned with the media:

The principal continuing project or series of projects would be studies of fairness and unfairness, slanting, distortion, suppression accuracy and adequacy of news and the disguising of opinion as news. This is the most difficult of all and the most important. It can be done and it needs to be done. It would involve both broad analytical surveys of total content and research into the treatment of particular kinds of news or specific news items. The last-mentioned kind of research would in turn involve two things: a study of the actual news available on a given topic--its accessibility and the way it is handled by the press associations, by the radio and by the press. This type of study could be applied to a given newspaper or a given magazine, a particular city or a scientifically selected sample of newspapers, radio stations, or both. It would entail first of all examination of the facts originally available and the the additional facts that would have been available through the reasonable use of the normal resources of the press association, the newspaper, the magazine or the broadcaster.

Next would come examination of headlines, position text, length, substitution of opinion for fact, omission of fact, lifting of fact or statement out of context. Other factors to be studied would include general

layouts with regard to relative space and emphasis given to component elements of the story, introduction and interpolation unjustified by facts used and statements quoted or by facts and statements available but omitted in whole or in part. Still others would be use of labelling words unjustified by the context or available material, interjection of unmistakable editorial bias in other identifiable ways, broad general statements that the reporter could not possibly know to be true or about which he could not have informed himself in time to justify his assertions, use of source phrases which the reader cannot possibly assay as a means of making the editor's or broadcaster's opinion seem to emanate from other mouths, and use of follow-up stories in support or rebuttal.

Another way to study slanting of news in appropriate instances would be to show how many different ways the same story had been handled by different newspapers. This would help to make the reader strikingly aware that the same sets of facts or circumstances or the same utterance frequently is offered to him dressed up according to the political or other editorial bias of the offering newspaper.

Still another way would be to prepare an "upside down" pamphlet in which it was shown how a whole series of

"editorial" or crusading stories can be presented from a completely opposite angle by one possessing the original material and the skill, thus helping to teach the reader to "beware!".

Here are a few notable instances of the kind of story which could be so studied:

(a) Stories favorable or unfavorable to the Administration. Research could determine whether there are discernibly important differences in the way a given story is handled in Democratic newspapers, in Republican newspapers, and in independent newspapers and to what extent.

(b) Labor news in general or news about a labor-management situation at a particular period such as the current strikes, negotiations and threatened strikes. Are both sides presented fairly according to criteria which can easily be set up and applied as a yardstick against the facts, statements and ancillary discussion available? Are the economics of both sides fairly presented to the extent available? Is there pyramiding, which magnifies the extent of labor troubles? Do facts or utterances favorable to one side get the same play in the general layout that is given to similar material

favorable to the other? Is there deliberate identification of the public's interest with that of one side rather than the other? Are guilt and responsibility steadily ascribed to one side rather than the other in news stories?

(c) Study and analysis such as the foregoing about economic news--taxes, trade, tariff and the like.

(d) Unfavorable news about corporations. Does it get the same play and the same prolonged follow-up as does news unfavorable to other group interests? Is there discernible difference, due to identification by the publisher of his own interest with the interests of other businesses, or for any other reason, between the treatment accorded to corporate elements and to other groups? On the other hand, are there large groups of publications which magnify newswise the sins of capital and belittle or belie those of other interests?

(e) Fact-finding study and analysis throughout a political campaign of how the news is handled in the press, in the magazines and on the air, with announcements of the results during the campaign if practicable, afterwards if not. Are the commentators and analysts on any network editorializing in favor

of one side? If so are they balanced by others favoring the opposite side? Are newspapers printing both sides fairly or are they favoring one or the other in their news columns? If so, how are they doing it? By the leads on their political stories? By labelling the utterances of one candidate as "sincere", "honest", heartfelt" or "frank" in news stories, when they can't possibly know his feelings or motives? By smear words which make it difficult for the reader to form his own opinion? By the omission of obviously available facts? By flooding the paper with supplementary crusading stories all on one side? By playing the political utterances of one party chairman and neglecting the other? By the technique of "damn you, reader, don't you dare to think what you want to think about this, you be sure to see what our Mr. So-and-So says on page so-and-so"? Are the press associations fair? Are they unfair, either quantitatively or qualitatively in ways that can be identified and demonstrated? Were there any discoverable differences between the way the Associated Press handled political news before and after the Federal anti-trust suit was brought against it? Do newspapers or press associations feature endorsements of one candidate and not

of the other by persons of the same relative importance? Are there cities or regions where the reader, the listener, or both, do not have adequate, two-sided information as a basis for deciding how to vote? Do the papers print fair reports of debates? Are there changes in make-up. headlines or context between editions indicating deliberate purpose to weight the news? This of course does not exhaust the list of readily detectible devices of unfairness. Positive proof of unfairness if it exists is something the reader is entitled to and something that would make news.

(f) A series of searching studies of editorial pages. Do the attitudes reflected on them palpably and demonstrably affect the handling of the news? Is there a high degree of intellectual honesty in their arguments? Or do they deliberately cheat the reader's mind, taking advantage of his lack of either a memory or a reference library? Are they consistent or inconsistent over a period of time? Do they reflect the immediate econonomic interests, habits and social predilections of the publishers rather than those of the mass of readers, particularly with regard to labor, taxes, and so on? To what degree do editorials reflect the opinions of those

who write them? Is the selection of editorial page letters fair and balanced? (Editorial pages are further treated under projects concerned with the reader.)

Another important series of projects concerned with media themselves has to do with existing conditions which affect the gathering, editing and publishing of news. These would include:

(a) A study of the finances and economics of the press with a view to finding out, for example, whether the public ought to pay more for newspapers in order to get better ones. It might be found that advertising revenue was insufficient in some localities or too preponderant in others, or that total revenue did not permit the production of an adequate newspaper at a reasonable profit.

(b) A study of the financial picture of the reporter and the editor. Are union conditions now satisfactory, or could they be improved to the benefit of the employer, the employee and the public? Would it be economically worthwhile for men to be longer and better trained?

(c) Studies of sources and availability of

news. These would divide into official sources and unofficial sources. To what degree is news about municipalities, states and the Federal Government available? To what degree is such news suppressed? Should there be a Federal fact-finding service supported by the taxpayer rather than groups of Administration and bureau head "information specialists", as at present? Are these specialists today truly informers of the people or are they largely press agents for their bosses? Could a Federal service be set up so that it would be incorruptible and independent? Would it serve to make news more readily accessible to the press and the radio, to the publisher's benefit and the public's, or would it soon be corrupted to super-press agentry and make things worse?

A study of the State Department's information work--at home now and abroad as soon as the new set-up has had a chance to function--would uncover facts of value to all interested in information and serve as an index to whether present methods are adequate or whether they could be improved.

Similarly there would be examination of availability, accuracy and adequacy of news emanating from some of the main unofficial or semi-official news sources.

(d) A study of the actual gathering and editing of the news in a given newspaper, press association, broadcasting station or network, or magazine. Take a given story and find out what instructions were issued to reporters and correspondents, what was received, how much it was changed and how and why, and what was left out. If no gatherer or disseminator of news would permit an honest and disinterested study along these lines, at least the public would be made aware that the whole process of gathering and editing news was a secret process.

Other projects of primary importance aimed at affecting the quality of the media themselves would include such things as:

(a) A complete and searching study, from both theoretical and practical standpoints, of our schools of journalism. What do they teach? How do they teach it? To what extent do they do original work? To what extent are they an influence in the various information fields? What has been the practical result in terms of the activities of their graduates? Are they trade schools dependent upon the media for employment

of their graduates to such a degree that they dare not be a substantial voice on the side of good journalism? If so, can they be made more useful and how? Should the term of professional training be extended? Would a group of publishers or other employers cooperate in the experiment of higher pay for better trained men over a period sufficiently long to determine whether longer training would be financially profitable to the employers and to working journalists as well as of benefit to the public?

(b) A study of journalistic ethics. Is there an unwritten code? Are there written ones? How many men are conscious of and guided by such a code? How many newspapers and how many broadcasters have formulated one? Do the press associations have one? Should they? Are such codes lived up to? If not, could they be? Publishers, news and editorial management, personnel and working journalists could all undoubtedly be set to thinking and made more keenly aware of their obligations, responsibilities, duties and opportunities. Such a study might well be carried to the point where it aroused widespread interest. Then

a mixed panel of professionally interested and disinterested persons could be set up to promulgate something like a model code. This would further stimulate public awareness and heighten the effect upon publishers and those who work for them.

(c) A series of studies relating to radio in the information field, such as: (1) Are radio speeches censored beyond elimination of libel, slander and defamation? (2) Does sponsorship unduly affect idea content or news handling? If so, do unsponsored presentations balance the picture? (3) Five-minute and fifteen-minute news broadcasts--do they cover the news? Do they successfully inform or do they only hit the highlights and lead the listener to a mistaken belief that he is informed when he isn't? Does the public adequately fill in from other sources or do people rely too much on radio news? Would longer units of news time be more or less desirable and why? What areas of news are left uncovered on the radio? (4) The opionated commentator, the news analyst, the straight news broadcaster--which is the more effective and why? (5) The whole field of discussion on the air--how it is handled, whether it

is commensurate with demand, or whether those who shout for more represent only small minorities whose desires are already sufficiently considered.

(d) A broad general study of newspapers on a regional basis. Are there parts of the country which are well served and others that are ill served? Parts where there is little special correspondence and the stereotypes of one or two press associations furnish all the news of the rest of the world? How many newspapers throughout the country are balanced in content, in terms of the things people need to know in their own self-interest and in the interest of the country? What news do the people in, say, Denver get in comparison to what New Yorkers get? Do they get what they want? Do they get what they need? If parts of the country have deficient service, is the lack general, is it in the South, the Middle West, on the Coast? To what extent do people served by scanty newspapers in small communities resort to reading metropolitan newspapers as well? What parts of the people, in terms of income groups or literacy groups, rely wholly on the press or wholly on the radio? How many read

weeklies, too? Would cheaper press rates result in greater individuality and diversification in news presentation? If they are needed, how could they be obtained for both press and radio while avoiding the inherent danger of government subsidy of the media? Are there other economic obstacles to adequate information for the whole nation (if inadequacy is found to exist) which could be overcome, and how?

(e) A study of the special departments of newspapers. Are financial pages and some other departments made up to any important degree of free reading notices with ads" thinly disguised, or do such departments actually strive to serve the public How about real estate pages or columns? Are there important news areas of this kind in which the press serves the industries involved (and those on a rather mathematical basis in proportion to the advertising[1]) instead of serving the public?

(f) A group of studies on the techniques

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1 - It is not proposed that the institute concern itself with truth or taste in advertising. If it dealt at all in this field it should confine itself to broad studies of the social implications of certain types of advertising and with the current tendency to shift the argument of controversial public questions to the advertising columns.

of persuading and convincing. Not enough is known about how to change people's minds, particularly in the face of emotional blocks due to cultural backgrounds and other obscure factors. And probably even less is known about practical methods of applying the knowledge that does exist. To illustrate, it may well be that both conservatives and liberals are far more adept at pleasing disciples than they are at making converts. The result may be that both sides leave the open-minded seekers after truth puzzled and offended--the conservatives by mistakenly identifying their own interests and emotional biases with those of the masses; the liberals by believing that the righteousness of their purposes justifies them in doing violence to men's minds even while they are arguing for the sanctity of the individual. Much might be learned and then applied in two ways--actual improvement of present techniques for adults, and experimental educational efforts directed at the young and designed to keep them open-minded and receptive.

Case studies in the effect on selected groups of different manners of presenting material should

furnish valuable guides for all who seek to inform and persuade others. Some of these studies would be objective studies of the effect on persons of present methods; others would explore the effectiveness of different types of exposition, argument and persuasion. The startling growth in literacy in America betwen the two world wars and the vary marked increase in literate persons that is projected for the next ten years may well be found on exploration to have made new methods of argument and persuasion timely and serviceable. This is particularly true if there is found to be a vast and growing array of persons more eager to know what is right than who is right.

(g) An elaborate and exhaustive study of the laws of libel, slander and defamation in America and how they actually work. This study would be devoted to finding out whether the facts indicate that there should be a national law; whether state statutes should be strengthened or made more uniform; whether in practice the libel laws are a deterrent to any injured person getting redress; whether they could and should be strengthened, or whether the price of strengthening would be dangerously to inhibit the press and the radio; whether British practices are better or worse from the standpoint of the public interest, and whether th

differences lie in the laws, their interpretation or the defences built up by the publications themselves; whether there exists something like a conspiracy of silence on libel suits; whether or not libel, slander and defamation statutues should protect groups as well as individuals; and so on.

The importance of such a study seems manifest. It is one thing to believe in freedom of the press, and another to believe in license-- one thing to believe that a thing is priceless and another to believe that therefore a needlessly high price should be paid for it. Character assassination can become a sort of free enterprise in which the individual victim throws up his hands either beaten or intimidated. Conditions can grow up under which persons of sensibilities do not dare engage in public activities or do so at too great peril. And the whole labelling and smearing technique can tend more and more to inhibit unemotional appraisal of either ideas or acts. It is one thing to expose a villain; it is another to breed cynicism and distrust in the public by seeking to destroy every opponent with an epithet.

WORK WITH READERS AND LISTENERS

These research projects comprise a sampling of the kind of work that should be done to stimulate the media, with the hope of arousing interest among journalists, publishers and broadcasters in doing a more accurate, fair and disinterested job. These efforts, however, must be supplemented by others, designed to find out what makes the reader and the listener tick as they do, and what could be done to stimulate in them an interest in and demand for the kind of journalism which is their right. Many of the faults and deficiencies of the information picture of today are the faults and deficiencies of the reader and the listener who, if they demanded better information, published in their own interest, would probably get it.

A second series of research projects, therefore, should include such studies as these, with properly selected segments of the public serving as guinea pigs:

(1) Research into the public's attitude toward news and toward the various media. Does it believe everything it reads? Does it discriminate? Does it read mostly for entertainment and excitement and

therefore with relative indifference to accuracy and fairness? If it distrusts the news does it have any fairly well-formed reasons that could be dealt with? Can the public be taught by the use of simple guides to discriminate? Are newspapers generally what it wants or does it simply read them because they are the only ones available?

(2) Psychological studies as to how the emotional attitude of the informer affects what is offered, and how the emotional attitude of the informee affects how he receives it. For instance, can anything be gained by making either the producer, the consumer, or both, aware of emotional biases? Are there other practical ways, discoverable by psychological research, to overcome the effects of neurotic or psychotic attitudes on the part of those who make news, those who publish it and those who receive it?

(3) (a) Study of readers and the editorial page. How many readers read it? Have they any discrimination? Are their minds changed? Do they have any awareness of the paper's editorial attitude when they read its news columns and particularly its special stories? Do they discount accordingly, if they do have? To what degree do readers of various classes

detect misstatements about recent or current news when embodied in editorials?

(b) What has been the effect of columnists? Do they weaken the editorial page or strengthen it? Have they led the reader to believe that the paper doesn't get the inside news, but the columnist does? Do they lead to confusion or clarity? Do they affect public opinion?

(4) Exposition through careful studies of the actual effects on the public of topics covered in the news. This would be a long-time effort to make the individual aware of how selfishly interested he is in the news and thus to make him read good newspapers, demand better ones and listen to the radio with similar discrimination; and to try to convince him that the press should not be a form of titillation and entertainment. He should be taught, to the extent possible, not to choose his newspaper for its sports, comic pages and other features. He should be shown that news is the very stuff of life to him and that therefore he should do some work at it not only because as a good citizen he has a duty, but also because he is directly concerned in and affected by discussion, decision and action in social, economic, political and other

fields.

(5) A whole group of studies would be made and a continual educational effort would be maintained to induce the public to regard news the way generals regard military intelligence and the way industry regards market research. People can least afford to be deceived about the things in which they are most vitally interested. Yet vast numbers of them in all economic and social classes gulp down great draughts of pleasing pap and allow themselves to be kidded and deceived. Thus their interests suffer incalculable harm, particularly in the form of sudden and over-drastic political or regulatory action. Much of this harm often could have been avoided, and reconciliation of opposing interests often could have occurred had there been ample, open-minded recognition of the facts of life and the state of public opinion. This is true for many in each special interest group-capitalists and industrialists, labor, politicians, liberals and for all others to whom information is an agreeable mixture of hops and soothing syrup--until they come out of their euphoria just too late.

The foregoing projects are intended to indicate the

scope and variety of work to be undertaken. These and all others would be conducted by skilled and trained social scientists and other professionally qualified persons. No attempt is made here to describe methodologies exhaustively. Suitable techniques would be developed and tested for each project.

EXPERIMENTAL PROJECTS

There is another whole group of projects which the institute could undertake, with profit to the public in general, and to the purveyors of information in particular. These are experimental, cooperative and creative projects which are not undertaken by private interests because they involve too much risk or because they lack the stimulus to try them. Here are examples:

(1) The institute would conduct or supervise controlled experiments, with selected newspapers or radio stations willing to cooperate, in ways of presenting news or argument. The journals might be newspapers of general circulation or they might be school or college newspapers. In conjunction with this and similar projects the necessary research would be done among the readers, and control groups would be

established to determine both the informative effect on the reader and the acceptability to him of the methods.

(2) It would finance and conduct experiments in oral and written publications in appropriate instances when the publisher or broadcaster was willing but could not afford to test radical changes. A small newspaper that was losing money and was willing to try a radically different type of news presentation would be an ideal vehicle for such experiments. Such a newspaper probably would be willing to experiment if the experiment were underwritten and if skill, experience and ingenuity were made available to it for the proving period. A small radio station would be another. A newspaper with organized instead of haphazard news presentation would be one type of such an experiment. One with only label headlines such as "The Pearl Harbor Inquiry" would be another. It might, for instance, thus be ascertained that exaggerated importance is given to speed and that a newspaper which resisted the competitive urge to go off half-cocked, that would cease the prophesying type of "dope" story and let many news stories await complete denouement before it printed them would

have wide public acceptance. Various Elements of a theoretically "ideal" newspaper could be combined in such experimental publications. Whether reader time would be saved, reader confidence gained, and the degree of reasonably accurate information possessed by the reader would rise, no one knows--yet. Efforts to change reader habits by experiment to which the reader was made a conscious party with full understanding of what was being tried on him and why, might well yield a mine of valuable information for both publishers and the public.

(3) The institute could work with a newspaper willing to try substituting a fair, intelligent and sprightly general opinion page for an editorial page devoted to propagating its own views. The very fact that a newspaper was trying this in conjunction with the National Information Institute and that the institute was doing research among the paper's readers as to the acceptability and the effectiveness of that type of page would arouse widespread interest in the community, be a fine promotion stunt for the paper and quite probably get nationwide attention, at least among professionals and social leaders.

(4) A series of experiments should be conducted in cooperation with suitable persons or organizations willing to work with the institute to see what could be done in certain specialized types of writing. The best example and the most glaring need for improveent lies perhaps in the field of economic writing. Any one who reads knows that a better job could be done than is done today. Other methods should be tried and tests made both of reader acceptance and of results. The same thing is true of writing in at least two other fields, namely, education and medicine. Popular writing on medicine, particularly in the psychological field, is needful of scrutiny and study. Similar cooperative experiments could be well and fruitfully tried in connection with broadcasting.

(5) Another primary project would be to take the lead in creating, or in helping to create, a text book or a series of standard text books on journalism. These would be designed to improve technical standards and methods of gathering, editing and presenting news. At the same time they would contrive to make both students and teachers more aware of the obligations of their profession and their duty to their communities.

PUBLICITY AND EDUCATION

All of these projects--research projects aimed at improving the media, research projects aimed at helping the public, and experimental, cooperative and creative project--must finally be made to come alive. Therefore there must be continuous and intensive publicity and educational output. There follows an outline of resources and methods:

(1) The institute would publish a journal of information. The principal contents would be the results of its own work, supplemented by reports of all other useful work in the same field. Whether it would be a quarterly or a monthly would depend on the amount of sound and interesting material available. It would be as widely circulated as it own funds or reader interest and support would make possible. Every effort would be made to reach ownership, management, working news men, editorial writers, publicists, analysts and commentators, faculties and students of schools of journalism, teachers, educators, social scientists, parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, church groups and many other group leaders, as well as just as many of the general public as possible.

(2) It would issue press releases on its work.

(3) It would supply articles and material for articles and get them placed as widely as possible.

(4) It would enlist the cooperation in publicising its work of every suitable kind of professional journal.

(5) It would supply speakers for meetings of appropriate and interested groups.

(6) It would discuss on the air and induce others to discuss phases of its work which are of broad general interest.

(7) It would create or try to induce others to create appropriate motion picture shorts for general presentation or presentation to interested groups.

(8) It would maintain liaison through properly selected personnel with organizations of publishers, journalists and broadcasters to build up interest in its work and confidence in its integrity. It would maintain similar liaison with educational institutions, research organizations, public libraries and with authors and speakers who might find its product or any phase of the general subject of information suitable for oral or written discourse.

(9) It would publish pamphlets. Some would be addressed to specially interested professional groups. Others would be aimed at the general public in varying income groups and age levels.

(10) It would endeavor to have pamphlets suitable for such use widely circulated by various organizations, either inducing them to do so at their own expense or, if necessary, supplying reprints at cost.

(11) It would endeavor to interest primary schools, high schools and colleges in teaching students of all ages how to read, how to listen and how to look. It would supply basic information and outline study courses, charts and guides as a basis for such teaching--all, of course, subject to such modification and testing as any institution or teacher chose to apply.

(12) It would hold an annual or a biennial forum or seminar on important phases of information problems of broad public interest. Publishers, working journalists, the institute's own staff and other competent persons, both interested and disinterested, would be invited to participate.

(13) It would offer awards and prizes to oral and written publications, schools of journalism, research organizations and individuals for distinguished contributions to the art of information.

(14) It would establish a library of information on information accessible to all writers, students and research workers.

(15) It would keep Congressmen and other legislators informed about its work, not only in order to get some of the results before the public through them, but also to heighten their awareness of, interest in and ability to use the techniques of information.

Neither the foregoing list nor the prior list of projects is all inclusive. Nor have they benefited by the fertility of all the minds that would be brought to bear upon them before the institute actually started operations. The list of projects especially has been compiled to show the scope and variety of public service such an institution could render.

In the first year the institute should begin at least one main line of research into fairness, adequacy and accuracy of news. It should also start its broad basic study of reader and listener attitudes toward news and the media, and the reasons therefor, and it should embark upon one cooperative experimental project in either the newspaper or radio field or both. Whether these things, with the launching of the journal of information about information, would constitute an adequate first year's program would depend upon how rapidly the institute could be organized, how soon effective liaison could be established with educational and other groups and how much time was needed to devise, test and perfect procedures and methodologies of operation.

METHODS OF OPERATION

The institute would work in these several ways:

1). It would conduct research, make studies and undertake analyses and educational efforts through its own staff.

2). It would set up special groups suitably constituted, for a given project and working under the institute's guidance or control, with or without its active participation, as the circumstances indicated.

3). It would arrange for and finance to the extent necessary specific research projects, wholly within schools of journalism or other suitable research or educational institutions.

4). It would carry on, as already indicated, experiments in conjunction with publishers or broadcasters who were willing to devote their own funds and efforts to projects that would be to their own and the public's interest, and who believed that they could profit by the institute's expert help and gain public attention and goodwill by such collaboration. It would work similarly to a limited degree with publishers or broadcasters needing financial assistance for experimentation.

5). It would farm out segments of certain broad research projects among various institutions, many of which should be able to conduct such studies along with their other investigations at little or no expense to the institute. By assembling these scattered results from different institutions into a coordinated project with over-all interpretation, the institute could make such a project searching, profound and conclusive.

6). It would provide fellowships and grants-in-aid for able and brilliant post-graduate students prepared to conduct research and to write theses or books in fields appropriate to the institute's own work. This would increasingly help to develop a body of trained personnel

not only for the institute's own growing program but for similar work for other instiutions.

7). It would seek to stimulate independent research and educational work in the information field by all scientific and other appropriate groups either directly or remotely concerned with any aspect of the subject.

ORGANIZATION

An institute of this kind would normally have a Board of Directors or Trustees with final authority and responsibility. Since suitable men would have many and varied interests, they might well be reluctant to assum such responsibility for this unique enterprise and to accept the kind of criticism or attack which some of the institute's operations might encounter, at least before it had had sufficient opportunity to gain the confidence of some of the interests involved. An alternative therefore would be to have the President or Executive Director and the principal members of the institute's staff become the directors or trustees with an advisory council made up of individuals selected for their character, varied public orientation and general knowledge of public affairs. Under this arrangement the operating staff would have full authority and responsibility, but would benefit by the advice of the council.

Whether there is to be a board of directors or trustees or an advisory council, it should be comprised of men of high public standing. Various social, economic and political groups should be represented to the extent possible without making the board or council so large as to be unwieldy.

Under either of these types of organization the institute must be so set up that it can be operated by a small executive group in position to make decisions and commitments after full consideration and discussion. The important thing, of course, is to devise the simplest possible form of organization that will work and that is most appropriate to the nature of the undertaking.

STAFF

The institute itself should be so staffed that it could carry on many of its projects with its own personnel. Only in this way will there be created a body of trained persons continually enriched by their studies in the field and steadily accumulating a body of information about information such as would exist nowhere else but which would be available to any one who wanted to make use of it. It would be suitably strengthened for given projects by drawing on temporary personnel from

other institutions. Such men would return to their normal pursuits with a new outlook on and new interest in information problems.

The institute would be headed by a President or Director, and would include an assistant director, a fiscal and management officer, a Director and an Assistant Director of Research, a Director of Public Relations, counsel, and a librarian or head of a records and analysis department. It should have a group of persons trained in fact-finding and analysis, some of whom could well be young lawyers, others of whom could have been trained in journalism and others in schools of political or social science. There would need to be two or three highly skilled publicity people, expert in modern techniques. There shall also be a Director of Education, whose concern would be the education (as distinguished from the publicity) work, and there should be a liaison man between the institute and educational and scientific institutions which could participate in, support or supplement its work.

It may well be that the educational work and the liaison work, which would need to include contact with women's groups, church groups, labor groups, industry groups, publishers and broadcasters, could be

one and the same person. On the other hand, dependent upon the whole scope of the institute's efforts, two or three persons might be needed to carry on these various activities. Also, unless his research talents were combined with other talents in the person selected either as the Director or Assistant Director of Research, there should be one good psychologist among the top staff members to organize and direct the proposed psychological studies and to contribute to the thinking of the whole group his special and valuable point of view.

The number of general research people, fact-finders, assayers and such, would obviously depend on the number of projects to be undertaken and the intensiveness of the necessary research in a given instance. This staff should be selected with the greatest care and picked slowly so that when it all came together there would be in existence a group of balanced talents supplementing each other and invigorating the whole stream of thinking and activity. The small group of top-most persons should be assembled as soon as possible and they then should carefully pick the others. It is doubtful if these persons could be assembled, working quarters found, a small basic library got together, and projects sifted, refined and adopted in less than

six months. During that time, discussion, exploration, public reaction to the institute and its purposes, opposition from various quarters and approval and suggestion from others, would all serve not to affect main purposes but to modify projects and procedures through the educative process that the institute heads themselves would undergo.

COST

The following estimate of costs on a minimal and a medium basis does not pretend to offer "hard" figures. It is, indeed, at this stage loose and tentative both because the project is unique and experimental and because the proposer has devoted his time largely to developing and refining the ideas for the venture itself and has lacked the resources to explore costs thoroughly. Also, the degree to which groups and institutions can be prevailed upon to contribute assistance without charge cannot be forecast.

Costs can, of course, vary within fairly wide limits but the institute could not be effective without a budget adequate for the conduct of many of the major activities described. It would be most unwise to launch

it without provision for adequate operation. It would be impossible to enlist a staff of imaginative, courageous and competent men. Moreover, too restricted an outlook would seriously jeopardize the possibility of winning public attention and support and the respect and interst of publishers, broadcasters, scientists, educators and others. It should be pointed out, however, that the table on the following page is based on peak operations, which would not be reached until the end of the second year, or possibly even the third:

ANNUAL BUDGET FOR PEAK YEARS

Executive Salaries	Minimum		Medium	
Director or President	$20,000.		$30,000.	
Assistant Director	15,000.		20,000.	
Fiscal and Management Officer	10,000.		15,000.	
Research Director	10,000.		20,000.	
Assistant Research Director	8,000.		15,000.	
Educational Director	8,000.		15,000.	
Public Relations Director	10,000.		15,000.	
Psychologist[2]	10,000.		12,000.	
Counsel (possibly part time)	6,000.		12,000.	
		$ 97,000.		$ 154,000.
Staff Salaries				
Librarian (records and digests)	6,000.		10,000.	
Editor of Publications	6,000.		10,000.	
Research Associates (5)	37,500.		50,000.	
Research Assistants (10)	30,000.		40,000.	
Publicity Assistants (2)	8,000.		10,000.	
Educational Assistant	4,000.		4,000.	
		91,500.		124,000.
Office Staff				
Secretaries (8-10), typists (4-5), clipping, filing and mailing force (6-10)	40,000.		50,000.	
		40,000.		50,000.
Operating Expenses				
Office Supplies and Postage	5,000.		5,000.	
Telephone and Telegraph	2,400.		2,400.	
Travel and Conference Expenses	3,000.		5,000.	
Rent and Services[3]	10,000.		15,000.	
Publication Costs	8,000.		52,000.	
Library and Record Costs	1,000.		2,000.	
Office and Field Studies, experimental projects, grants to Institutions	125,000.		250,000.	
Fellowships and Grants-in-Aid	10,000.		30,000.	
		164,400.		361,400.
Total		392,900.		689,400.

1 - Specific provisions has not been made in this estimate for capital expenditures for furniture and fixtures and an initial library, for insurance, salary increases, workmen's compensation if applicable, or accounting and auditing expense. To attract good men and women from permanent set-ups, it would probably be advisable to provide some sort of retirement fund with contributions by the institute and its employes, the proceeds to be distributed if the organization does not become permanent.

2 - The talents and skills possessed by the various members of the institute as they are assembled may make one or more executive or staff positions, or both, unnecessary.

3 - It might be found economical to rent or buy a suitably located large house if one could be found which with minimal alterations could be made adequate. It should be borne in mind that the institute would be tax free.

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Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: ~~MURRAY HILL 8-0600~~ PLaza 1-2600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 17, 1964

Dearest Janet,

How nice of you to write me that charming longhand letter--this I really appreciate, and I think I would not write any letters if I had to do that.

Well I am not in Brazil yet until next week, and I am told that it is winter in Recife and Bahia, which means 80-85°, and that they have been freezing to death in Rio which means 60°. I do not think I will die of the cold there, do you, but certainly it is unpleasant in New York now. I think July and August are two lost months anyway, and now with the nice job the Republican delegation have done I think we are in for a bad four months, ~~don't you~~. I cannot imagine that Ed is too happy about anything either. At the moment I am just holding thumbs for Johnson's health.

I will ask Fred, certainly, to let me see the tape--imagine missing Ed the first time he has done any broadcasting in ages. I think Ed is merely modest about his contribution and I imagine it will be wonderful because those were very much his happy days, don't you think?

Your postscript I am interested in and I think this really might be fun for him to do when he feels like writing.

Are there any messages you have for anyone in Brazil? Mail is slow, but if there is anyone you can always me c/o the office to forward and I

may receive it. Otherwise I should be back mid-August and will call you.

Much love to the three of you.

Devotedly,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
Glen Arden Farm
Pawling, New York

BWK:ab

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: ~~MURRAY HILL 8-8600~~ PLaza 1-2600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 13, 1964

Dearest Janet,

I am delighted to know that Ed has done that tape on London during the war. I am going to miss it because I will be going off to Brazil at the time it is on and will be in the plane, to my horror.

But thinking over our talk and my suggestion that he might want to go back and do a book on Europe--but chiefly London during the war years--he might well like it. I would think it would come very easily and happily to him, but I could be very wrong. Think it over and talk to him about it if you like.

Devotedly,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
Pawling
New York

BWK:ab

Replied July 15th

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: ~~MURRAY HILL 8-8600~~ PLaza 1-2600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 29, 1964

Dearest Janet,

It was heavenly being with you and Ed -- and, may I add, Casey. I think Ed looked in pretty good shape but I was afraid of tiring him, and that is the reason I left when I did. Tell Ed that we found a marvelous picnic spot on Quaker Hill, with a lovely breeze, and all went well.

Janet, I did not talk about books as I told you because it seemed not the right moment and I am not too sure that Ed really feels up to writing. But he did mention one subject that interests him and that he would have liked to have done for television, and that is the dissecting of the Congress -- a brilliant idea. Could he put it into a short book, I wonder? I think it would be better than my "apathy" idea and something he is really interested in and knows about. Talk to him about it if you feel like it.

Again thanks for a lovely day and for seeing the most beautiful house and the most heavenly country I have seen for years -- Casey has promised to call me here and I hope he will and I would like to see him some more.

All the best to you both.

Devotedly,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
Glen Arden
Pawling, New York

BWK:ab

Blanche Knopf

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 22, 1960

Dear Ed:

There is something I would like to say to you. Can we meet tomorrow? I understand you will not be back until the 1st of August and I am going to London next week and will not be back till then either. You probably have a bad day on Thursday, but if there is a chance will you please have Miss Hogg call me. At least you are back -- that is a comfort.

All my best.

As always,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:kb

Blanche Knopf

August 24, 1959

Dear Blanche:

Janet and I were indeed sorry that we were unable to dine with you before you left for Wyoming. We sail for Sweden on August 25th, so we shall miss seeing you when you get back to New York on September 3rd. We are hoping to be in London on or about October 1st. Perhaps we shall meet there.

With all good wishes.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Blanche W. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

gw

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 24, 1959

Dear Ed:

I know that you are still here and sorry that you and Janet cannot dine on the 30th. I will be here until the 19th of August and then will be going to Wyoming for a fortnight, and will not be back until the 3rd of September when I think you will be gone. I hope still that I will see you before you and I both go places. End September I will do my usual stint in Europe trying to find books, but I imagine that I will not be anywhere that you will be, because you will be going to interesting places and I will be doing the routine. If there is a chance, which I would hate to miss, let me know.

Bless. All the best.

As always,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

BWK:jg

Knopf

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 4, 1959

Dear Ed,

I could not reach you before I had to leave the office. I just saw Bliss and of course was enchanted with him. I don't know whether there is a book or not, but certainly in talking it sounded like something very different from the statement he sent me and what we have now planned is for him to do a very brief outline, rough, with perhaps six or eight pages of writing, which he has promised to let me have by the 16th which will be a good ten days before you take off. I wanted to discuss this with you obviously, as it is not anything you can write about. What a nice person!

All my best,

Blanche W. Knopf
(dictated but not signed)

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

BWK:ef

Knopf, B.W.

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 19, 1959

Dear Ed:

Thanks for putting young Bliss my way. I would honestly have to see something of the work, as you can well realize--see how he writes, etc. The subject is a possible one, I believe, as you do.

Still I say, do we meet before you take off July 1st.

All my best.

As always,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

CL 6

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:jg
Enclosure

F Knopf. Bla

May 12, 1959

Mrs. Blanche W. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf Incorporated
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Knopf:

Mr. Murrow is at present in Washington but, before he left, he asked me to send over to you the enclosed resume of a book that Mr. Bliss hopes to write.

Sincerely yours,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

enc.

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 5, 1959

Dear Ed:

You will remember, the other day when I saw you much too briefly, you said perhaps that Ed Bliss' manuscript on missionaries in southeast Asia should be coming along. Am I rushing it? Should I write him? Or what is your advice?

I wish there were a chance of seeing you before you take off on this long ~~check~~ trip of holiday. There is much that I would like to discuss with you.

All my best.

Blanche

As always,

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:jg

Knopf, Alfred A.

November 18, 1958

Dear Alfred:

How right you are. I did not belabour the advertising agencies because I knew from long experience it wouldn't do any good. As a matter of fact, it didn't do any good to belabour sponsors, but I had a lot of fun doing it.

By sheer accident, I did see "Heart of Darkness" and it was one of the most vulgar and offensive things I have ever seen on television. Believe me, that covers a lot of offence and vulgarity.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf
501 Madison
New York, N.Y.

Cables:
KNOPF NEW YORK
Telephones:
MURRAY HILL 8-0600

Alfred A Knopf *Incorporated*

501 *Madison Avenue* NEW YORK

November 10, 1958

Dear Ed:

That was a most impressive talk you delivered in Chicago and The Reporter has done a real service by reprinting it. I have only one reservation: Don't you think you went rather easy on the advertising agencies? They seem more and more to me to be the curse of our age and of our society and I am sure they wield a basic influence whether of a negative or positive kind. By that I mean that I would be immensely surprised to learn that any advertising man has ever tried to stiffen the backbone of a sponsor when the sponsor became uneasy about a decent program.

As an old admirer of Joseph Conrad's work I tuned in last Thursday to Playhouse 90 for HEART OF DARKNESS. This was such an insult to the memory of a great writer and to the intelligence of the viewer that I propose, if I can find their names, to write protesting letters to every sponsor and agency involved in this shoddy affair with which thank goodness you had nothing to do.

And while I am writing you I do wish you'd give us more Murrow and less of your colleagues at seven forty-five PM. I don't think you realize how you stand up above the best of them.

Yours always,

Alfred A. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System--TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

AAK:eg

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 20, 1958

Dear Ed:

I don't know whether you're back from the West or not. I have just come from there including your pet river in Oregon. What I really wonder is what you think now of a book by Rickover. You will remember that several years ago you and I talked this over and you suggested that Graham Swing might write it. This turned out to be nothing, at least no book was forthcoming, so where do we go from here now that he is again in the public press, I don't know. I still think it a good idea but maybe it is all too late and he's done it or has had somebody else do it. You were way ahead of everyone as you usually are.

What chance of seeing you if and when you are back.

Bless. All the best.

Yours,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:lb

Knopf, Bl

November 19, 1957

Dear Blanche:

Thanks for the suggestion about Camus, and my belated congratulations to you for having the perception to publish him from the beginning. Unfor unately we can't do him on PERSON TO PERSON because it is live and we can't reach as far as Stockholm. When is he coming to this country again?

I am off to the NATO meeting the middle of December which I am afraid is going to be a very dreary affair.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Blanche W. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

fc

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE ~~KNOPF~~-PRESIDENT

November 18, 1957

Dear Ed:

I seem to make suggestions to you that are all bad. This is probably as bad as all the others, but Albert Camus is receiving the Nobel Prize Award for Literature on the 10th of December in Stockholm, King, Queen, etc., as well as all the other Nobel Prize Awards being presented then. I am going to Stockholm to see Camus, (whom we have published from the beginning,) receive this Award. I wondered, as it is a Tuesday, whether it would make any sense to you to interview him for the Person to Person hour. Anyway, there it is. I am delighted he has received the Award of course and am very proud and happy about it. All my best.

As always,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York
BWK:bm

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE ~~KNOP~~-PRESIDENT

Knopf

April 16, 1957

Dear Ed:

I almost give up. The material is sitting in my office. I want to discuss it with you. I have ideas about it, but I cannot do nothing without you. So when you have a moment perhaps you will call me or have your secretary call me.

I will come over to 485 happily. But to make a book out of this needs some work and not work of yours, and that is what I want.

What happened to the idea of the Rickover? Anything?

Bless and all the best, and how did you like the Governor?

As ever,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

bwk;bm

Call
Fowler
4/30

Knopf, Blanche

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

March 22, 1957

Dear Ed,

I have been trying to reach you, not about the material, but to ask you before Monday night regarding the title of an English book. Could you call me at your convience before Monday night? I will be at Purchase over the weekend. The number is White Plains 9-7122.

As ever,

Blanche W. Knopf
(dictated but not signed)

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
SBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

P.S. If you reached Mrs. Knopf, fine.
E. French
Secretary to Mrs. Knopf

BWK:ef

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE [redacted]-PRESIDENT

Knopf

March 20, 1957

Dear Ed:

I know how deeply involved you are in many things but Miss Holder tells me that I will see the rest of the material in a few days and, as I am just back from California I wait and hope.

By the way, if there is any chance of our getting together next week, which I doubt on your side, let us do it. However, if you can get this material together I would like to get at it as soon as possible.

Also, if I see you I will bring you a lot of carbons of my letters to Washington which will make you laugh. The replies, especially. Bless, all the best.

Yours,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

P.S. The material is just in. Thanks.

BWK:bm

March 18, 1957

Dear Mrs. Knopf:

Here are the additional scripts you wanted to see. Since they are, in most instances, our only copies aside from some rather tattered originals, we would be grateful if they could be returned to us when you are through with them.

Sincerely yours,

KAY CAMPBELL,
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Mrs. Blanche W. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

fc

Knopf, Blanche

March 8, 1957

Dear Blanche:

Sorry for the delay in getting the scripts to you, but there is a great deal to go through. We will send them along to you as soon as they are put into good order.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Blanche Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Knopf

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

January 22, 1957

Dear Ed,

You won't forget, will you, to send along that material of yours as soon as someone can get it out of your files for you?

All my best,

As ever,

Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

BWK:ef

Knopf, Alfred

August 8, 1956

Dear Alfred:

I am just leaving for the conventions, which makes me feel more like a fossil than a professor, but will hope to get at Samuel's book sometime in the next few days. It sounds interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Alfred Knopf, Jr.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

rh

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

August 1, 1956

Dear Ed,

I am sending you under separate cover an advance copy of Maurice Samuel's THE PROFESSOR AND THE FOSSIL, a book which examines the confusions, prejudices, and intellectual distortions in Arnold Toynbee's A STUDY OF HISTORY. I know how busy you are, but Norman Corwin suggested I get a copy off especially to you.

With best wishes, I am

Yours always,

Pat

Alfred Knopf, Jr.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
580 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

gps

Knopf, Blanche

August 8, 1956

Dear Blanche:

I am just leaving for the conventions after spending a couple of interesting days shooting on the NAUTILUS.

I am sending this to say my thanks for the books you were good enough to send me in the hospital.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Blanche Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

rh

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

January 10, 1956

Dear Ed,

Chaim Raphael, whose pen name is Jocelyn Davey, tells me that he has sent an advance copy of his book which we are calling A CAPITAL OFFENSE along to you. You will remember that we had lunch one day long ago at the Barbary Room. You might like it and if you have time and want to say something about it, I would be grateful. I think you usually don't do this but in any event, read it.

not received as yet

I have just come back from the Virgin Islands and someday you must go down to St. John. Laurance Rockefeller has bought just under half of that island and is putting in water power, electricity, roads etc. At the moment, it is quite remarkable and empty and beautiful. The trip isn't too bad either.

All my best to you and I still hope to see you one day.

Yours always,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

BWK:cc

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

November 9, 1955

Personal

Dear Ed,

I see that you did do a personal call on Dior last week which was very good indeed and very different. Congratulations as always.

I'm going to make a suggestion that I think you should throw out the window but here it is. We have our sales conference the 15th and 16th of December and at the end of it, Alfred and I will give the men a small dinner. Where I don't know, not in my apartment. It certainly would be different and could possibly be interesting for you. The 16th is a Friday night. I'm not giving them entertainment but I might. I don't know. But they certainly will talk about books and if it would amuse you and it does not look like advertising, perhaps you would think it over but offhand, I would say that this is a poor idea I am handing you.

Bless and all the best.

As always,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

NO

AAK:cc

Knopf, Alf

Cables:
KNOPF NEW YORK
Telephones:
MURRAY HILL 8-0600

Alfred A Knopf Incorporated
501 Madison Avenue NEW YORK

November 1, 1955

Dear Ed,

You know of my very special interest in the National Parks and that I have felt for a long time that CBS could use them.

A couple of months ago I visited Zion, Bryce, the North rim of the Grand Canyon and Cedar Breaks and met some of the Union Pacific people who operate all the concessions in these parts. One of them, B. F. Quinn, writes me that they have good color films of these units, that he will be in New York the week of January 23rd next and would like awfully much to arrange a special showing of these films either for you or any representative you designate. No sound track.

If you have any interest in this, designate your man and I'll put him in touch with the man at the Union Pacific office here in New York who could work out details.

All the best.

Yours,

Alfred

P. Woms.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

AAK:cc

Blanche W. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York City

Knopf, Blanche

October 20, 1955

Dear Ed,

Cambronne a dit . . . .

Miss Holder has very kindly sent me the book of short stories by Jane McClure which I will read as quickly as possible and am enormously grateful to you for sending it to me. You will be hearing soon.

All the best.

As ever,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

BWK:cc

Knopf, Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York City

October 17, 1955

Dear Ed,

Cambronne a dit . . . .

I tried to get you on the phone without any particular success. It is much too long since I have seen you in the first instance, but what I did want to point out is that Pierre Daninos is arriving here on October 25th for about a fortnight. Whether this interests you or not, I don't know. I am sending you a copy of the translation of his book for fun department. His English is very good and he knows a lot about France, being French and being civilized. He will be staying at the St. Regis.

What think you of Jean-Jacques' new newspaper which he and I talked a lot about in September. I think it might be pretty important for France in the sense of putting our friend, MF across. I hope so.

All the best to you.

As always,

Blanche

Knopf, Alfred

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

May 9, 1955

Dear Ed,

I am full of stupid ideas, but I have just written a note to Dr. Frank Stanton and wonder if you would be interested in having someone in either Germany - Dick Hottelet, or France - Dave Schoenbrun do a TV show on Thomas Mann's eightieth birthday, the 6th of June. Not alone is it his eightieth birthday, but the year also celebrates his golden wedding anniversary. Further, we are publishing the best novel of his whole life in the early Autumn. He lives about ten minutes outside of Zurich with his wife. It just might be fun. Anyway, there you are. Bless. All the best.

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:js

Knopf, A.

May 5, 1955

Dear Alfred:

Very many thanks for your note of April 21 and for sending me a copy of THIS IS DINOSAUR.

It is possible that we may decide to do something about this on one of our shows. I shall discuss it with Fred Friendly and let you know later.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

fe

BORZOI BOOKS

Alfred A Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK (22)

F.F.

April 21st, 1955

Dear Ed,

I know that people from the West Coast have been after you to do something about the fight over Echo Park Dam and that while I was in Washington we sent copies of our THIS IS DINOSAUR to you and a couple of your colleagues. - on shelf

I honestly think Dinosaur National Monument is worth every effort you can possibly put forth on its behalf. Indeed the same goes for the national parks and the National Park Service generally.

I'll say no more, but I am at your service if you are interested and I can help in any way.

All the best.

Yours,

Alfred

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

AAK:sms

WHY ECHO PARK DAM MUST BE STOPPED

Once again, a group of Western senators and congressmen are attempting to authorize the multi-billion dollar Upper Colorado River Storage Project in the 1955 Congress.

The same attempt was made during the 1954 session of Congress, but it failed. Whatever other reasons may fairly be ascribed to this failure, certainly the main reason was the concerted opposition to one small factor in the Upper Colorado Project: the erection of a dam which would flood out a large part of a fabulously beautiful area in the national park system, known as Dinosaur National Monument—so called because one section of the park contains a large deposit of Dinosaur remains. This dam, known as the Echo Park Dam, (although an effort is being made now to change the name to "the Yampa-Lodore Unit" as a subterfuge) is hailed by some ***supporters*** *as the key to the entire Upper Colorado River Project—but is regarded by all* ***opponents,*** *including many prominent engineers, as a costly and unnecessary invasion of the National Park System for the alleged advantage of a small section of the country—a political windfall for Utah.*

Opposition to Echo Park Dam is joined by millions of citizens who want to preserve the National Park System. These people ***do not oppose dams generally,*** *and they definitely* ***favor*** *the wise use of water resources. The majority are fighting the Upper Colorado River Project soley because of Echo Park Dam.*

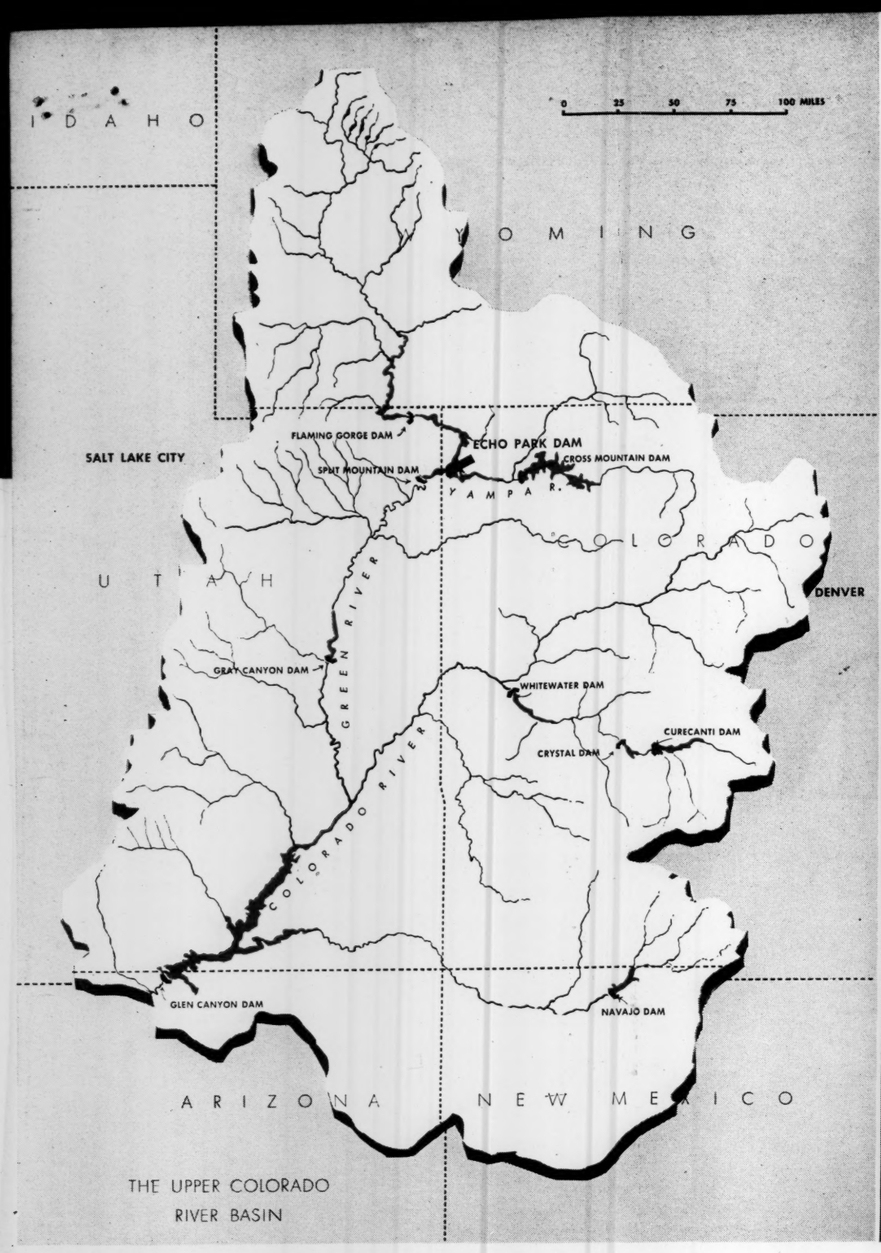
Because a quarter-million dollar campaign is in progress, financed by the proponents of the Echo Park Project, intended to confuse the issue, it is important that the facts be set down in a clear and straight-forward way.

HERE ARE THE FACTS:

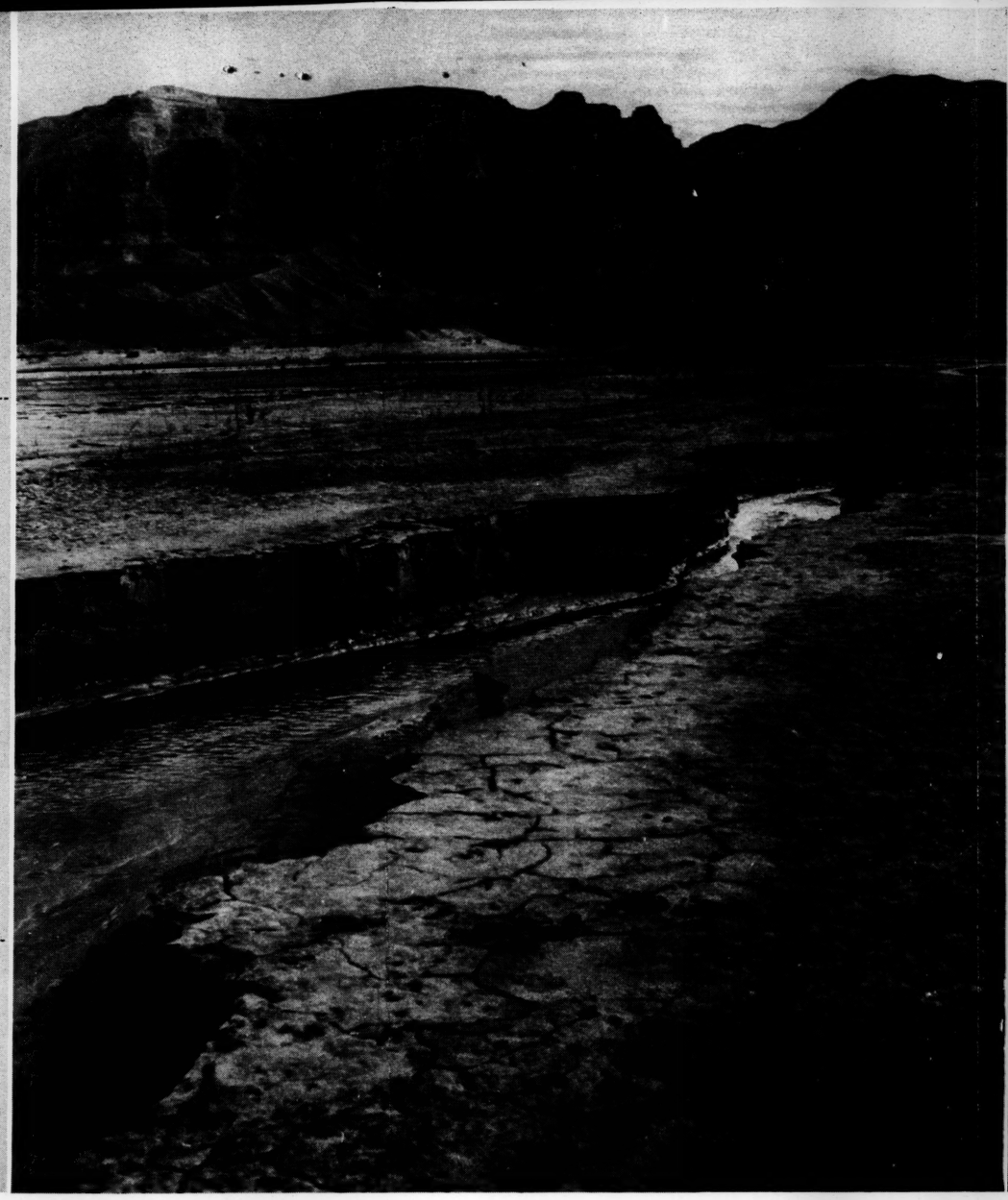
1. Echo Park Dam, which would destroy much of the park area, is a relatively small segment of the entire Upper Colorado River Development Project and one for which there are several acceptable alternatives. Interior Secretary McKay confuses the situation by saying: "About 1200 people visit the Monument each year. Three million people need water. Which is the most important?" This fantastic statement, indicating that Echo Park Dam would supply three million people with water, is one of the most deliberately inaccurate statements ever made by an official of the United States government. According to original plans, **Echo Park Dam, for all its multi-million dollar cost, was designed as purely a power and storage dam—to generate power for which there is no necessity, to store water which could be better stored elsewhere, and to supply NO IRRIGATION AT ALL.**

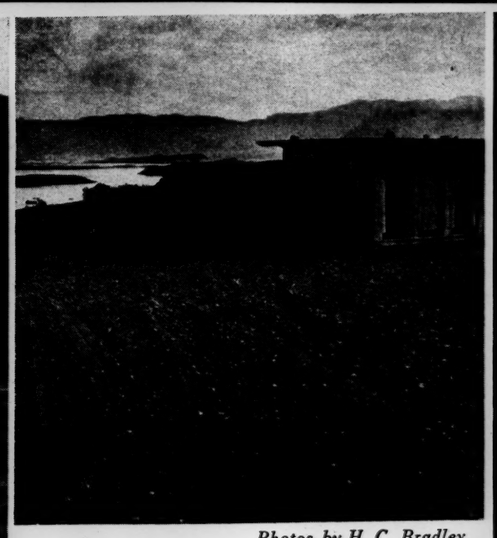
McKay's quoted statement that 1200 people visit the Monument each year is equally inaccurate. In 1954, the park was visited by 70,000 people and the number of visitors each year is multiplying at a much greater rate than at **any other area in the National Park System.** It is surprising that the Secretary of the Interior would be so wide of the mark unless he had been deliberately misled.

2. **Conservationist, outdoor, garden and women's groups throughout the nation, many of whom enthusiastically favor sensible water reclamation projects, are virtually solid in opposition to Echo Park Dam.** Literally thousands of local and dozens of national groups, and millions of citizens who do not belong to any group, are determined to protect this famous park area from invasion.



THE UPPER COLORADO RIVER BASIN





Photos by H. C. Bradley.

Secretary McKay says:
"What we have done to Lake Mead and the Great Smokies is what we have in mind for Dinosaur." Pictures at left, above and below, taken at Lake Mead, illustrate what McKay promises.

3. **Members of these groups are not necessarily against dams in general nor the Upper Colorado River Project** in particular. All of them will agree that the West needs water and should get it through some practical plan. But in opposing Echo Park, many have investigated the entire project, and as a result are inclined to look with disfavor upon the project as a whole because there is great evidence that it has not been thought through. **The original opposition of Conservationists to Echo Park Dam has delayed authorization of the entire project long enough to give people an opportunity to investigate the facts. As a result, there is a growing opposition to the entire Upper Colorado River Project as an economic monstrosity; as an unfair tax burden to provide a give-away program for the few states that will directly benefit; and as an unwise use of precious Western water.**

4. THE REASONS FOR THE GROWING OPPOSITION TO ECHO PARK DAM ARE AS FOLLOWS:

a. The National Park Service, a Federal Bureau as important as the Bureau of Reclamation, differs with the Reclamation bureaucrats and admits flatly that the effect of Echo Park Dam on the monument would be "deplorable." But what is even more important, **it is a totally unnecessary invasion of a national park area.** This would be the first such dam in a protected park area since creation of the Park Service in 1916, and thus breaks a tradition never before broken. Parks and monument areas, traditionally and legally protected by Congress from just such invasions as this, have been kept out of bounds for the lumber interests, stockmen, and others—including Reclamation engineers—who want to set a precedent for invading national parks and monuments. It has been established that **seventeen specific invasions, in nine national parks and monuments, have been planned.** Several are in the blueprint stage, and action upon them will be taken as soon as the protection of the National Park System is weakened. Because of this, potential invaders are keenly interested in Echo Park, because it will mark a major policy break with the past—it would prove to be an "Open Sesame" to all parks for commercial exploitation. This may account for some of the unreasonable stubborness with which Echo Park is maintained as part of the project, although the project might easily have been authorized by an earlier Congress if Echo Park had been deleted.

If for no other reason, conservationists are determined to continue militant opposition in order to prevent the beginning of the end of the National Park System.

b. Many outdoor and wilderness groups oppose Echo Park Dam because it would profoundly change the nature of Dinosaur National Monument from a breath-taking, scientifically important wilderness area to a partially denuded site with, at times, 34,000 acres of repulsive, unhealthful mud flats and unsightly areas exposed. This menacing landscape which local supporters are pretending would become a "playground" would have the same serious limitations as all similar mud-flat areas across the nation. **There are already too few real wilderness areas left in the nation, and this one must be protected at all costs, for sound conservation purposes as well as for aesthetic reasons.**

c. Several engineering and economic groups, as well as well-informed individuals, are convinced that **Echo Park Dam is a great waste of precious water and a cataclysmic economic mistake as a source of power.** Competent authorities have determined that power from Echo Park Dam may likely cost far more than power from alternative sources—unless the government takes an unconscionable loss. Local private power companies are inclined to favor the dam, if they can buy power from it cheaply enough to resell at a profit (which is doubtful). They have stated, however, that they are fully capable of supplying all power needs of the area without Echo Park Dam.

d. It is generally agreed—except by supporters of Echo Park Dam—that there are several alternatives outside the park which would serve the same purposes (whether they are valid purposes or not) without invading any Park or Monument area. At least one alternative would supply water to the Central Utah Project—so that the State of Utah really has nothing to lose by this substitution—**if the supporters don't, in reality, want to get into the National Park System for other purposes once the bars are down.**

Testifying before a House Committee last year, Under-Secretary Tudor said: "In the final analysis, the increased loss of water by evaporation from the alternative sites is the fundamental issue upon which the Department has felt it necessary to give any consideration to the Echo Park Dam and Reservoir." During 1954, after prodding for several years, the Bureau and the Department of the Interior admitted that some of its original calculations with regard to evaporation were in error by as much as 600%; and when the figures were corrected (too late to come to the attention of the House Committee which was already taking action on the basis of the false figures) even Mr. Tudor had no defensable excuse to prefer Echo Park rather than an alternative.

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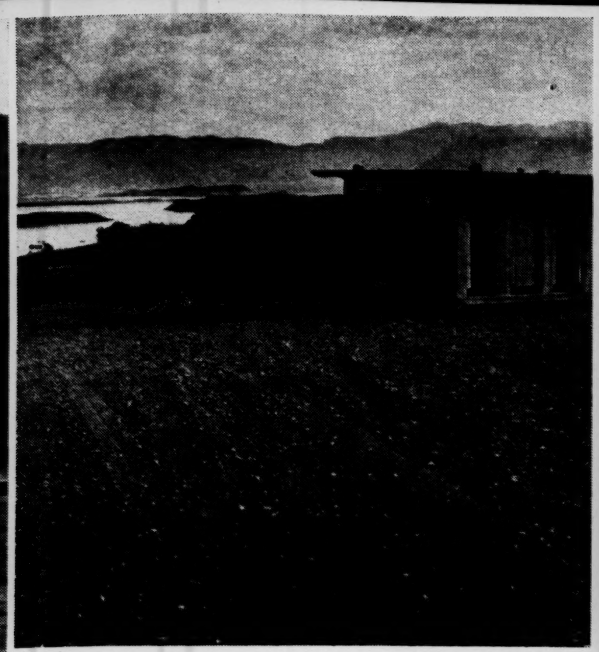

Photos by H. C. Bradley.

Secretary McKay says:
"What we have done to Lake Mead and the Great Smokies is what we have in mind for Dinosaur." Pictures at left, above and below, taken at Lake Mead, illustrate what McKay promises.

Photo by Hyde.

This is Dinosaur—Today—at the point where the Green and Yampa rivers meet, showing many miles of famous scenery, with Steamboat Rock in the center. Tomorrow it could be mud flats and barren ground, and only the top of the great rock showing as an island.

ıave determined that power ıay likely cost far more than sources—unless the governionable loss. Local private ıclined to favor the dam, if rom it cheaply enough to ch is doubtful). They have ey are fully capable of sup- ; of the area without Echo

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e. The assertion that the local citizens were "promised" a dam at Echo Park when the Monument's park area was enlarged some years ago, is a deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. It is true that reservation was made for an anticipated dam in the enlarged park area; **but this site was specifically noted as being at "Brown's Park" which is many miles from Echo Park, near the edge of the monument area,** and would flood only one mile of canyon. Echo Park Dam would flood scores of square miles—and was NOT planned to provide irrigation. There is no reason to believe that those who oppose Echo Park Dam would oppose a Brown's Park Dam, if one should be under consideration (which it isn't) in view of the commitment made. It could not be considered an invasion of the Monument, since it would be interpreted as the fulfillment of an official promise.

f. **Opposition to Echo Park Dam has mounted as a result of the devious means used by its proponents to prove that it is "necessary," and to confuse the issue.** Many devices used have been so transparent as to simply cause irritation among thinking people, and to cast serious doubt and suspicion upon the entire project.

g. The most recent subterfuge has been the decision of the propagandists for the dam to rule out the name "Echo Park" and henceforth refer to the dam as the "Yampa-Lodore Unit." This is an obvious device (and a clever one) to convey the impression that the controversial Echo Park Dam is no longer part of the project. **This device will serve only to increase the determination of those who want to save the park. They will not let the public forget that Echo Park Dam by any other name is equally undesirable.**

McKay indicates that Echo Park Dam will provide three million people with water, which is a subterfuge. He says it is opposed by conservationists because "they say it would flood out the Dinosaur bones—which it won't"—and that is another subterfuge, since conservationists have never contended that any known bed of dinosaur remains will be affected. The contention that Echo Park Dam was "promised" is pure fiction. Now we have the effort to change the name and "hide" Echo Park—another device calculated to keep people from really looking into the facts. One cannot resist the temptation to ask "Why?"

h. Many people oppose Echo Park Dam because they oppose the entire Upper Colorado River Project. This group, led by members of the Hoover Commission, the Engineers Joint Council, and such writers as Raymond Moley, contends that **the entire project is badly planned, that it is not the best way to utilize their water, that there isn't the slightest chance that it can ever repay any important part of its cost, and that it is largely a "Pork Barrel Project" for purely political purposes.**

Many thinking people—in the East and West—object to the entire Upper Colorado River Project on the grounds that, as presently planned, it would cost American taxpayers as much as 15 billions—and we mean **FIFTEEN BILLIONS**—at a time when funds are needed elsewhere and could be put to better use —or saved in an effort to balance the budget. It has been estimated that the cost of Echo Park Dam and the "first phase" of the project would alone be enough to meet the deficit in the 1955 budget. *Last year, Congress was told the "first phase" of the project would cost 1.6 billions. This year, the cost is estimated at 1.1 billions for the same work. Does anybody know what happened?*

5. The Upper Colorado River Project is not new. It was originally planned many years ago, and pressure was put on several previous Administrations to put the matter before Congress. During the last years of the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations, propagandists for the Project kept urging the Interior Department to recommend it to Congress—but even those who felt most strongly in favor of dams generally could not see their way clear to recommending the Upper Colorado River Project. Oscar Chapman, then Secretary of the Interior, saw that much of the engineering and economics incorporated into the plan for Echo Park Dam were fallacious, and this, combined with his conviction that national parks should not be needlessly invaded, led him to recommend that the matter be more thoroughly studied before Congress be asked to act.

When the Upper Colorado propagandists saw that the Eisenhower Administration needed a reclamation project to prove it wasn't "against reclamation," they quickly steered the Department of Interior into the Upper Colorado Project. Under-Secretary Tudor was sent to the scene, supposedly to investigate, but before he had an opportunity seriously to investigate anything, the Department of the Interior, for reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained, moved ahead. Administration wheels immediately began to grind—without any further investigation, and without any effort to clarify the obvious errors of judgment, mathematics, and economics incorporated into the original plan.

6. Perhaps to further confuse the issue, at least FIVE bills to authorize the Upper Colorado Project, including Echo Park Dam, have been introduced in the present session of Congress. These bills are known in the Senate as S. 500 and in the House as H.R. 270, H.R. 2836, H.R. 3383, and H.R. 3384.

The opponents of Echo Park Dam represent only private citizens with vision but without vested interests, and have limited funds, supplied wholly by contributions from individuals who love the National Parks. They must depend for action wholly upon far-sighted American citizens to appeal to their Congressmen and Senators to vote against the bills authorizing the Upper Colorado River Project. Will you help?

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. **If you do not want to see national park areas turned over to the vested interests for private development;**

2. **If you do not want as much as 15 BILLIONS of your taxes invested in a highly doubtful development project—one which has been called unwise by competent and unprejudiced groups, and one which has obviously not been carefully planned, since even basic mathematics are admittedly in error; or**

3. **If you would like to see the Upper Colorado River Project delayed until Echo Park Dam is eliminated and until the highly doubtful economic and engineering questions can be resolved, then you should WRITE TO YOUR SENATORS AND YOUR CONGRESSMAN TODAY. TELL THEM TO VOTE AGAINST THE BILLS FOR AUTHORIZATION OF THE COLORADO RIVER PROJECT, WHICH INCLUDE ECHO PARK DAM, WHEN THEY COME UP FOR CONSIDERATION ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS.**

This is important. Do it now.

All members of the House should be addressed:
HOUSE OFFICE BLDG., WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Senators should be addressed:
SENATE OFFICE BLDG., WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Send copies of replies to:
COUNCIL OF CONSERVATIONISTS

Limited supplies of this brochure may be secured from
THE COUNCIL OF CONSERVATIONISTS 161 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

A TIMELY WARNING ABOUT UNNECESSARY DAMS

The conservationists who oppose Echo Park Dam do not necessarily oppose big dams in general, and the majority approve of them if they are necessary to provide the most practical solution to water control problems. However, there are certain liabilities in big dams that should be considered when vast and "perhaps questionable" projects are being planned. Here are a few points, quoted from "Big Dam Foolishness" by Elmer Peterson. Published by Devin-Adair ($3.50).

"Big Dams fight nature. They do not work with nature. Thus they are disruptive. They are disruptive of the water on which the soil depends. Each new dam, in this disruption, potentially requires that another be built to handle the upsetting caused by the first. And each and every one absolutely requires that, someday, another be built, because each and every one, as it fills with the inevitable silt, becomes gradually useless. It is a spreading cancer of dams that is the danger, each one nibbling away at the fertility of the land; each one taking men farther away from nature's demand that water be held, not in vast man-made pools, but on the land where it falls.

"... We find that far more water can be stored in the ground than in the greatest surface reservoirs. Most important of all, we find that the topsoil contains a stupendous complex and concourse of vital organic and inorganic substances upon which life depends, and that the washing away of these substances means 'Deserts on the March,' with sure death in their wake. We also see the most obvious object lesson in history.

"The death of many an empire—Babylonia, Carthage, Rome, Greece—is registered in the sedimentation of its rivers and canals, simultaneously with the erosion of its slopes. But our water policy leaders blandly ignore sedimentation or dismiss it briefly under the head of 'pollution' and concentrate their attention upon the crude methods of 60 centuries ago, which actually cause sedimentation instead of preventing it. That is, they concentrate upon the manipulation and trapping of muddy water—land-soup—in huge volume, oblivious to what history has to teach."

"Our potential enemy, Russia, has already tested out the technique and efficiency of dam-bombing.

"The tremendous magnifying of explosive power made possible by atomic fission, to replace TNT or other familiar explosives, makes the presence of dams a greater war-time menace than ever. There would be no necessity for the unique cumulative technique, calculated and accomplished by the RAF in Germany. One atomic bomb, even if it were not set off in contact with the dam, could do the job because of the incompressibility of water.

"The death-dealing nature of the explosion as such would be only a part of the menace, for the water, rushing from the broken dam, would be instantly contaminated by radio-activity from which there could be no escape."

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

March 17, 1955

Dear Ed,

Sorry we missed everywhere. You had a bad flight over - much worse than mine, which was bad. But apparently you did a fabulous job as always. I hear that three of the Smith TV's have been on and are wonderful. Do you think there is a book there? You will remember we talked about it.

Sorry the RO didn't work, but you weren't too sure that you wanted it, and I think I understand. The politics in France and Italy were quite something to look at, but you know more about it than I. I found Bill Downs doing a really good job in Rome and knowing everything that was going on. Tell me when you have a free moment. Congratulations, as I always give them to you, and all my best.

Blanche

P.S. By the way, my bouts with eight MP's were entertaining for me and the news of Bevan is probably more important than the public will admit.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:js

Knopf, Blanche

February 25, 1955

Dear Blanche:

I have your letter of February 3 and this is merely a note to tell you that I have decided against the Oppenheimer book.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Mrs. Alfred A. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

fc

Claridge's
Brook Street, W.1

3rd February, 1955.

E. R. Murrow, Esq.,
C/o. Columbia Broadcasting,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York,
U.S.A.

Dear Ed.,

When I left New York Friday 21st January I realised that you and I had not spoken about the Oppenheimer TV show that you thought you might put into a book and I radioed you. I have just now discovered from TWA that the radio was never sent. I hope you have decided in view of this and are working out the book for us with Bill Koshland of our office. I think really it is important to do it.

I left all instructions with production that if your proposal came through they were to go ahead on the basis of a $1.00 or $1.25 pamphlet size for a large distribution.

Nothing much new here; have seen Howard.

Yours, Blanche

Mrs. Alfred A. Knopf.

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ALFRED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

January 4, 1955

Dear Ed,

Your broadcasts get better and better, if that is possible. Yesterday's on Wolf Ladejinsky (?) was really moving. What can we do in the world we're living in? You care and I care, but so few people do. So now we have an eighty-fourth Congress, so the stock market is higher than ever, and you've had your very good roundup.

Well, I'm off to London at the end of the month. Can we meet before I go? I would like Eric to write a book for me. How can we work it? Dick Hottelet I suppose would too. You won't but something of these broadcasts I should put together - at least for my own happiness. Think that one over and if you won't, let's at least talk. You give me balance, which I lose day after day in my own work. All the best. Bless and a happy New Year.

Yours always,

Blanche -

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

BWK:js

Lunch
some day

Knopf, Blanche

Blanche W. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York City

October 23, 1953

Cambronne a dit . . . .

Dear Ed,

Somehow the little while today with you set me up and made more sense than anything I have listened to for some time--perhaps it's because we agree on so many points.

If you can do anything on this Cultural-Book Promotion deal, I know you will, and if I can help, let me know.

I should be delighted to see the Kinescope any time that we are both free.

With my best,

As ever,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

PERSONAL

BWK/sc

Knopf Jr. Alfred

May 14, 1952

Dear Alfred:

Eventually I get 'round to saying a word of thanks to personal friends who pat us on the back. I'm grateful for your kind comments about the television show, and the delay in acknowledgement is no indication of lack of appreciation.

Again thanks.

As ever yours,

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf, Jr.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue *NEW YORK (22), N.Y.*

(5)

January 18, 1952

Dear Ed Murrow,

I caught SEE IT NOW Sunday afternoon for the very first time, and I'm only sorry now at having missed all the others. It's a really tremendous show, as you must know by now, and I thought Sunday's performance, when you had so much technical difficulty, was handled really magnificently. Thanks for a wonderful half hour.

Yours always,

al Alfred Knopf, Jr.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Knopf, Alfred

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

February 29, 1952

Dear Ed,

Thanks for sending the carbon of the answer to the publishers. Do you want this returned to you?

I think you are right and it is not for us; after all, this is not a book by you, which is the book we do need and want, but seems to be by a lot of people, with only a foreword by you. So let us wait until we get that book by you.

Regarding a letter to Bill Nuckols, I am not completely clear as to your idea of such a book. I appreciate that he can't write it, but I don't want to get him off on the wrong foot, either, so I will call you in a few days and perhaps you can give me the correct steer.

Bless you, and thanks,

Sincerely,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Bond Day. Knopf, Alfred (not in Griffin Index)

Alfred A Knopf *Incorporated*

501 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK (22)

July 23, 1951

N

Dear Ed,

I am giving a small luncheon for Nicholas Monsarrat on Wednesday, August 8th, at one o'clock. I hope you can join us. Do let me know and I will tell you where we are going to meet as soon as I am sure of the place.

Yours sincerely,

Alfred

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

nl

P.S. Monsarrat, as you probably know, is the author of THE CRUEL SEA which we are publishing on August 6th. He is flying from South Africa to be here for just a very few days the week of the book's publication.

AAK

DICTATED BUT NOT READ

Mu 8-0600

Called them to say
Mr. M could not
attend

Knopf, Alfred A.

October 6, 1950

Dear Mr. Strauss:

I wouldn't think of trying a book on Korea and sent along a few of the manuscripts only at Blanche's suggestion.

Right now a book is somewhere far over the horizon; I am still struggling to fill fifteen minutes everyday.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harold Strauss
Alfred A. Knopf Incorporated
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Alfred · A · Knopf *Incorporated*

PUBLISHER OF BORZOI BOOKS

Cables: KNOPF NEW YORK
Telephones: PLAZA 3-4761

501 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK (22), N.Y.

September 18, 1950

Dear Mr. Murrow,

As you know, Blanche is still in Europe, but I have hastened to read your seven Korean broadcasts which you sent over at her request. I had heard three of them on the air, and I am glad to say that they read as well as they listen. These are absolutely first rate, especially the eye-witness ones. There is no one who can touch you on this sort of thing.

The problem, of course, is bulk. If we had thirty or forty thousand words more of contemporary stuff to go along with these seven transcripts, I think it very likely that we'd have a book. But I can't quite see, now even less than when we last talked about it, reprinting the old broadcasts, wonderful though they were, just to make a bulky enough book. I know you sent these transcripts over because Blanche asked for them, and this does not necessarily imply that you yourself think there is a book here. As to that, I am sure that Blanche still feels and will continue to feel, as she wrote you on July 24th, that "If you write a book I want to publish it and have always wanted to."

Blanche will see all this material when she comes back, but meanwhile, if there is anything more you want me to do, or if you have tangible plans for a book about which I don't know, please let me know.

Cordially,

Harold Strauss

Harold Strauss

hs;jc

Knopf, Alfred

May 25, 1950

Dear Blanche:

I tried to reach you on the phone without success before leaving for Berlin, and I hope to get together with you on my return.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Alfred Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Knopf, Blanche

CABLES: KNOPF NEW YORK TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 8-0600

ED · A · KNOPF INCORPORATED · 501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK 22

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

July 12, 1951
(not in Griffin Index)

Dear Ed:

The use of the HANDBOOK OF ATTRACTING BIRDS that I sent you last October is amusing. Of course, it was not a serious book for you to read, but it might attract whatever you want to attract.

I am sending you a catalog -- a new one -- maybe you do want something to read these days.

I'm still trying to get up to Pawling before I take off.

All my best, as ever,

Blanche

Blanche Knopf

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

:vr

Knopf - Blanche

July 11, 1951

Dear Blanche:

As far back as October 31 you sent me "Handbook of Attracting Birds". Believe it or not I have read a third of it believing that maybe if one could attract birds, one could attract sponsors or listeners. Belatedly, my best thanks, and if you think this acknowledgement has been delayed I can only say that this note is being written on the very first day of my vacation up on Quaker Hill where we hope to see you before the summer is out.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Blanche Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Knopf Bennett

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

April 9, 1951

Geo.

Dear Ed,

It is a long time since I have seen you and if you are free on Friday the 13th for lunch, will you have it with me? If not, you say when. I have much to ask you as per usual.

What a fine job you are doing.

All my best,

Yours,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

BWK:am

✓ 1 Apr 12:30

Knopf Blanch

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

15th December, 1950

Dear Ed,

Don't see Col. Laidlaw but let someone else see him if he calls. He may be of use somehow.

Will have a time shedule on production of that book.

Bless you,

As always,

Blanch

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

:tsk

sorry to have disturbed you

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

FICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

31st October, 1950

23

Dear Ed,

A little item for

your next political broadcast.

As ever,

Hawes

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
C-B-S
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

:tsk

Handbook of Attracting Birds
on shelf

Knopf, Blanche

Claridge's
Brook Street, W.1

23rd September, 1950.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York, U.S.A.

Dear Ed.

Just in haste as I had a carbon of Harold Strauss' letter to you. Naturally, I have not seen or heard the broadcasts. Let us talk about all this when I get back about the 15th October. Just off to Paris now and will be at the Ritz there.

Saw Howard here and all the rest.

Bless you as ever,

Blanche W. Knopf.

Blanche W. Knopf.

Dictated but signed after her departure for Paris.

Knopf, Blanche

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

10th July, 1950

Dear Ed,

Before you go off to Korea it occurs to me that it would be a very good idea if you asked your secretary to send me transcripts of your Korean broadcasts as they come through. Perhaps these by themselves would make a short and important book; perhaps these, with part of the material that we have in the office, would make a book of some length that we both might like.

By the way I read Bill Costello's short article in The New Republic and thought it brilliant and am writing him at once. When you see him you may want to discuss it further.

It was charming seeing you the other evening. Please take care of yourself.

Bless you,

With my best,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
C-B-S
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

:tsk

P.S. Proofs of Alistair Booke's A GENERATION ON TRIAL are going over to you before Friday.

10th July, 1950

Dear Mr. Costello,

Ed Murrow and I were talking about you the other night and about the possibilities of a book coming out now. I reread your letter of May 22nd and would now like to take up your offer to send us a definate outline, at the same time we would like to know the probable length of the manuscript and the delivery date.

You mention McCarthy twice in your letter, but I am sure that you will want to take quite a different approach now. American's are obviously more convinced of the importance of the Far East and your New Republic article takes the right approach to the background and recent developments.

We have heard your broadcasts off and on for several years and we think you can do just the right sort of book. Obviously the situation has made the whole project more exciting.

Looking forward to an early answer,

Yours sincerely,

Blanche W. Knopf

William Costello, Esq.,
The Press Club
Tokyo, JAPAN

:tsk

Knopf, Blanche

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

June 30, 1950

No Ans.

Dear Ed,

Your broadcasts this week have been particularly brilliant I think, but what I want to ask you is who is young Richard Martin from Tokyo. I have never heard of him. And what do you think the picture is now in the way of getting some one to write a book - I think it is probably early in the game?

You realize that Alistair Cook wrote that book we discussed a year ago. It is called A GENERATION ON TRIAL, we will publish on September 19th, and as soon as I get an advance copy or even an extra set of proofs, I will send it along to you. He has done an absolutely brilliant job as you said he would. I look forward to seeing you and Janet on Thursday and you say the time, etc.

All my best.

As always,

Blanche W. Knopf
am

BWK:am

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Knopf, Blanche

ALFRED · A. KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

Indefinite

January 18, 1950

Dear Ed,

I have taken longer than I meant to reading the broadcasts. The three pages of outline for the preface obviously took no time at all. Harold and I have now both read the material and I would like very much to talk with you about it, as would he. I have an idea that you may not agree with but I don't feel that I can write it to you. I will probably go abroad next week for a couple of weeks and wonder whether you could spare half an hour early in the week - Monday or Tuesday, after lunch for instance, to come in. Will you let me know?

I was sorry you could not come in the other evening and hope you are both well again.

With all my best,

Yours as ever,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

:am

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

May 22, 1950

Dear Ed,

I was in Washington for two days and saw Eric who seems in very good form indeed. What is bothering me is that you and I have neither seen each other for months nor even discussed that book of yours. I think it would be a very good idea if we had lunch, or if you could take an hour off one late afternoon this week and come over and talk about it. Lunch is preferable of course. Will you let me know? And give my love to Janet.

As ever,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

BWK:am

Knopf, Blanche

April 3, 1950

Dear Mrs. Knopf:

Your letter of March 15th has been received here in Mr. Murrow's absence. We have given him the information about the McVane manuscript over the phone, and he will be in touch with you after his return to the city early in May.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Platoff
Secretary

Mrs. Blanche Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

ALFRED · A · KNOPF · INCORPORATED
501 MADISON AVENUE · NEW YORK (22)

OFFICE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

15th March, 1950

Dear Ed,

I did as you suggested and handled John MacVane myself and sent the manuscript back to him. It really isn't a novel or anything that we could publish, nor do I think anybody could. When you get settled down again I would like to see you so let me know the answer.

Yours,

As ever,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
C-B-S
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

:tsk

P.S. Too bad I didn't get on that Pan Air trip with you.

Knopf, Blanche

March 8, 1950

Dear Blanche:

I haven't read this, but it was written by a very able friend of mine in London. He asked if I would submit it to an American publisher. Naturally, I submit it to you first.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Blanche Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

"How World War II Came"
by Julius Menken

Knopf, Blanche
(not included in

ALFRED · A · KNOPF, *Inc.*
501 MADISON AVENUE
New York (22)

Office of the Vice-President

July 22, 1949

Dear Ed,

Still I have not seen you and I won't be here after the tenth of August as I am going to Europe as per usual. How does the manuscript go and do you think there is a chance of my seeing it before I go off, or seeing the material that you have had typed so far. Can you give me a ring when you are in town and perhaps we can work out a meeting and see the outline of that preface.

With all my best,

Yours always,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

:am

Knopf, Blanche
Griffin Index

August 5, 1948

Dear Blanch:

Unfortunately, I had to cut the piece on THE PLAGUE because I mistimed the show, but I am glad you thought it acceptable. It was, as a matter of fact, the first time that I have mentioned a novel on the air.

Certainly we shall dine on Tuesday night. Let's check the weather on Tuesday morning.

As ever yours,

Mrs. Alfred A. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

ALFRED · A · KNOPF, *Inc.*
501 MADISON AVENUE
New York (22)

Office of the Vice-President

August 4, 1948.

Dear Ed,

That was a fine broadcast generally and what you said about THE PLAGUE is excellent and I believe that the Advertising Department will want to use it. I do not remember that you ever broadcasted about a novel before and when Camus comes here or you next go to France, you two must meet.

I look forward to seeing you next Tuesday night for dinner after your broadcast. If it is cool enough, let us dine at 24 West 55th, 8:15. If it is hot, perhaps we had better go out. I leave it to you.

Yours always,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
130 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.

r

Knopf, B.

ALFRED · A · KNOPF, *Inc.*
501 MADISON AVENUE
New York (22)

Office of the Vice-President

March 18, 1949

Dear Ed,

I think you have a splendid idea and hope that you will have the material collected by the time I return from California April 6th. The period from the annexation of Austria to some time next month when Churchill arrives is certainly important and your broadcasts during that time pooled together as you want them done should make a really splendid book. If you will put your material together I will go through it with one of the editors here as well if you like; I doubt that we will need to do much to it however. But this occurs to me, that a preface will probably be needed.

This is such good news that I sincerely hope that you will put it together in the next three or four weeks and when I return we will draw up a contract.

Please do not change your mind.

Yours,

Blanche

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
130 East 74th Street
New York, New York

Lilienthal, D. E.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

One Whitehall
NY

22 January 64

Dave

Dear Ed: You are one of that rare if not unique company of men whose whole career has been a form of public service; so leaving the USIS, as entering it, doesn't change basically the quality and texture of how you give of yourself.

When you feel like it I'd be so happy to have a visit with you. Until then, work hard hard at convalescing fully.

Affectionately

Dave

Mr. Edward R. Murrow

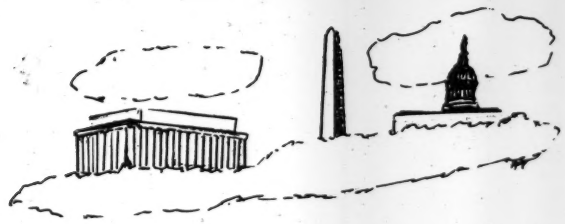
HOLIDAY GREETINGS . . . 1959

The United States Capitol as Viewed from "Capitol Park" Window

" . . . I believe—and I conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest as does religion—upon the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that this is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as it is, essentially, the meaning of religion . . . I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead provided only that we practice it in our daily lives . . ."

(David E. Lilienthal, 1947)

from a transplanted wolverine



Bob Greene

AJC **The American Jewish Committee**

Central Seaboard Area
Robert J. Greene, Director
Room 805, Continental Bldg.
1012 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.
DI 7-3204

Apt. N-309, Capitol Park
800 4th Street, S. W.
Washington 24, D. C.
ME 8-4976

This card returnable
for refreshments and lodging
(latter, convention being what it is,
applicable only to male recipients
of this card).

Present upon arrival.

800 4th Street, S.W.
Washington 24, D.C.

December 15, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

"Here It Now", Volume II, is the source of my knowledge of the Lilienthal quotation, excerpted on the cover of a greeting card I have prepared for friends. Therefore, I thought that you might find this use of it of interest.

The background of the card is this: I have recently moved from a position with the State of Michigan to one with the American Jewish Committee, here in Washington. From my residence I have this view of the Capitol, which to me, in my work, has a good deal of meaning. The Lilienthal quotation has remained in my mind ever since I heard it on your record some ten years ago. Lilienthal's finding of a common basis for democracy and religion seems appropriate to the holiday season and my new tie-in with the Capitol.

With continued good wishes for the success of your career, a career whose product has provided me with much thought, information and entertainment,

Sincerely,

Bob Greene

Robert J. Greene

January 7, 1960

Dear Mr. Greene:

Thank you for your letter of December 15th and for your enclosed greeting card.

Since Mr. Murrow is on a year's leave of absence and is traveling in Europe, I have forwarded your letter on to him there.

Very sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary

Mr. Robert J. Greene
800 4th Street, S.W.
Washington 24, D. C.

Lilienthal, Dave

June 19, 1959

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Development and Resources Corporation
50 Broadway
New York 4, N.Y.

Dear Dave:

This is a note to say much luck on the Moroccan venture. We are still eager and determined to do a piece on Iran and will let your office know as soon as we have established definite dates. I think it of very considerable importance that you be there while we are shooting. My love to Helen.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Lilienthal, David E

February 12, 1959

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Development and Resources Corporation
50 Broadway
New York 4, N.Y.

Dear Dave:

Just a word to say that the commission re the Shah certainly still stands. I think it would be wise for you to discuss with him, if you are willing, other participants whom he would find agreeable. Perhaps Bernhardt of the Netherlands might be interesting. In any event, give me a shout on the 'phone at your convenience when you get back.

As ever yours,

ERM:akh

CABLE ADDRESS: "DESOURCE NEWYORK"

DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCES CORPORATION

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

GORDON R. CLAPP
PRESIDENT

50 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.
WHITEHALL 4-4521

January 30, 1959

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I have thought a good deal further about the idea you described the other day at lunch, namely, that the Shah of Persia be invited to participate in a SMALL WORLD program. Your idea is very appealing. The Shah himself has a fine command of colloquial American, is photogenic, and quite relaxed in conversation so he would not be a difficult subject, from a technical point of view, I should think.

You made it plain that you had "commissioned" me to discuss the idea with His Majesty, and if it appealed to him, to assure him that you and CBS would make the necessary preliminary arrangements to get it under way.

But before I leave the country for Persia on February 21st, I would like to talk to you on the phone to make sure that in the meantime some very good reasons may not have occurred to you why the "commission" should not be a conditional one, or you may possibly have a different view of the entire project. Also I would need to have some idea of when, roughly, such a program would be scheduled; my suggestion is after the New Year period which is a period of a month following March 21st, in other words, some time in late April would seem to be the earliest that the Shah could sit before the camera, and probably the earliest that you could accomplish the other arrangements. If some big news event hits the place before then and you wanted to step up the schedule, I should think this could be done if it seemed important enough to do so.

As to other participants, since Mrs. Roosevelt will be out there while we are there in March, she seems a very good idea to me. You might think about the head of some other rapidly growing country, such as the new President of Mexico, as the third participant.

We are leaving for some work in Puerto Rico at the end of this week but expect to be back about February 17th. I will call you by phone on the 18th or 19th; we leave for Persia via London the evening of Saturday, February 21st.

Does your brother know of the invitation Iran is extending for tenders on its road construction program? He probably does, but if not, I suggest he or his Company communicate with the Commercial Attache of the American Embassy at Tehran, or directly with Plan Organization of Iran, Tehran, Iran.

With warm regards, (and to Janet)

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

DEL:RPI

Lilienthal, David
Confid.

June 20, 1958

Dear Dave:

Many thanks for the book on Iran. I shall hope to read it flying to the West Coast and back. We will be back at the farm by July 15 and have high hopes of welcoming you there at your earliest convenience. Why not give us a ring and give us a convenient date. The telephone number is Pawling, New York, ULysses 5-6202.

My brother and I enjoyed the luncheon very much. I am sending you a couple of documents about his organization about which, I must confess, I know very little, except that he seems to be fairly well regarded as something of an expert in transportation.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
50 Broadway
New York, New York

fc

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
50 BROADWAY
NEW YORK
WHITEHALL 4-4521

June 18, 1958

Dear Ed:

As I promised the other day at lunch, I am sending the book about Iran I think is the best available. It is up to date, and the summary of Iranian history (a hell of a long one*) is readable, interesting, and relevant.

We all enjoyed the luncheon meeting with you and your brother.

With warm regards,

As ever,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

* the history - not the summary!

Lilienthal

CABLE ADDRESS: "DESOURCE NEWYORK"

DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCES CORPORATION

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

GORDON R. CLAPP
PRESIDENT

50 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.
WHITEHALL 4-4521

June 2, 1958

Dear Ed:

So glad we are going to lunch together (The Century, June 12, at 12:30 pm). Have asked our Executive Vice President, John Oliver, to join us (with Gordon) so he and your brother can meet. He has just returned from six weeks in Iran.

When Helen and I last visited you at Quaker Hill, I mentioned the beginnings of our activities on behalf of Iran in the re-development of what was the heartland of ancient Persia, the region from the head of the Persian Gulf northward - now known as the Khuzestan Region. Well, a lot has happened since then, and I'm glad of a chance to tell you something about it.

With warm regards,

Most cordially,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Lilienthal, David

CABLE ADDRESS: "DESOURCE NEWYORK"

DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCES CORPORATION

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

GORDON R. CLAPP
PRESIDENT

44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.
WHITEHALL 4-4521

January 21, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your letter of January 16 has been received. Mr. and Mrs. Lilienthal are vacationing in Puerto Rico and we expect them back in mid-February.

Yours very sincerely,

Ruth P. Ivey

Ruth P. Ivey
Administrative Assistant

RPI:RS

Personal = from David Lilienthal

یادداشت

بتاریخ .....

از ..... به .....

سازمان برنامه

TEHRAN Iran Nov. 28, 1956.

Dear Ed:

That was a pleasant surprise, hearing your voice in mid-ocean. Hope I shall be seeing you --I resist the obvious temptation to say "person-toperson"-- before too long.

Our work out here in the re-development of southwestern Iran--the center from which ancient Iran once ruled from the Nile and beyond to the Indus--is coming on amazingly, in spite of all the advise we had to expect nothing to be possible, in the way of action, in this country. It is quite a tale: some of our engineering parties, getting out of the mountains day after tommorrow, have been traversing quite unknown places on the map; the rivers we are preparing to put yokes on we find are magnificent, larger and more productive of water for irrigation and power than our air reconnaissance indicated. Today in our session with the Shah we accepted a new set of responsibilities, and are building an unusual group out here. But the political meaning , potentially, of our Khuzestan Region development, in view of Iran's unique position in the Middle East,

س ۹۷۹۴
۱۵۰۰و۱۰۰ب
۵-۱۴و۷م

is a fascinating possibility, since Iran is neither Arab nor without deep ties with its neighbors--and with oil, gas and water resources, and probably minerals (we'll be having searches for these going soon) it has the material resources and great natural intelligence and friendliness on which to build something, in time.

We left New York Oct. 24th; so a great deal has happened since we left. Our work in Italy, in the South and the Islands, is now begun, and we go back for a couple weeks more of that before coming back for Xmas with the children and grandchildren--and to gw greet Nancy's new baby expected about Xmas.

There are so many places wherew you and your co mprehension should go that I hesitate saying: put Iran on your list for a visit within the coming year--perhaps we can arrange to be here at the same time, but in any case put it on the If-possible list. XXXXXX

Helen sends her best to Janet and to you, with mine

Dave Lilienthal

Edward R. Murrow

David E. Lilienthal

س ۹۷۹۴
۱۵۰۰،۱۰۰ب
۵-۱۴،۷م

E R Murrow

9 March 1956

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

Few marks of recognition will please you more, I daresay, nor your friends, than the one just awarded you.

Helen and I enjoyed seeing Janet on TV Sunday; some people die for Alma Mater's treasury; outwitting (or out-guessing) is more fun. And we liked her new hair-do; the rest is the same: a sweet and captivating smile, for example. I'm off to India & Iran Wed

Best best best, Ed. Affectionately, Dave

Lilienthal, David

CABLE ADDRESS: "DESOURCE NEWYORK"

DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCES CORPORATION

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

GORDON R. CLAPP
PRESIDENT

44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.
HANOVER 2-1220

November 16, 1955

My dear Ed:

Gordon and I are glad to have the dope on Transportation Consultants, and your brother Lacey's connection with it. As we run into transportation matters, we shall certainly keep this in mind.

Helen and I had quite a trip. Turkey, Greece, etc., but the most interesting (and grueling) was a month (and 5,000 auto miles) in the highways and by-ways of southern Italy and Sicily. The South Italy development program is one of the most unusual efforts of the kind I have ever seen, anywhere. It isn't that Italy is an "underdeveloped" country, God knows; more an overdeveloped country. But what they are trying to do to end the century-old sorrows of deepest poverty right smack in Europe is something to see.

Our new development-a-la-TVA outfit has made a good start, and we have some new things coming along, including one in the Middle East, where I shall be going before long, that will tickle your reporter's ear, I think.

I will be calling you for a lunch date, soon.

Best, as always,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
C B S
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

P.S. Written before your 'phone call. The first week-end in December is fine "by us", but if you are to be in Europe that week, maybe that will be a bad time for you Best Ed

Lilienthal, David

November 2, 1955

Dear Dave:

I notice in the announcement of the Lilienthal-Clapp enterprise that you may be dealing with problems of transportation in foreign lands. My older brother has an outfit in Washington which might conceivably be of interest to you; I attach a small brochure about it.

It would "pleasure" me to buy you lunch one day if you are ever free.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Development and Resources Corporation
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

TRANSPORTATION CONSULTANTS, INC.

ENGINEERS AND ECONOMISTS

LACEY V. B. MURROW
1025 CONNECTICUT AVENUE N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Washington - 23 October 1955

ROBERT GALE BREENE
315 NEAL AVENUE
DAYTON 5, OHIO

My dear Brother:

Thank you for your very kind note of 17 October and the attachment which announces the formation of the Development and Resources Corporation with offices at 44 Wall Street, New York City. The names of Lazard Freres & Co., David E. Lilienthal and Gordon R. Clapp are well known to almost everyone and the scope of activities contemplated by this new firm would seem to have a high potential in foreign countries.

We have observed and in some cases participated in foreign work of a similar nature. Arthur D. Little and Company have a contract with I. C. A. on all phases of economic development in Egypt. Knappen-Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy of New York have the same sort of commitment for Burma. The basic concept of this type of activity is sound. However, the results in several instances thus far have been disappointing. There is a tendency on the part of most firms engaged in this type of work to send out some bright young men from the Harvard Business School having no background of practical experience and no experience in working with the nationals of other countries. In Egypt, for example, they strayed off on such relatively minor considerations as increased poultry production and frozen meat packing plants, not realizing that the Arab will not eat frozen or canned meats.

It is perhaps to be expected that our viewpoint on foreign aid and planning for economic and industrial development might be somewhat prejudiced. After having had a look at several of these projects and active participation in Egypt, we are convinced that the greatest deterrent to economic development in the majority of foreign countries is the lack of adequate and economical transport. If transportation in the appropriate form by either air, water, highway or rail were provided, many of the developments that now occupy our planners' attention and concern would follow in a normal and orderly manner.

We have had little or no experience in the field of atomic energy production, although one of our young associates has a PhD. in nuclear physics. We believe ourselves qualified to handle any problems arising in the four fields of transport and to perform the engineering studies and surveys incident

thereto. At the present time we are retained by the American Automobile Association, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, and Oceanic Constructors, Inc., and we have performed professional engineering services for several other large organizations. From the very meagre information available to us at this time it would seem that we might be able to perform professional engineering services and offer other capabilities that probably will be required by the Development and Resources Corporation. In any event I would be glad of the opportunity to meet Mr. Lilienthal and Mr. Clapp and can of course come to New York any time at their and your convenience.

There are enclosed two copies of our small brochure, which might be of interest to the officers of the new corporation. I greatly appreciate your thinking of us in connection with the interesting possibilities of Mr. Lilienthal's new firm.

Sincerely,

Lacey

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Enclosures - 2

TRANSPORTATION CONSULTANTS, Inc.

Stoneleigh Court

1025 Connecticut Ave., N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

Phones: STerling 3-6552
STerling 3-0784

OFFERING PROFESSIONAL CONSULTING SERVICES ON PROBLEMS IN THE BROAD FIELD OF CIVIL ENGINEERING, CONSTRUCTION FINANCE AND MANAGEMENT.

OHIO OFFICE:

Phones: MIchigan 3198
FUlton 5983 ..... 315 Neal Avenue
Dayton 5, Ohio

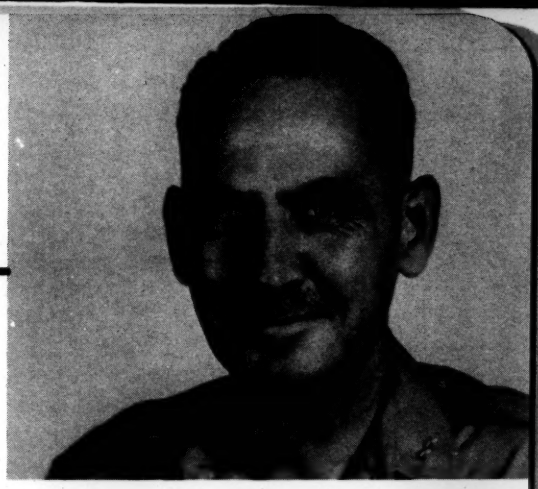
Cable Address: TCI, Washington, D. C.

TRANSPORTATION CONSULTANTS, INC., with offices in Washington, D. C. and Dayton, Ohio, are a group of engineers who have associated themselves for the purpose of undertaking special work in connection with major undertakings in the civil engineering field, but with particular emphasis on transportation problems.

A review of the following summaries of the professional histories of the staff and consulting board of this firm will reveal an outstanding record of high executive, as well as purely professional, experience in the development, design, construction and maintenance of highways, tunnels, bridges, railroads, terminal facilities, inland waterways, flood protection, ports, airfields and air transport facilities, large buildings, cantonments and factories. The combined experience of this group aggregates some 250 years of activity not only in engineering and building domestic and foreign projects, but also in instruction and the establishment of harmonious working relations with the nationals of other countries. They have had personal and responsible charge of expenditures, both public and private, totaling many billions of dollars.

The variety of fields and experience here represented qualifies this group to perform successfully complete consulting services on projects, surveys and studies of unusual magnitude and complexity.

Robert Gale Breene



B.S. in Mechanical Engineering, Purdue University; Graduate, Air Corps Engineering School, Command and General Staff School.

From 1917 through 1946, in active service with U. S. Army, being promoted through all ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major General. Retired with rank of Major General, 1946. During that period, responsible assignments involving multiple engineering duties included:

Officer in charge of installations, Materiel Division, Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio; Instructor, Logistics, Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; G-4 Third Wing, Army Air Corps; Chief of Staff, Second Air Force, in charge of all engineering under command of the Air Force Commander; Director of Technical Services, Headquarters Army Air Forces.

1942-44, Organized and commanded Service of Supply, South Pacific Theater, during the entire period of active operations in that theater. This duty involved responsibility for all theater logistic problems, including movement of troops and supplies by water, highway, rail and air. Also commanded all engineer and construction forces assigned to building, maintaining and operating ports, railroads, highways and airfields.

1944-45, Deputy Commander Army Air Forces, Pacific Ocean Areas, this assignment including all Air Force engineering in this theater, operation design and construction of the air depots, supply and transportation of air force materiel and personnel.

Since 1946, consulting engineer and principal, Transportation Consultants, Inc., engaged in general civil and mechanical engineering studies and surveys for railroads, States, municipalities and large construction corporations.

Licensed Professional Engineer, Civil and Mechanical, State of Washington; Licensed Professional Engineer, Civil, State of Ohio.

Member, American Society of Civil Engineers and Tau Beta Pi.

Recipient of decorations and awards from United States and allied countries.

Charles E. Andrew

B.S. in Civil Engineering, University of Illinois.

1906-08, employed by Ralph Modjeske on the then largest and heaviest swing span in the world, crossing Willamette River at Portland, Oregon, for S.P.&S. Railroad.

City Engineer, St. Johns, Oregon — laid first concrete pavement west of Mississippi River.

Plant Engineer, Albina Engine and Machine Works, Portland, Oregon, in charge of design, construction and operation of complete shipbuilding facilities for steel freighters for Norwegian and United States Governments.

Successively bridge designer for U. S. Bureau of Public Roads; Bridge Engineer, State of Washington; Bridge Engineer, State of California.

1931-39, Principal Bridge Engineer of the *San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge*, in direct charge of design and construction. Largest bridge in the world, requiring the extension of many principles of bridge design. Its design and construction involved the deepest foundations ever built, the first major twin suspension bridge, the largest and heaviest cantilever span in the U.S. and the largest tunnel cross-section in the world. Design and construction of the entire project costing over $80,000,000 involved also one of the largest intercity rail transportation systems, with terminals, and one of the most modern signal systems in existence. Wrote Hoover Young report which was used as a basis for report to the President by the Hoover Young Commission and also as a basis for the final design and financial structure.

Design and construction of the bridge proceeded with rapidity and dispatch. Practically no changes or modifications were necessary in original designs and unusually small amount of contract claims were filed, all being settled without legal action. Some 28 contracts were timed and synchronized to such a degree that one of the fastest records of construction ever accomplished resulted, an average of nearly $2,000,000 being expended per month during the entire construction period.

From opening of bridge in November 1937 until March 1939, also in charge of operation and maintenance of bridge.

Chairman, Consulting Board, State of Washington, on the Lake Washington Bridge at Seattle and the Tacoma Narrows Bridge at Tacoma.

Lake Washington Bridge. Here a conventional bridge on piers was impractical due to its enormous cost. As a result, a floating structure of cellular reinforced pontoons end to end was designed and adopted. Such a design involved many original problems in bridge engineering and pontoon construction, particularly anchorage against wind and wave action. This

bridge, spanning the 8,000-foot west channel, has proved eminently successful. Its cost is approximately 1/5 of the cost of a bridge on piers. Its stability under actual wind velocities as high as 65 miles per hour has proved far more satisfactory than a suspension type and has shown less movement than the ordinary long span truss bridge. It is by far the largest floating bridge in the world and the first to be constructed wholly of reinforced concrete.

The entire project, including a twin bore tunnel 1,465 feet long, a truss bridge across the east channel, numerous crossing eliminations, the floating structure, roads, pavements and drainage, is 6½ miles long and cost approximately $9,000,000.

Tacoma Narrows Bridge. As it stands today, this is the third longest suspension bridge in the world, with a central span of 2,800 feet. Its construction involved extremely deep foundations constructed in water depths of 140 feet and tidal velocities as high as 9 miles per hour. Here the economical false bottom type of caisson was successfully constructed, being landed in 140 feet of swift water, which is the deepest landing depth yet accomplished.

Designed foundations for original Tacoma Narrows Bridge, superstructure having been designed by a separate firm of consulting engineers. This first superstructure failed under aerodynamic wind action in 1940. The piers were undamaged.

After this failure, was directed by Washington Toll Bridge Authority to assume full responsibility for both superstructure and foundations, and to develop a new design for the bridge. As Chairman of the Consulting Board and Principal Engineer, directed original research in aerodynamic studies and model tests for several years during the war in the solution of this problem, with the result that a second superstructure was designed on the original piers, incorporating several new features in suspension bridge design. The bridge has now been in service for more than 3 years and has been subjected to winds exceeding 75 miles per hour on several occasions without the slightest sign of oscillation.

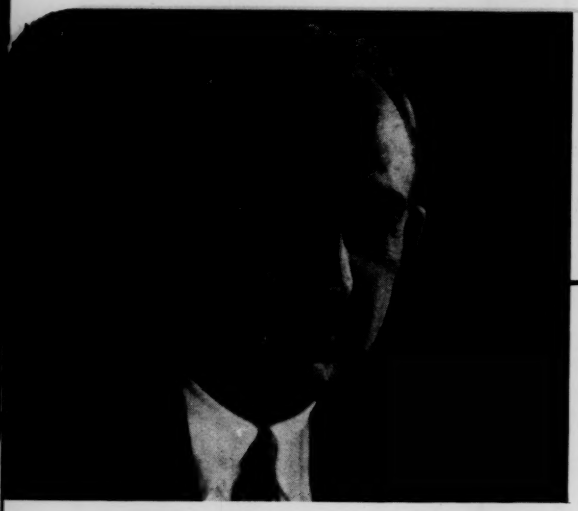
Since completion of this bridge, engaged in developing designs on 3 proposed major structures for the Washington Toll Bridge Authority, including traffic studies and financing:

1. A series of bridges spanning Puget Sound. This project involves novel and unprecedented problems such as spanning waters varying from 650 to 850 feet in depth for long distances with a tidal range of more than 17 feet with deep foundation problems requiring floating structures, large suspension and cantilever bridges. Plans are now well developed and Army permits have been applied for. The project involves an estimated cost of $100,000,000.

2. Bridge across Hood Canal over 9,000 feet long and involving a combination of floating and cantilever bridges. This structure includes many of the problems of the Puget Sound Bridge. Plans are well developed and Army permits have been granted.

3. A second bridge across Lake Washington similar in many respects to the existing structure.

Author of many articles on bridges for the "Engineering News Record," the "Civil Engineer," the "Concrete Institute" and other professional publications. Member, American Society of Civil Engineers.



Richard Erwin Dougherty

Degree of Civil Engineer, Columbia University; College of City of New York. Instructor, Department of Civil Engineering, Columbia University; Special Lecturer on Concrete, Cooper Union.

For 49 years in service of the New York Central System, working from rodman and transitman to Vice President and Assistant to the President, including such experience as:

Resident Engineer in charge of construction Eastern District, comprising Hudson, Harlem and Putnam Divisions and New York Harbor; Designing Engineer, Buffalo and East; Engineering Assistant to Vice President in charge of Operation, including Ohio Central lines;

Assistant to the President, N.Y.C.S., and Senior Engineering Officer, 22 years. In addition to general assignments as presidential assistant, duties included supervision of all engineering activities and maintenance of way transactions, valuation, insurance, numerous problems requiring analysis, such as consolidations, coordinations, abandonments, joint facility contracts, etc.; also supervision over Grand Central Terminal real estate which, in addition to Grand Central Terminal concessions and office buildings, includes nine other office buildings, eight apartment houses and six hotels.

During World War II acted as a principal contact officer with the Army, Navy, Defense Plant Corporation and other governmental agencies in locating plants and industries. Also served as principal contact officer with the Transportation Corps of the Army in the organization of four railway battalions of the Military Railway Service. Architect-Engineer for the Holding and Reconsignment Station at Voorheesville, N. Y.

Chairman, Research Council, N.Y.C.S., for consideration of post war problems.

President, The Lakefront Dock and Railroad Terminal Company, for construction and operation of a coal and ore terminal on Lake Erie.

President, Niagara Junction Railway Company.

Chairman, Engineering Committee of railroad presidents to consider the Chicago terminal problem. Member and chairman, committees of Association of American Railroads studying various transportation problems. Chairman of the Executive and Operating Committees of the Associated Railroads of New York State (handling legislative questions). Chairman, Committee on Suburban Transit, Metropolitan New York.

Director, Hotel Waldorf-Astoria Corporation; Director, Great Eastern Fire Insurance Company, White Plains, N. Y.

Member, American Society of Civil Engineers since 1903 (President 1948; Past President and Member of the Board, 1949-50; Representative on United Engineering Trustees, Inc., 1945-48).

President, Engineers Joint Council, 1949 (American Society of Civil Engineers, American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, American Institute of Electrical Engineers, American Institute of Chemical Engineers).

Member and official, American Institute of Consulting Engineers.

Registered Professional Engineer in New York and District of Columbia.

Member and past-Director, American Railway Engineering Ass'n; Member, New York State Society of Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors; Member and past-President, The Moles.

Advisor to Public Works Task Force under the Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government (1948). In 1949 appointed as one of the two personal representatives of the President of the United States as member of the Commission on Renovation of the Executive Mansion.

Member, Advisory Council for Science and Engineering, University of Notre Dame; Chairman, Building Plans Committee for new Columbia University Engineering Center.

Consulting Engineer to several major railroads and to the City of New York; Department of Public Works, State of New York; Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army; Roosevelt Field, Inc.; New York Metropolitan Rapid Transit Commission; Webb & Knapp, Inc., and Consultant to Seelye Stevenson Value & Knecht, New York City.

Active member of many civic organizations and committees.

Recipent of numerous honorary awards and citations, including Eggleston Medal and Citation for Distinguished Engineering and Achievement, by the Columbia Engineering School Alumni Association in 1945, and in 1950 The Member Award of The Moles for outstanding contribution to construction and for an exemplary career as a citizen, in conjunction with a similar non-member award to the Honorable Herbert Hoover.

Gibb Gilchrist

B.S. in Civil Engineering, University of Texas; Hon. D.Sc., Austin College; LL.D., Baylor University; LL.D., Southwestern University.

Santa Fe Railway, 3 years on railroad construction, 5 years as special assistant to the Chief Engineer.

Overseas service, U. S. Army, 1917-1919, discharged as a Captain of Engineers.

State Highway Engineer of Texas, 1924 and 1928-37, during which period more than 10,000 miles of improved all-weather roads and many major bridge structures were built; also responsible for maintenance and organization of all Highway Department functions.

Consulting Engineer, firm of Nagle, Witt, Rollins and Gilchrist, Dallas, Texas, specializing in design and construction of highways and bridges.

Dean of Engineering, The A. & M. College of Texas, which has accredited curricula in all principal branches of Engineering, 1937-44; Director, Texas A. & M. Engineering Experiment Station, same period. 1944-48, President, A. & M. College, its three academic branches, and head of five important agencies and services.

Chancellor of the Texas A. & M. System organized in 1948. As such was directing head of the A. & M. System of nine parts, each headed by a President or Director, as follows: A. & M. College of Texas; Prairie View A. & M. College (colored); Tarleton State College; Arlington State College; Agricultural Experiment Station; Agricultural Extension Service; Engineering Experiment Station; Engineering Extension Service, and Forest Service.

1953, Chancellor Emeritus: Research Engineer in Highways and Transportation (part time); also consulting civil engineer, particularly in highways and motor traffic.

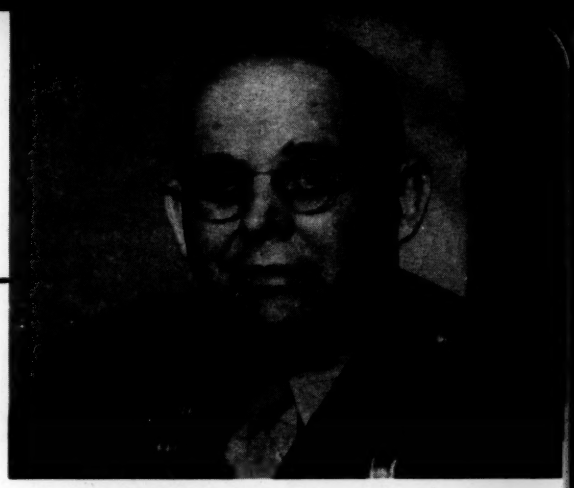
Member, American Society of Civil Engineers; Chairman, Highway Executive Committee (1949). Member, Advisory Committee, engineering, science and management war training, U.S. Office of Education (1940-46). Member, Naval Advisory Educational Council, U.S. Navy (1942-45); Chairman, Texas Post War Planning Commission Conference, initiated and sponsored by the President of the United States in 1946. Delegate, by appointment of the Governor of Texas, to the White House Highway Safety Conference, 1953. Chairman, Engineering Committee, Texas Governor's Highway Safety Conference, 1950.

Past President, American Association of State Highway Officials.

Registered Professional Engineer, State of Texas; Tau Beta Pi; Phi Eta Sigma; Philosophical Society of Texas; Texas State Historical Association; Texas Society of Professional Engineers.

Research Engineer and Consultant, Faculty Exchange, College Station, Texas.

Charles Lacey Hall



Graduate, U.S. Military Academy; graduate, Engineer School; honor graduate, Army School of the Line; graduate, Staff College; graduate, War College.

For 40 years in active service with United States Corps of Engineers. Assignments included responsible charge for topographical work in the United States and abroad; Assistant to District Engineer, Washington, D.C., in charge of water supply of the District of Columbia; in charge of construction and maintenance of supply roads in Mexico and France.

Adjutant of a Railway Engineer Regiment, France; during Battles of St. Mihiel and Argonne in charge of the topographical operations of the 1st American Army.

District Engineer, Portland, Maine; Asst. District Engineer, Galveston, Texas, in charge of extensive fortification construction and the building of the Galveston seawall; District Engineer, Rock Island, Illinois; Assistant Professor of Engineering, U.S. Military Academy; District Engineer at Cincinnati, Ohio, covering 150 miles of the Ohio River.

Member, American Delegation, XVI International Congress of Navigation, Brussels, 1935.

District Engineer, New York and Puerto Rico, an assignment involving such disparate matters as plans for flood control in Puerto Rico and dredging the Ambrose Channel in New York; made first inspection under the Pan-American contract for air bases in Latin America; Acting Division Engineer, North Atlantic Division and Member, Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors; Division Engineer, Ohio River Division, in responsible charge of construction work costing one and a half billion dollars.

At end of World War II made basic report on rehabilitation of Philippine ports. Division Engineer, North Atlantic Division; Senior Member, Beach Erosion Board. Represented United States at first post-war meeting of Permanent Commission, International Congress of Navigation, Brussels.

Recipient of Distinguished Service Medal and other decorations and awards.

Life Member, American Society of Civil Engineers; Member and for 2 years Chairman, Executive Committee Waterways Division. Member, Permanent Section, International Congress of Navigation. After retirement, Chairman, American Delegation, XVIII International Congress of Navigation, Rome, 1953. Member, Am. Institute of Consulting Engineers.

Licensed Civil Engineer, New York, New Jersey and District of Columbia.

Author of numerous professional and technical studies and articles published by "Military Engineer," "Civil Engineering" and other professional publications.

Thomas Harris MacDonald

B.S. in Civil Engineering, Iowa State College.

For 15 years executive officer of Iowa Highway Commission.

For 34 years, executive and technical head of Bureau of Public Roads of the United States Government, first as Chief of Bureau, later as Commissioner of Public Roads. The Bureau, in cooperation with the State Highway Departments, administered the provisions of the Federal Aid highway legislation. As a joint operation with the highway departments, the Federal Aid primary and secondary road systems were selected, totaling 677,059 miles. Improvements of all types, from graded soil roads to the most modern multi-lane expressways reached 421,450 miles. The expenditures for constructure totaled $12,286,000,000 of which $6,917,000,000 were Federal funds.

The Bureau actively engaged in the promotion of highway improvements and in direct charge of highway construction in many other countries. Chief of the Bureau was responsible for choosing the form and personnel of the organization to carry on the projects in foreign countries and to give general supervision, spending some time in each country inspecting and consulting on the methods and problems of the work. Some of the more important projects included: The Inter American Highway, from Mexico south to Panama. Philippine Rehabilitation, a program of rebuilding roads and bridges, totalling $30,000,000 of U.S. funds plus amounts supplied by the Philippine Government. Mission to Turkey of highway technical personnel consisting of engineers and equipment experts to assist in planning and operating a major national program of highway improvement. Mission to Ethiopia of highway technical personnel to administer the expenditure of an International Bank loan. Mission to Liberia of highway technical personnel to administer an Export-Import Bank loan for highway improvements.

Member of Delegations representing the United States on a number of International Highway Congresses, including Argentina (Buenos Aires, 1925); Brazil (Rio de Janeiro, 1929); Italy (Milan and Rome, 1929); Netherlands (The Hague, 1938).

Presently Research Engineer, Texas Transportation Institute.

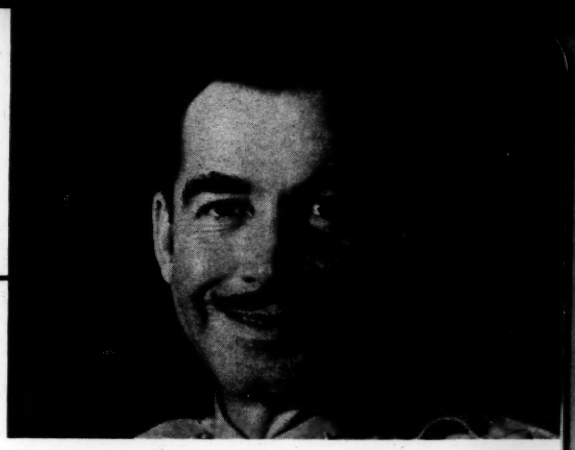
Registered Professional Engineer, State of Texas.

Member, Executive Committee, Highway Research Board; Member, Executive Committee, American Association of State Highway Officials; Honorary Member, Institute of Traffic Engineers; Honorary Member, Institute Municipal Engineers, London; Member Tau Beta Pi and Beta Theta Pi.

Recipient of French Legion of Honor and other decorations and awards.

Honorary Engineering Degrees: Iowa State College, Brooklyn Polytechnic, Beecroft Lecturer — 1945 (S.A.E.), Salzburg Lecturer — 1954 (University of Syracuse). Honorary Member, A.S.C.E.

Lacey V. B. Murrow



B.S., C.E. and M.S. degrees, Washington State College.

Successively Resident Engineer, Locating Engineer, Construction Engineer and District Engineer, Department of Highways, State of Washington, 1925-31. Registered Professional Engineer—Civil, Structural, Hydraulic and Land Surveying.

Director and Chief Engineer, State Department of Highways, and concurrently Member and Chief Engineer, Washington State Toll Bridge Authority, 1931-40. In responsible charge of location, construction, maintenance and operation of the State Highway System and of the Department's responsibilities in connection with the construction of and expenditures for county roads and city streets. President, Western Association of State Highway Officials; Member, Executive Committee, American Association of State Highway Officials.

United States Army Air Corps, command pilot, Captain to Colonel, with active service in the South Pacific, England, France, Italy, Africa, India, Burma and China, 1940-46.

Director of Transportation Research, Association of American Railroads, 1946-51.

Brigadier General, U. S. Air Force, duty in U. S., Japan and Korea, 1951-53.

Executive Director, Competitive Transportation Research, Association of American Railroads, 1953 to July, 1954. Supervised studies on operating practices and economic problems and policies of other forms of transport, including air, highway and water, to determine their competitive position with respect to rail transportation. These studies also included analyses of regulatory practices at national, state and local levels for all forms of transport.

July, 1954 to present, in charge of Washington office, Transportation Consultants, Inc.

Holds several decorations and awards from the U. S. and foreign countries.

Member, American Society of Civil Engineers, American Railway Engineering Association, National Defense Transportation Association; Life Member, Air Force Association; Member, Task Force on Water Resources and Power, Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government (Hoover Commission).

John H. Frederick

B.S. in Economics, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania; M.A. and Ph.D. in Econ., U. of Pennsylvania.

After honorable discharge from U. S. Army in 1919, in business in U. S. and West Indies. Instructor in Transportation, University of Pennsylvania, 1923-37. Managing Editor, "Electrical Wholesaling," trade journal, 1937-38.

Professor of Transportation and Industry, College of Business Administration, University of Texas, 1938-46. 1946 to present, University of Maryland, first as Prof. of Transportation and Foreign Trade, College of Business and Public Administration; since Sept. 1952 as Head of the Department of Business Organization.

Concurrently, held various consulting positions as follows:

1935-37, Chief of Section of U. S. Bureau of the Census dealing with distribution of manufacturers' sales; wrote 21 separate industry reports. 1946-49, Transportation Consultant to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U. S. Congress, carrying on work of the National Transportation Inquiry of this Committee and writing reports. 1949-53, Consultant on Research and Education and after 1950 Deputy Director of Governmental Relations for the Transportation Ass'n of America. 1951-52, Economic Consultant to the Administrator of Defense Transport. 1952-present, Member, Advisory Council on Transportation to the Secretary of Commerce; member Exec. Comm. 1953-54. 1954, Consultant to Task Force on Water Resources and Power, Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government.

Also served as consultant on transportation and distribution matters to such organizations as: American Warehousemen's Ass'n; Distribution Engineering, Inc.; Braniff Airways; State of Texas before the I.C.C. on interterritorial freight rates; National Resources Planning Board; Southern Airlines; C. & O. Ry. Co.; U. S. Dep't of Justice; Cooperative Research Foundation; N. B., W. H., M. V. and Nantucket Steamship Authority, and the City Service Commission of Baltimore, Md.

In addition to several hundred articles published in trade and other journals, has published the following books: "Federal Regulation of Railway Securities" (1927); "Development of American Commerce" (1932); "Industrial Marketing" (1934); "Agricultural Markets" (1937); "Public Warehousing" (1940); "Commercial Air Transportation," now in 4th Edition; "Airport Management" (1949).

Member: American Economic Ass'n; Am. Soc. of Traffic and Transportation; Propeller Club of the U. S.; Am. Marketing Ass'n (National Director, 1942-43); Associated Traffic Clubs of America (Member Committee on Education and Research, 1952-present); American Society of Air Affairs (Fellow); Aviation Writers Ass'n; National Defense Transport Ass'n; Delta Sigma Pi; Beta Gamma Sigma; Phi Kappa Phi; Editorial Advisory Board "Journal of Air Law and Commerce."

In addition to the principals heretofore listed, Transportation Consultants, Inc. have available for assignment to special projects or studies where their services are required an engineer of national stature in the field of hydro-electric development, design and construction; specialists in railway maintenance, operation and signaling, and recognized economists in specialized fields of transportation management, research and analysis. There also are available complete design and drafting facilities and personnel, all of which permit the handling of projects of any magnitude from the development stages through construction engineering and management.

Transportation Consultants, Inc. are available for suitable domestic commitments; however, its members are also genuinely interested in foreign assignments. Most of them have worked with nationals of other countries throughout the world and have been active members of international engineering bodies.

Transportation Consultants, Inc. have working arrangements with highly qualified firms of architects and with other consulting engineering firms to cover projects requiring A&E type services and joint venture operations.

Lilienthal, David

June 6, 1955

Dear Dave:

You must think me a churlish bastard for not having previously answered your gracious note of May 3. I have been buried and I am just back from a week in England.

I would love to go out with you and see the Retrievers work, but I am afraid I just can't do it before the weather gets too hot for them to work well. Could we perhaps plan to go out sometime in the early fall. The prospect of possessing one of these beautiful animals is real exciting.

Do you have a day free for lunch in the next ten days.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

11:03 P.M. Tuesday May 3/55

Ed:

That Texas Story was the most powerful thing you and Fred Friendly have done yet--and that covers a lot of territory. This is The Thunderer himself, but with a kind of vitality and validity that no other way of telling a story and teaching about the world has ever had. You really knocked me right off the piazza.

You care for good field dogs. As a distraction, would it interest you --and could you manage it with your schedule -- to go out to a wild part of Long Island and see some superb Golden Retrievers work--some of the best in the country. Belong to a friend of mine, and an admirer of yours. He never sells one of his dogs, but knowing you love to hunt and stumble through the outdoors with a gun, he would be pleasured to have you have one of his, now you have a farm and a place to kennel him. But aside from that, it would be a pleasant experience to see these magnificent critters. Let me know, and I'll work out the transport, etc. His name is George Murnane, and I think the world of him.

Saddened to learn about your Dad's death. My Dad died four years ago, just, and I still miss him a lot.

Warm greetings to you and Janet, as always

Dave

Edward R. Murrow.

Lilienthal, David

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

February 4, 1955

Dear Ed:

The weekend of February 12th is fine. Miss Ivey is asking your Secretary about transportation arrangements.

As ever,

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
C B S
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Lilienthal, David

January 31, 1955

Dear Dave:

How about the weekend of the twelfth? I will just be back from a few days in London, and may have picked up a little information.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

January 13, 1955

Dear Dave:

Both Janet and I were very much pleased to have the "New Yorker" illustration and the gracious inscription by Barney Tobey. I am writing him to say my thanks also.

I do hope we can arrange the weekend in the country for sometime in February. There is much to talk about.

As ever yours,

Ed

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

Ed: Nothing would please us more — What about (1) Feb 5th or (2) Feb 12? We go on a holiday about the 18th

Warm regards
Dave

Lilienthal, David

January 13, 1955

Dear Dave:

Both Janet and I were very much pleasured to have the "New Yorker" illustration and the gracious inscription by Barney Tobey. I am writing him to say my thanks also.

I do hope we can arrange the weekend in the country for sometime in February. There is much to talk about.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

December 21, 1954

Edward R. and Janet Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed and Janet:

Helen is getting to you the original of the recent New Yorker illustration about "Who is Ed Murrow calling on," done by Barney Tobey; it is inscribed to Ed by Tobey. Barney is a long time friend of mine, and a relative by marriage. More important still, he shares with me a great admiration for Ed Murrow for what he has done for this country.

We send our warm personal greetings and wishes for a happy Christmas and a good New Year.

Cordially,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Lilienthal, David

January 10, 1955

Dear Dave:

Belated thanks for the trouble on the Colombia T.V.A. I still cherish hopes of going down to look at it during my "vacation."

Sorry we got fouled up on the December 18th date. What say we try again -- almost any weekend in February will be fine with us.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

December 2, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

About the Colombia T.V.A., I enclose some material, as I said I would.

This includes: (1) my report to the President of Colombia (2) his remarks about the TVA idea in his inaugural address last August (3) decree chartering the new "autonomous" body, worked out when I was down there the second time, in October, which contains some interesting "Whereas" clauses, objectives, etc. (4) some illustrative newspaper stories from Colombia (5) letter of the President of November 15th, and an English translation, which indicates that this is ~~a~~ one-man's idea of a good will mission, rather than a professional engagement ("peso-a-year" man).

The Cauca Valley Authority Board is now functioning, engineering proposals are being studied; the Board of five, and their General Manager, very attractive non-political people, are considering a trip to TVA, in January.

I think this provides your files with the stuff I said I would send.

Best, as always,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

P.S. The New York Times had a rather lengthy piece about this venture in its issue of last Monday, November 29th.

Ed: Is our tentative December 18th farmers' reunion date OK at your house?

RECOMMENDATION
on the
ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITIES
by the Republic of Colombia

An informal report
submitted, upon invitation of

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC
HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL GUSTAVO ROJAS PINILLA

by

David E Lilienthal
Industrial Consultant
44 Wall Street
New York, N Y., U.S.A.

June 25th, 1954

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Dear Mr. President:

In early January of this year the Ambassador of Colombia to the United States, His Excellency Eduardo Zuleta-Angel, invited me on your behalf to come to Colombia as the guest of the Republic for first-hand observation of some of your country's opportunities and problems in the area of economic development. There followed a formal letter of invitation from you which for convenience of reference, I attach herewith.

This visit, made in the company of my wife, was intensely interesting; the cordiality and thoughtfulness shown us by yourself and by all the many Colombians we met, and the indispensable assistance of the Colombian Minister-Counselor to the United States, Sr. Dr. Diego Suarez-Costa who accompanied us on our trip, are deeply appreciated.

When I conferred with you in Bogota, you requested that after I had studied the matter carefully, I prepare an informal and non-technical report, recording my impressions, and such preliminary recommendations as I wished to make. This I have done in the attached document.

The report is in three sections. The first (I) is devoted to general impressions; the second (II) is a specific, recommended course of action; the third (III) contains some of the reasoning that lies back of my proposal.

You will note that I recommend a program of regional development of Colombia's great natural resources, along TVA lines, beginning with an area that in my firm opinion is the most admirably suited for an immediate start, namely the Cauca Valley, and extending to other Colombian regions as promptly as appears feasible

This program can begin at once, dependent only upon securing cooperation and approval from three sources:

(1) Local and regional initiative by responsible citizens of the region or regions in question.

There was ample evidence, on my visit, that this essential initiative already exists on the part of the citizens of the Valle del Cauca for the launching of the early steps of such a program for that region. Comparable regional leadership may appear in other areas.

(2) The cooperation of the World Bank.

It is clear that the World Bank is in accord with the approach I here propose of a regional development authority or agency, and would be prepared to proceed to assist the Valle del Cauca, in concrete and practical ways, to further such a regional program.

(3) The approval of the National Government, and its cooperation in providing the necessary authorization and definition of responsibilities of the regional authority.

The course I recommend is described in this preliminary report only in the barest outline. The more specific details, however, have been given a good deal of thought. It would seem that they are more appropriately left to later stages in the consideration of my recommendation, should it appear to the Government of the Republic that there is sufficient merit in this proposal to warrant further exploration and the taking of the next steps toward translating these ideas into action.

May I once more convey to Your Excellency my thanks and those of my wife for the friendliness shown us, and to express my admiration for the spirit of progress I found in Colombia.

Respectfully,

David E. Lilienthal

44 Wall Street
New York, New York

Bogotá, 21 de enero de 1954.

Señor Doctor
DAVID LILIENTHAL
44 Wall Street, care Lazard Freres and Company
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Muy estimado Doctor Lilienthal:

Conocedor de su simpatía por mi país y de sus capacidades como orco, muy cordialmente lo invito para que en unión de su esposa visite a Colombia, como huéspedes de mi Gobierno.

Colombia, está actualmente en una etapa verdaderamente interesante y vigorosa de progreso en materia de transportes, planes de electrificación e irrigación, colonización, explotación de recursos forestales, etc. El país goza de paz y todos los hombres de empresa reciben con el mayor entusiasmo todo plan de fomento industrial, agrícola y técnico y su consejo en todos estos aspectos importantes lo consideran particularmente valioso.

Si a Ud. le parece conveniente, su visita puede durar un mes y por demás está manifestarle que los pasajes para usted y su señora así como los gastos de permanencia de ambos correrán por cuenta del Gobierno. Para este fín, puede communicarse con el Embajador de Colombia en Washington, Doctor Eduardo Zuleta Angel.

Personal y oficialmente para mí su visita será especialmente grata.

Muy cordialments,

E. Rojas Pinilla

Mr. President:

Prior to my three weeks in Colombia, and since my return, I studied many reports dealing with economic, engineering, geographic, hydraulic and agricultural aspects of Colombia. During my visit I had an unusual opportunity to see certain parts of the country, at close range, and the benefit of talks with many leading business and professional men, public officials (from the President of the Republic to traffic policemen) and average citizens in all walks of life, in factories, stores, markets, coffee and cattle farms, mines, banks and schools.

However, the comments and suggestions in this informal report are certainly not advanced in any way as those of an "expert" on the Republic of Colombia; they are offered as the observations and suggestions of a visitor.

My observation of Colombia has inevitably been strongly influenced by the long period during which I had responsibility for the policies and management of large public enterprises in the United States, and in particular, as head of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Indeed, I assume that it was largely because the methods developed by TVA had brought about the agricultural, industrial and technical advancement of a previously under-developed region that I was asked to visit Colombia and to record my observations and suggestions. It is not surprising, therefore, that the chief specific suggestion I make as a consequence of my visit is based upon the TVA experiment in the coodinated development of natural resources.

I

General Comments

My brief but intense "exposure" to Colombia - and Colombians - leaves me with the clear impression that this young nation has entered upon a great, historic era of growth and development.

To make more concrete what I have in mind, let me point to some of the specific things I found that many Colombians think the country wants and needs.

1. More and cheaper food.
2. More electric power, for factories, homes and farms.
3. More and better schools, hospitals, sanitation and water supply.
4. More controlled water for the irrigation of farming land.
5. Flood control, to make more land available for farming that is now inundated in times of high-water, or in swampy condition.
6. More pastures and cattle raising on the hillside slopes and as a consequence, more land available for intensive farming on valley land where now only cattle are raised.
7. More and better transportation, by highway, railroad, air and rivers, better sea and airports and railroad terminals.

To reach such goals as these is in considerable measure a function of public works or public programs.

That some (though by no means all) of the fundamental ingredients for such desired advance and development as this list represents appear to be at hand, I have little doubt.

A new day in Transportation

Colombia will soon possess a splendid system of modern highways, built under conditions of infinite difficulty of terrain. These highways will be capable of handling vast tonnages swiftly and at relatively low cost. For the first time in the more than four hundred years of Colombian history, the strategic population and production centers of the country will be effectively inter-connected by improved highways and joined to the outlets to the seas.

The effects of this fundamental fact will be far-reaching in changing the whole life of the country, provided that these highways are well maintained, from the very outset. I suggest strongly, however, that unless a program is worked out and adequate funds are provided for a strong and sustained system of maintenance of these highways, the expected benefits will not be realized. Experience shows that this is of the greatest importance.

Coffee prices: relation to Colombian development

Still another concrete reason for the rather sanguine view I hold concerning Colombia's future development can be told in a single word: coffee.

Fair and profitable coffee prices, on a satisfactory volume of production, can provide the abundant stream of dollars by which to hasten the physical transformation of Colombia in the next decade. Coffee at fair prices can supply a flow of great machines from the factories of the United States and Europe - the giant earth-movers and paving machines for vast highway construction, the compressors and electric-shovels for dams to control Colombian rivers and irrigate her lands, the water-wheels and steam turbines to quadruple her electric power supply, the mining machinery to develop her coal reserves, the dollars with which to send her young men for training in the technical schools, hospitals and factories of the United States, Britain, France and other countries.

All of the things that a sustained period of good coffee prices would - or could - do for Colombia and its development is, I am sure, obvious enough to Colombians.

Colombians are also aware of the grave injury that could be done to their country's development, if coffee prices should once more be depressed, at a time when the prices of imported commodities are at a high level; they have lived through a period of "ceiling prices" regulation of coffee in the United States, and know what it means. Colombians also have some idea of what political attacks and economic pressures against coffee consumption in the United States could do artifically to depress the level of income derived from the export of coffee to the United States, and

what injury this could do to the economic and political stability of their country.

But the coffee consumers of the United States and the public generally in my country, do not understand these things; they do not believe that prices even within the general range of current levels are justified. In fact, there is an unmistakable, steady tide of antagonistic consumer and political sentiment in the United States on this subject, that may at any time be translated into various forms of interference with the free exercise of the competitive natural forces of supply and demand in determining coffee prices.

This could endanger the rapid development of Colombia's resources and industries. It bears directly upon the feasibility of the specific proposal and recommendation I make later in this Report.

My own observation of the facts indicates to me that fair coffee prices are in the economic, political and humanitarian interest both of Colombia and of the United States - and by "fair prices" I mean those fixed in a free competitive market, rather than by arbitrary political pressures, boycotts or governmental "ceilings".

Based on a good many years' experience in studying American public opinion, it is my opinion that a true and persuasive case can be made that will appeal to the consuming American public, and to American public opinion. That case rests upon clear assurance that the proceeds of

purchases of coffee in the United States were being used to advance great constructive purposes of Colombia and Latin America. The program I recommend is one of that character, namely the development of natural resources, the provision of a more secure living for the people, the strengthening of the soil, improving the health and educational opportunities for the children, controlling floods, expanding irrigation and power supply, bringing some of the comforts of life to fellow citizens of our neighbors of the Western Hemisphere.

An extra cent a cup more for coffee, paid in a free uncoerced market, would be gladly paid and considered a low price for so real a contribution to more stable conditions in our neighboring countries to the south. For the American people know full well, housewives and heads of families and taxpayers alike, from costly experience, that to make it possible for Colombia and Latin America to progress in these constructive ways, is not only right, but that in our own self-interest it means the advance of freedom and democracy and a set-back to Communistic designs on this Hemisphere.

So if the proceeds are used for such a development program for several of the regions of Colombia as I here suggest, the chance, in my opinion, of winning American public opinion to the cause of fair and compensatory coffee prices as a long-term policy, is improved. Hence coffee prices are a matter directly relevant to this Report and to the great development of the standard of living of Colombians which it envisages.

There is still another argument which would make a great impression on American public opinion. The United States will benefit economically from good coffee prices, if the revenues therefrom are used in part for a development program. It would benefit by the large-scale purchase of goods and machinery from the United States as part of such a major development undertaking. Hardly a community in the United States would fail to feel the effects of orders of equipment, etc., from Colombia.

But United States coffee consumers and public opinion generally, would react very badly, in my opinion, if the proceeds of the higher coffee prices paid by them go for purposes that clearly are not constructive. Not even the most skillful presentation or propaganda would be effective to persuade us to acquiesce for long in a high level of coffee prices, over a sustained period, unless such purposes have such an appeal as a development program would provide.

Stability and the desire for progress

During my visit I thought I saw evidence of increasing social stability or equilibrium, a lessening of extremes of difference between various economic and political groups in the community.

If this admittedly casual observation is borne out by the facts and by subsequent events, it would, on the whole increase the stability of the country and therefore its prospects of sustaining a great economic development in the immediate future.

But perhaps the most important single favorable factor I observed is the strong and articulate desire, among Colombians, to further the development of the natural resources of land, water, minerals, forests - and above all - (through better education) the people who are, of course, the basic resource of any country. I found quite widespread among people of varying outlook, a recognition that modern technical advances - whether of machinery, or medicine, or agricultural science or of engineering - now made it possible for the people of Colombia to move forward relatively rapidly, if only such technical advances could be made more widely applicable to Colombian problems.

The feeling was expressed that in these days there is nothing hopeless or inevitable about disease, drudgery, lack of good food at prices within reach, lack of decent roads and houses, flooded lands and lack of irrigation, and similar handicaps; that these problems are difficult but no longer insurmountable.

The second Liberation

In considering the potential changes that may await Colombia in the coming decade, there comes to my mind, by way of analogy the outstanding change of the 19th Century, in South American and Colombian life: the work of one who is known as the Liberator. General Bolivar won a victory over colonial oppression and thereby opened the door of political independence and freedom.

The time may well be close at hand, indeed it may be here, for another epochal series of events in Colombian life - and through her, for all of South America, a kind of Second Liberation.

The weapons of this Liberator, however, will not be swords and cannon, nor will the price of this victory be exacted in the blood of Colombians, spilled for one's homeland on the field of battle. The arms of Liberation this time will be new highways and railroads, electrification, dams for irrigation and flood control and power, new schools and universities and hospitals, new and improved methods of raising coffee, sugar, cattle, rice. It may be said that the fruits of victory over ignorance and disease, over floodwaters, and soil erosion, and poor crops, can be as glorious as those won in the battles fought by Bolivar and his fellow patriots. The Colombians who lead their countrymen toward this 20th Century Liberation will surely be as highly honored and as long-remembered as those who, following Bolivar more than 100 years ago, offered their lives to win their country's independence.

Such a great forward surge in the physical development of a nation's resources as one can realistically envisage for Colombia in the next quarter century carries with it more than physical benefits alone. The very foundation of such a program can, in and of itself, serve as a center about which the whole people can unite and stand together, despite their economic or political differences.

With so much constructive and creative work to be done, and so much improvement for everyone at stake, such a program may help to bring the entire nation together on the essentials of certain concrete tasks that need doing.

Private business and public development inter-related

In spite of obvious difficulties and handicaps, one can, with reason, anticipate a period of quickened economic development in Colombia. Most of this expansion and growth will presumably be upon the initiative and with the capital and human energies of private business, such as small-scale farming or large sugar plantations, small and large retail stores, the building of factories and houses - and so on.

A substantial part of the development, however, must necessarily be in the form of public or governmental expenditures. I refer, of course, to such elements as highways, electrification, dams, river navigation and flood control improvements, railroads, seaport facility improvements, airports, public health and sanitary facilities, and agricultural and forestry experimentation. Some of these - such as electricity and railroads - are not necessarily public, but in Colombia they are predominately so, and seem likely to continue to be.

There are two aspects of most of such public expenditures for development that cannot be emphasized too strongly:

(1) They are among the foundation stones upon which private business rests.

The most outstanding illustration of this of which I have personal knowledge is the manifold increase in private business activity in the Tennessee Valley that, within a decade, followed upon public development in that region.

Colombia provides another such illustration: the vigorous impetus to private activity provided by the building of the new system of trunk highways.

(2) They are long-range and essentially permanent. Once built, good or bad, they are there for a long, long time.

A governmental policy concerning taxes, or import control, for example, can be changed overnight if it does not work out well. But mistakes or miscalculations or short-sightedness in the method of developing a river by dams, for example, must be borne by the country for many decades.

The history of the United States contains a number of instances of badly conceived public works, resulting in waste, human misery and destruction. For example: hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of lives have been lost because of the construction of levees to control floods on the lower Mississippi River, when good engineering would have provided control of the tributaries, by storage dams. Some of the consequences of that error in

public works of many years ago continue to plague the United States today.

Colombia can profit by such mistakes and can avoid them by the use of modern technical advances.

The future well-being of Colombia depends to a considerable degree upon how the public works and development programs she institutes are carried on, upon the methods and techniques employed in bringing to the people the fullest benefits within the briefest period of time.

It is with this category of permanent public works or public program activities that the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was largely engaged. And it is to a concrete demonstration in Colombia, of some of the managerial techniques developed by the TVA (and now copied or adapted in other parts of the United States and the world) that the proposal I make in Part II is directed.

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II

Specific Recommendation

After careful study and reflection upon the opportunities that exist in Colombia for rapid and solid progress toward her goals of improved standards of life for her people, and after weighing the practical and technical obstacles and advantages of several possible courses, I have reached the following conclusion which I respectfully submit for your consideration:

From a practical and technical point of view, at this stage it seems to me the best prospect for rapidly advancing the agricultural, industrial and educational welfare of the entire Colombian people lies in the creation of a regional development corporation or agency to serve as a demonstration of the coordinated, efficient and modern development of natural resources of waters, land, forests and minerals, and of industrial and educational progress.

On the basis of my experience in these matters I have no hesitation in recommending that the first such regional authority should be in the Cauca Valley. It is in that Valley that the prospects appear to me to be the best for quickly and economically demonstrating certain basic management, engineering and agricultural methods and principles, and of achieving concrete results for the country. It is my judgment that for special physical, technical and economic reasons the Cauca Valley presents one of the most

solid and practical opportunities to be found anywhere for the carrying out of a pilot-plant or demonstration project. This undertaking will not only greatly benefit the people of the Valley but the whole of Colombia, and perhaps, by example and precept, the whole of Latin America.

Although I strongly recommend beginning in the Cauca Valley, I suggest that additional regional authorities, with comparable functions and objectives, should be set up, in other regions, wherever there exist the necessary local and regional initiative and the requisite local capital, technical manpower and other resources. While intensive programs of this kind cannot be started everywhere at the same time, the Cauca Valley development should encourage preparatory activity leading to the initiation by other regions of similar programs for their own region. In fact, as I indicate more fully below, this should be one of the important long-term national objectives of the Cauca Valley enterprise.

Among the important ingredients for a regional development undertaking of the kind I have in mind there are three that seem to me essential:

(1) Initiative in the region;

(2) The cooperation of the National Government;

(3) The cooperation and appropriate financial participation of the World Bank and of other financing agencies.

More specifically:

(1) The <u>initiative</u> for such a regional program must come from the region itself. Without such willingness

and ability to start things, nothing effective can be hoped for from my proposal.

A beginning in this direction already exists in the Cauca Valley, as I learned on my visit to Colombia. Comparable local or regional initiative may develop in other areas, particularly after a pattern for actually getting such a program under way regionally has been worked out by the Cauca Valley.

(2) Approval and cooperation of the Central Government.

It would be necessary for the National Government to authorize the creation of a regional development agency or public corporation, by special charter or its equivalent. This authority or agency would be analagous, in corporate status, to such public organizations in the United States as the New York Port Authority or the Tennessee Valley Authority or the London Port Authority in England. In proposing the creation of the TVA in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon the United States Congress to create (as it did) an autonomous but accountable body which he described as "a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise." (My italics)

This charter would establish the regional agency's status, powers and duties; its authority to raise funds in the capital markets or from the World Bank; to issue revenue or other bonds to be sold in local capital markets for local

currency costs; to utilize its own revenues, in whole or part, derived from sale of benefits, such as water for irrigation, reclaimed swamp lands, electric power, etc., or to use certain departmental tax revenues; to employ technical and managerial personnel to carry on and manage the public works under direction of a board of directors of Cauca Valley citizens and so on.

This program will unquestionably result in a need for the expansion not only of public services but also a need and opportunity for the expansion of private business: agriculture, large and small; industry, large and small; mining of coal and other minerals; processing of food, petroleum, etc., and so on. There will consequently be a need, in my opinion, for a specially chartered type of economic development corporation, or its equivalent.

Such a development corporation would serve to provide part of the needs for medium and long-term private capital, and as an inseparable part of its role to supplement available technical and managerial services necessary for this anticipated expansion of business activity. The funds for such a chartered development corporation would presumably be provided partly by Colombian capital (both banks and individual investors), from private capital sources outside Colombia, and as required, by credits from the World Bank or other public financing agencies. I have concrete suggestions to offer along these lines, but clearly this is a subject that, however vital to the objectives of a higher living

standard in Colombia, can be deferred for discussion at a later stage.

(3) Approval and cooperation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

It is clear that the World Bank would be receptive to the proposal I am outlining, would be prepared to be of assistance in furthering the objectives of the proposal, and would be ready to provide assistance to the citizens committee of the Cauca Valley and to the Government of Colombia in working out the practical problems of getting the undertaking on its way.

As to a way to begin:

There are several possibilities. The one I recommend is that the group of leading individuals in the Cauca Valley with whom I consulted on my recent trip be given the opportunity to take the initiative to secure the necessary charter and other authority from the Central Government, and secure the cooperation of the World Bank and of private financial institutions if considered desirable. The Planning Council of the Valley (Consejo de Planeacion del Valle), made up of private citizens of standing, might be the nucleus from which such a representative citizen group in the Valley could be formed. This group, or an executive committee thereof, could thus become the first Board of Directors.

If some such idea should meet with general approval of the Central Government and the interested leading citizens of the Valley, a program of a series of concrete steps, leading to a special charter, methods of financing, discussions with the World Bank, employment of a nucleus of full-time employees, etc., could then be worked out.

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III

The foregoing specific and concrete proposal rests upon a simple axiom - and a great deal of human experience.

That axiom is this: The standard of living of Colombia depends upon her natural resources: the land, the waters, the minerals and forests - and what her people are able to do with these resources; the problem of increasing this standard of living is largely one of improving the METHODS of developing and making use of these resources of nature.

For many years Colombia's development of her natural resources was carried on in piece-meal fashion; the same was true of the United States of America. By "piece-meal" I mean simply that there were no genuinely effective efforts toward co-ordination and balance between the separate governmental activities devoted to river development, power, irrigation, transport, and the like. Moreover, this piece-meal approach - in Colombia as in the United States - did not proceed with the guidance and the discipline which would be afforded by a comprehensive picture of the country's economy, its potential resources, its over-all needs. Such a comprehensive picture would permit of a rational and prudent schedule of priorities as between competing demands for the same funds and human energies, and of a kind of balance sheet of what the country as a whole could afford, and how and where its available funds and energies could most effectively be used.

In recent years Colombia has felt the need for such a study and report on the whole of its economy and its

opportunities; she has moved away from a piece-meal, project-by-project approach to her development. In 1949 Colombia requested the World Bank to set up a group of experts to make a preliminary study of her economy. The resulting Comprehensive Report was studied carefully by an Economic Development Committee made up of Colombians, whose recommendations then served as the basis for action taken by the Government to carry out certain of the Report's conclusions.

So that this new over-all approach to Colombia's development should have a continuous administrative basis, an Office of Planning was set up, as an aid to the President of the Republic, and is actively functioning. A number of specific projects have been completed, designed to enable Colombians to make better use of her resources; others are well under way; others are in the planning stages. Of those well under way the most significant would seem to be that which will give the country a modern and national transportation system of trunk highways and railroads. Recently, a study of the country's electricity needs, on a nation-wide basis, has been authorized and the preliminary engineering field work is now under way.

In the light of such facts as these, it does not seem an overstatement to say that as of mid-1954 Colombia, as a nation, has now adopted in principle, and has begun to put into operation, that practice of prudence and foresight which successful private businesses and individuals have followed, for which the word "planning" is as suitably

descriptive a term as any other.

My proposal presupposes a continuation, in full force and effect, of the national planning functions now residing in the central Government. The establishment of a regional agency simply provides machinery by which to focus effort on getting done those things that can most effectively be carried out on a regional or local rather than a national basis.

Under my recommendation the national Government would continue its present planning role of providing an over-all, balanced and national viewpoint, in judging the priorities to be assigned to projects for resource development and in advising on the availability of pesos, dollars, or credit for such projects, as well as on all other nation-wide policy or practical consierations.

In short, my suggestion of regional development is not in any way designed to weaken or dilute the effort of the Office of Planning; on the contrary, the proposal is intended to, and I believe would in fact, supplement the national planning effort.

The first step taken by Colombia toward comprehensive development having been taken, on a national basis, it should- I suggest - now be followed by a logical second step, on a regional basis. The second step should be designed and intended - as was the first step - to improve the methods of utilizing the economic resources of the country.

In considering this matter of method, I have kept before me certain premises and principles which are discussed below.

First:

The most effective way for all the regions of Colombia to learn the best methods of resource development is by observing actual concrete cases of such new methods. The best method of learning is by doing.

Accordingly, the regional agency should be a demonstration area, a kind of advanced practical university in the working out, and teaching (by example and precept) improved methods of the development of resources; later on, perhaps, the demonstration can be extended to other local and regional problems, such as public administration, education, sanitation, and the like.

It is contemplated, in my proposal, that men from all over Colombia would come to the "demonstration region" for observation of methods, and for training, which they can later apply in the development of their own regions.

In this way the region might serve, for Colombia, the function of "teaching by doing" that has been such a central feature of the TVA, in the United States.

Second:

In the decade or two of development work that lies ahead, Colombia wants the work done, to the greatest extent feasible, by Colombians: managers, engineers, agronomists, economists and accountants, geologists, etc., etc.

In the suggestions I have to offer I have kept this important point in the forefront. I look upon the regional agency as an important means of practical training of Colombian technical personnel, from all parts of the country, training which they can later put to use in other regions of Colombia.

As is well known, academic training, in the great technical and engineering universities of North America and Europe is not enough, of course, to qualify young Colombians to design, direct and manage large technical enterprises. An opportunity for practical experience, under the guidance of older heads, is essential.

That training is most effective, my experience has demonstrated, where young trainees and "interns" are in groups, where they can also learn from each other.

It is my thought, therefore, that the regional agency provide a nation-wide training area, not only in engineering, but in other related technical activities, in which administration and management should be included.

Third:

The demonstration region (or regions) should be areas where beneficial results can be achieved at the earliest possible moment.

To attain public support of a long-range effort, a "show-case" is needed. This requires, it seems to me, an area or region of Colombia where the conditions are ripe for relatively quick results.

It is well-known that the patience of the public is sometimes not its most outstanding characteristic. Accordingly, it is the part of prudence for a nation's leaders, when seeking to achieve a great program that inevitably requires a decade or more for fruition, to seek an opportunity to show results rather rapidly as to a part - a representative part - of the total undertaking.

This has led me to the conclusion that for a demonstration, in Colombia, of the techniques worked out in the TVA, a region or two should be selected where the results can be made plain most rapidly.

I have suggested that the first such regional development agency or authority be in the Valley of the upper Cauca River, which roughly approximates (but is not identical with) the political department of Valle del Cauca.

A principal reason for starting with the Cauca Valley is the existence in that region of local initiative for such a regional development on the part of a number of responsible regional leaders in business, professional and community circles.

But an equally important consideration for suggesting the region of the upper Cauca River Valley is my conviction that the prospects of early success, in that favorable situation, are most excellent. Moreover, it is a region where concentration of effort on improved methods of development will yield large returns for the Government and private

business and individuals, as compared with regions which are less well developed.

There is the further advantage, in beginning with an already relatively prosperous region. The results produced will attract the attention of other regions to the improved methods, and render more likely their adaptation to the needs of those other regions, than if a far more difficult region were the site of the initial regional demonstration.

The size of the Cauca Valley is another advantage it possesses. It is, relatively, a small region, and relatively homogeneous. This means it would be a far less costly and far more prudent place for a pilot-plant in which to make a demonstration of river control methods, for example, than a larger and more heterogeneous region. And yet it has a good many (though, of course, by no means all) of the problems of natural resources to be found in a number of other parts of Colombia.

While the Cauca Valley, according to my suggestion, would be the first demonstration-area, development work already in progress elsewhere would not be interrupted. Projects that are "ready to go" or urgently needed would not be affected.

Fourth:

I have framed the proposal with a thought to the continued cooperation of the World Bank, as one important source of loan-capital for Colombian development, and as a proven friend of Colombian progress.

The Bank acts upon the basis of projects presented in reports which must stand up under scrutiny for their financial and physical soundness. It must be selective since there is probably more demand for capital from the Bank, in South America and elsewhere, than the Bank could prudently satisfy.

A demonstration area such as I have suggested might have considerable advantage to Colombia, in improving and perfecting the method of presenting future loan-projects to the Bank, and to private financial institutions.

The functions and responsibilities of such a regional authority would, of course, have to be carefully defined, after discussion between regional leadership and the President and his official advisers. These functions would vary somewhat from region to region, depending upon the differing conditions of climate, terrain, available local leadership, financial resources, etc.

Only those intimately familiar with the opportunities and the needs of the Cauca Valley (or any particular region) and its traditions and laws could set down the full design for such a regional agency. Obviously I am not qualified; but I doubt not that a group of men could be assembled who would be qualified for this task.

Even a visitor without intimate knowledge of the Cauca Valley, however, can conjecture what some of these functions might be.

Certainly one function would be the development of the water resources of the upper Cauca River and its tributaries.

The development of that stream is inseparably inter-related to the land, and its most beneficial use. This inter-relation is one imposed by Nature; the regional agency should reflect this inter-relation, in its charter.

At times parts of the land of the Cauca Valley, I am informed, cannot be used effectively for agriculture because the river is out of its banks, the land flooded or swampy. At some seasons some of the Valley's land does not yield what it might because of lack of water; storage, control and direction of the river, by dams and by irrigation works could alleviate this.

The regional agency that has responsibility for the river and the land would also be concerned with electric power, since the river, controlled to prevent floods and promote irrigation, can also be a source of large amounts of electrical energy. The functions of a regional authority responsible for the river would presumably, therefore, extend to generation of the river's energy, subject to national policies.

But whatever the particular functions for which the Cauca Valley Authority might be given regional responsibility - whether the foregoing or some others - this much I think would be generally agreed: the most effective direction of natural resource activities of Government is not something

that can be done exclusively by National government. Local or regional governmental units, smaller than the nation as a whole, close to the problems of a particular river or valley, can add greatly to the effectiveness of such an effort.

One of the reasons and purposes for the setting up of a regional development agency for the Valley of the Cauca (and other regions which may subsequently sponsor, initiate and support such regional development schemes) is, of course, to benefit that region. This, in turn, would benefit the whole of Colombia.

But this is not what I have chiefly in mind.

My chief purpose relates to that part of the axiom with which Part III of this informal report began: that the best hope of increasing the standard of living of the people of Colombia is by the working out of better methods of handling the natural resources of the nation, upon which everyone's future prospects depend.

What I am suggesting, then, is that a particular region establish itself as a national demonstration or pilot-plant for the working out, step by step, and in concrete cases, of improved methods.

The whole nation, and its various regions, would derive benefit from the initial area's work, as a demonstration in methods and as a training-school for men from other regions. These national benefits would justify some support from the National Government, financially and otherwise, it seems to me.

(A discussion of the specific improved methods I have excluded from this preliminary memorandum; they could more appropriately be set out in subsequent discussion, when the specific design of a Colombian regional agency was under consideration.)

Initially, I would suggest, the demonstration should be confined to basic natural resources; chiefly the river and the land. But as time goes on, and the actual work is under way, the demonstration might well be broadened to include other local or regional problems, such as improved methods of local and regional public administration, local and regional sanitation and public health, local and regional transport, and so on..

The suggested Cauca Valley demonstration project will, in practice, differ markedly, as it should, from the TVA in the United States. But the basic TVA idea of a demonstration area is essentially the same: a place in which to work out improved methods, for the lessons the demonstration may bring to other areas of Colombia, and perhaps to the rest of Latin America, which may find this experiment of great interest, since it would be the first of its kind in South America.

Respectfully submitted,

David E. Lilienthal

Excerpts from Inaugural Address
by
Lt. General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla

To the Colombian Constitutional Assembly Upon
His Election to the Presidency of the Republic
on August 7th, 1954

"I do not want to finish this chapter on the technical approach to our agricultural production without making a special reference to the projects outlined by that eminent American, David Lilienthal, for the Cauca and Sinu valleys; his idea of taking advantage of advanced technical knowledge perfected in the Tennessee Valley, is what he himself describes as a 'pilot plant' of integrated development for those promising territories, an experiment of great worth not only to Colombia but to the whole Western Hemisphere.

His idea has all the backing of the Government which only awaits a more specific and detailed report and plan of its possibilities and consequences before starting the study of it.

For the Government and for the country it is a great honor and a great fortune to count upon the experience of one who has organized one of the most important undertakings of our age, such as the creation and administration of the afore-mentioned Tennessee Valley, the production of atomic energy and his keen interest in the development problems of our country.

Mr. Lilienthal can count upon the adequate backing and cooperation of all those Government organizations or national bodies which may be called upon to collaborate with him on this promising enterprise.

With international cooperation, its realization does not seem too difficult, and I feel sure that we shall reach our goal,

not only because world organizations, which have given us their help and their support, have followed with interest the development of our country, but because the above-mentioned project has a deep significance in the welfare and economic prosperity of other similar regions of the Western Hemisphere.

A natural consequence of this plan will call for the development of private industries in its various branches, adaptable to our environment, so as to give greater employment to our people and providing greater production for internal consumption therefore saving foreign exchange currencies.

The Government has therefore to assume the task of directing private initiative, not in a compulsory manner but through indirect stimulus, banking credit, facilities for the importation of capital, goods, and technical and commercial research, which will awaken and stimulate the interest of private capital and serve as a guide for the planning of its interests.

Much capital has been badly and unproductively invested because capital has ignored the infinite possibilities of modern manufacturing techniques and the purchasing capacity of markets or sources of raw materials. As an initial step the Government proposes to put out an issue of securities to be readily absorbed by the market, the profits of which will be earmarked for the importation of machinery and equipment for new industries and enlargement and improvement of existing plants."

CHARTER OF CAUCA VALLEY AUTHORITY, COLOMBIA, SOUTH AMERICA

Translation from the original in Spanish

DECREE No. 3110 of 1954

(October 22, 1954)

Which creates the Autonomous Regional Corporation of the Cauca, pursuant to Legislative Act. No. 5 of 1954. The President of the Republic of Colombia, pursuant to his legal powers and especially those conferred upon him by Legislative Act. No. 5 of 1954, and

WHEREAS:

First - It is the unequivocal policy of the present Government to work for the improvement of the conditions of life of the Colombian people, and to this end it desires to put into effect a development plan which will convert into reality the rapid improvement called for by the initiation on the country of the "Era of the Colombian Man".

Second - The Government considers that one of the most effective means for obtaining these objectives is the establishment of autonomous regional bodies with direct participation by the populace of the areas where these bodies shall operate, following the practices and methods of the TVA. The establishment of such autonomous bodies for the comprehensive development of various regions of the country has been recommended by outstanding public men like Dr. David Lilienthal, in his recent report, prepared at the initiative and request of the President of the Republic, as a means of fully utilizing the natural resources at our disposal;

Third - Dr. Lilienthal recommends that the first such autonomous Corporation be established in the area consisting of the drainage basin of the upper Cauca River and the adjacent watershed of the Pacific where, in view of the characteristics of the region, there are optimum conditions for increasing and improving in the shortest possible time the production of food and other essential products, so as to

contribute to lowering the cost of living, and which may serve as an instrument of experimentation and a demonstration project from which all the regions of the country will derive benefit.

Fourth - Legislative Act No. 5 of 1954 provides: "The Legislature is empowered to create public bodies, endowed with autonomous juridical personality, to provide public services, as may be especially determined; these bodies will be given powers to engage in the acts necessary for the fulfillment of their objectives, and their activities may extend to the entire national territory or to part of it". And said Legislative Act also provides: "Until the Constituent Assembly assumes legislative functions, the Government is fully authorized to exercise the powers granted in this Act to the Legislature".

DECREES:

Article 1. A public body is hereby created to be called the "Autonomous Regional Corporation of the Cauca" to promote the conservation and development of the territories substantially constituting the upper Cauca River drainage basin, the adjacent watershed of the Pacific and such other territories as may be related to or materially affected by the activities of the Autonomous Regional Corporation of the Cauca.

Article 2. The objectives which the Corporation shall pursue, within the territory of its jurisdiction, shall be the following:

a) To generate, transmit and distribute electric power.

b) To provide for the coordination of the region's electric power systems in the interests of economy and efficiency.

c) To control the course of rivers so as to prevent floods.

d) To utilize water resources for irrigation.

e) To reclaim and improve land by drainage or other means.

f) To regulate the utilization of water for public and industrial supply.

g) To protect waters against contamination.

h) To improve river courses in connection with their several uses.

i) To promote soil conservation and reforestation, and to regulate the exploitation of publicly-owned forest lands.

j) To encourage proper use of lands for agriculture and livestock.

k) To preserve flora and fauna.

l) To stimulate the development of mineral resources.

m) To encourage the improvement of communications and transportation systems.

Article 3. In order to carry out the objectives listed in the preceding Article, the Corporation shall

a) Act as an autonomous, decentralized and non-political body.

b) Apply modern methods of technology and business.

c) Carry out its activities in such a way that they will serve as a demonstration and training program for the region under its jurisdiction and for other regions of the country.

d) Seek to fulfill its objectives in such a way that the income from projects shall repay the initial investments and lead to the accumulation of funds to help finance the entire program. In case of liquidation, the liquid capital of the Corporation shall revert to the Nation and to the other public bodies that have made capital contributions to the Corporation, in proportion to the size of these contributions.

e) Orient its program so as to encourage private initiative and to create new opportunities for private participation in the development of the region.

f) Cooperate with National, Departmental and Municipal authorities, as well as with private persons, associations and private enterprises.

Article 4. The Corporation shall have the powers necessary to carry out its objectives as indicated below:

a) As an autonomous juridical entity, the Corporation may acquire and dispose of real estate and other property, borrow money domestically or abroad, lend money, guarantee its obligations by pledging its assets, and enter into contracts of all kinds to carry out it objectives.

b) The Corporation may receive donations and bequests and incorporate them into its capital.

c) The Corporation may manage, maintain, administer, develop and improve the properties and assets to which it has rights.

d) The Corporation may have recourse to the procedures of eminent domain when necessary to carry out its objectives.

e) The Corporation may determine which of its services should be reimbursed by the beneficiaries or users through the payment of assessment taxes or charges and may fix the manner in which such taxes or charges are to be fixed and collected. Assessment taxes shall be applied in accordance with the law; and the rates shall be submitted for the approval of the competent national bodies.

f) The Corporation may obtain directly technical and financial cooperation from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and from other national or international entities.

Article 5. The domicile of the Corporation shall be the city of Cali, where it will have its headquarters and administrative offices.

Article 6. For the administration of the Corporation, there is hereby created a Board of Directors, to be composed initially of the five members who now form, or those persons who may subsequently be appointed to replace the present members of, the Planning Committee of the Department of the Cauca Valley. This Board shall act until the final Charter of the Corporation is approved. The Board shall present the Charter to the President of the Republic for approval within six months from the date of this decree. This Charter shall define the manner of constituting future Boards of Directors. The Board shall elect its President and other officers and shall obtain the services of such local or foreign personnel as may be required to carry out its objectives.

The Board shall fix the compensation of its employees, define their duties and provide a system of organization to fix responsibility and promote efficiency. The members of the initial Board shall receive $50.00 (Pesos) per meeting, but in no case, regardless of the number of meetings, more than $400.00 (Pesos) per month. The Board may meet with no fewer than three members, and adopt decisions by majority vote of those present.

Article 7. Until the final Charter of the Corporation is adopted, the President of the Board of Directors shall be the legal representative of the Corporation in dealings with all officials, corporations, or other juridical or natural persons.

Article 8. The aforesaid Board of Directors shall have the following functions:

a) To prepare the Charter for the Corporation and submit it for the approval of the President of the Republic.

b) To study and submit for the approval of the Government the territorial limits within which it shall operate.

c) To prepare the initial development plan for the region after making a thorough analysis of existing reports and studies dealing with the improved utilization of the natural resources of the region.

d) To carry out such other studies, research and experiments as necessary to fulfill the objectives of the Corporation.

e) To prepare the budget of expenditures based on the income of the Corporation.

f) To prepare its rules of procedure.

Article 9. To initiate operation of the Corporation, five hundred thousand Pesos ($500,000) shall be allocated, to be provided in equal parts by the Nation and by the Department of the Valle del Cauca. To this end, the National Government shall establish the necessary budgetary appropriation, providing for the required special credits and budgetary transfers. In the same way, the Governor of the Valle del Cauca is authorized, without any further approval, to provide the amount necessary for the contribution of the Department, to include it in the departmental budget and to make the necessary budgetary transfers.

Article 10. The accounting of the Corporation shall be maintained in accordance with the legal procedures for private corporations. The auditing of the Corporation's accounts shall be done by a special auditor appointed by the President of the Republic, who shall fix his salary, to be paid by the Corporation. The functions of the special auditor shall be those fixed by Law 58 of 1931 for private corporations. The special auditor shall present to the President every six months a report on

the Corporation's accounts. The accounts of the Corporation shall be considered finally settled when approved by the special auditor.

Article 11. The properties needed for carrying out the objectives of the Corporation are hereby declared to be of public utility. When it becomes necessary to acquire a specific property, if it is not possible to obtain it by voluntary sale from its owner, the required declaration of necessity may be made by the National Government at the request of the Board of Directors established by this decree or of the Board which replaces it in accordance with the Charter of the Corporation. The demand for expropriation shall be presented by the legal representative of the Corporation and shall be handled by the Courts in accordance with the applicable laws.

Article 12. The National Government is hereby authorized to guarantee all credit operations of the Corporation, whenever in its judgment this may be indispensible and when general circumstances make it advisable.

Article 13. The Corporation shall have the rights of way established by law on public roads and private and public lands for the transmission of electric power and water for public service purposes.

Article 14. When the Corporation assumes its definite form, it shall acquire, in the name of the Nation, the right to regulate the allocation and distribution of public waters within the territory of its jurisdiction, in accordance with the pertinent laws. At the same time, it is understood that the Nation hereby grants to the Corporation rights to use the water power of the streams included within the territorial limits fixed for its activities.

Article 15. The plans adopted by the Corporation through its Board of Directors shall be considered definitive once approved by the National Planning Committee. Approval in this way of any plan or program of the Corporation shall constitute a determination that the works required for the execution of said plan or program are useful and beneficial, that they are deserving of the support and encouragement of all other public bodies, and that they are for all constitutional purposes included within national plans.

Article 16. Recourse may be had against the acts of the Corporation, or of any of its dependencies, to the Council of State, in accordance with the general standards indicated in Law 67 of 1941.

Article 17. This Decree is effective from the date of its issuance.

EL PAIS

DIARIO MATINAL CONSERVADOR

CALI (COLOMBIA), MARTES 12 DE OCTUBRE DE 1954

EL PAIS

Oct. 10, 1954

EL PAIS

DIARIO MATINAL CONSERVADOR

DIRECTOR-GERENTE: ALVARO LLOREDA.

SUB-DIRECTOR: RAUL ECHAVARRIA BARRIENTOS.

EL EXPERIMENTO LILLIENTHAL

Las bases para la realización en el Valle del Cauca del famoso plan, que más bien obedece a un soberbio experimento, por parte del científico David Lillienthal, han despertado, naturalmente, revuelo de apreciables dimensiones en todas las zonas de la economía nacional.

Las repercusiones de este proyecto, que obedece a lógicos racionamientos técnicos, absorben ya la inquietud de las gentes de trabajo, de los planificadores de las finanzas en Colombia. Por supuesto, no deja de observarse cierto malestar centralista en algunas expresiones particulares, sin duda empeñadas empresas utópicas para sus regiones respectivas.

El doctor Lillienthal, en concepto de sus cotérraneos, pertenece a una jurisdicción humana especial. Efectivamente, la metamorfósis sufrida por Tenneessee Vally, que antes fuera una extensa porción telúrica sin sistema nervioso, desprovista de todos los síntomas naturales de riquezas, es hoy una parcela de la cual depende, en gran parte, la economía de los Estados Unidos. Así, pues, el sabio de Illinois es toda una autoridad en la materia. Sus propósitos planificadores para nuestra comarca tienen todas las características de una proeza destinada a triunfar.

Sin embargo, debemos ser un poco más reales, menos exhuberantes en los vocablos, sin que ello, desde ningún aspecto, vaya a resultar en estremecimiento pesimista. Para todo experimento existen contingencias peligrosas. Y como en el caso del plan que va a experimentar aquí la alta mentalidad de Lillienthal, aún no se han hecho estudios preliminares ni a fondo, las circunstancias no han sido todavía, definitivamente, puntos de partida para afirmar que se ha triunfado.

Quien sabe si los estudios sobre irrigación, densidad de las lluvias, control de inundaciones, electrificación, calidad de las tierras, etc., vayan a ser favorables en la pura aceptación de la palabra. Ahí están, precisamente, las contingencias de peligro. Una vez puesto en vigencia el experimento, quien sabe si la demanda justifica la producción de las cosechas. Hay, desde luego, otras muchas probabilidades que no siempre pueden estar de acuerdo con la generosa e insospechada iniciativa.

Tánto el señor Lillienthal como sus asesores, son hombres de vasta experiencia en el tratamiento y en el contacto con climas definidos, como en Tenneessee. Aquí la situación del trópico ofrece perspectivas diferentes. En ninguna región de Colombia están demarcadas las estaciones con la precisión climatérica de las fechas exactas.

Bueno sería tener en cuenta lo anteriormente expuesto, para que el optimismo tropical no engendre aventuradas hipótesis.

De otra parte, conviene hacer notar que el alentador experimento, no solo tendrá la colaboración decidida e indispensable del Banco Mundial de Reconstrucción y Fomento, sino también la contribución natural de los gobiernos nacional y departamental. Los aportes de la nación y del Valle deberán ajustarse a una severidad irrevocable, toda vez que sin su exactitud vendría el desmoronamiento y los tropiezos sustanciales.

Así las cosas, el experimento de Mr. Lillienthal tiene, necesariamente, que constituír una empresa de envergadura sin antecedentes en América Latina. Pero ocurre que el afán de emulación sin fundamento de algunas secciones del país, ya se siente por insistentes campañas individualistas, con el eterno estribillo de que el Valle del Cauca es un filón de oro y por ésto mismo se basta por sí solo. Ello indica que aquí nada hay que hacerse. Equivocado criterio que en ningún caso se compadece con el proyecto de Lillienthal, porque si bien es cierto que nuestra parcela posee privilegios naturales que no se encuentran en ninguna otra región, las demás, por ello mismo, no estarían en capacidad de poner en marcha un experimento como el nuestro.

Aprobado el Plan Li

Mil Millones de Pesos se Invertir

Bogotá, octubre 11 (De nuestra oficina de redacción).— Un vocero autorizado informó esta tarde que durante el consejo de ministros que se reunió hoy desde las once de la mañana en la residencia de Melgar, presidido por el jefe del Estado se había aprobado el plan Lilienthal que supone la inversión de mil millones de pesos en el término de diez años y la creación de una corporación especial que se encargará de supervigilar los gastos y la realización de las obras, las cuales se iniciarán en el Valle del Cauca. Basado en esta afirmación el mismo portavoz agregó que en el curso de la presente semana el gobierno nacional expedirá el decreto respectivo y autorizará la iniciación de labores en el Valle del Cauca, con los empréstitos asegurados en el Banco Internacional de Reconstrucción y Fomento.

Como se sabe, al desde las once de la m tieron, invitados espe dor Garcés Giraldo y lienthal quienes con l dente Rojas sostuvier cia para acordar las b realización del plan norteamericano.

Muy poco ha logr reunión del consejo d cuerdo con los inform nos, el mayor tiemp se destinó al plan Lili bien se alcanzó a dis tes puntos:

IS
RVADOR

Gerencia: Calle 10, Nº 4-48.
Empresa propietaria: EL PAIS Ltda. - Cali - Colombia.
Teléfonos: 54-36. Avisos: 53-47 Clasificados: 22-00

OCTUBRE DE 1954 EDICION DE 16 PAGINAS - VALOR, $ 0.10

Plan Lilienthal Para el Valle

se Invertirán en el Término de Diez Años

ción y Fomento.

Como se sabe, al consejo que se reunió desde las once de la mañana en Melgar, asistieron, invitados especialmente, el gobernador Garcés Giraldo y el científico David Lilienthal quienes con los ministros y el presidente Rojas sostuvieron una larga conferencia para acordar las bases definitivas para la realización del plan propuesto por el sabio norteamericano.

Muy poco ha logrado trascender sobre la reunión del consejo de ministros, pero de acuerdo con los informes responsables fidedignos, el mayor tiempo de las deliberaciones se destinó al plan Lilienthal, auncuando también se alcanzó a discutir sobre los siguientes puntos:

1º) Enmiendas al decreto sobre injuria y calumnia, sobre el cual se referirá seguramente el presidente Rojas en el discurso de Paz de Río.

2º) Creación del consejo económico.

3º) Posible modificación de la política tributaria sobre todo en lo relativo a la tributación que ha ocasionado liquidación de numerosas sociedades anónimas que contaban con un activo de cerca de doscientos millones de pesos.

4º) Creación de nuevos recursos para financiar los ensanches de Paz de Río.

Los ministros del gabinete ejecutivo regresarán mañana a Bogotá, acompañados del presidente Rojas, para el miércoles viajar a la inauguración de Paz de Río.

October 8, 1954

ESPECIAL

rán Organismo del Plan

Habrá Decisión del Gabinete en Melgar

Con perspectivas muy favorables y colaboración de los ambientes económicos y administrativos, tanto en la rama oficial como en la parte privada, avanzan los trabajos del Lilienthal, quien desde hace [illegible] se encuentra en Bogotá, después de su visita al país, viene estudiando el plan técnico de [illegible] del Valle del Cauca. [illegible] presidente de la comisión del [illegible] ha venido [illegible] de [illegible]

La comisión del [illegible]

El mismo [illegible] de [illegible] acto [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Mr. Murrow (5)

COLOMBIA

PRESIDENCIA DE LA REPUBLICA

PRIVADO

Bogotá, Noviembre 15 de 1954.

Señor Doctor
DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 Wall Street,
NEW YORK, N. Y.-

Muy estimado Dr. Lilienthal:

Debo expresar a Ud. nuevamente mis agradecimientos por su ayuda y recomendaciones encaminadas a poner en marcha un plan de desarrollo integral de los recursos naturales en la región del Cauca, siguiendo los métodos y las prácticas del TVA que usted orientó y dirigió con extraordinario éxito.

Mi Gobierno decidió aprovechar los importantes servicios ofrecidos por usted y creó la Corporación Autónoma Regional del Cauca en la que tendrá usted el carácter de Consejero del Presidente de la República.

El doctor Diego Garcés Giraldo, Gobernador del Departamento del Valle, me ha informado que usted desea prestar sus servicios sin remuneración alguna, estableciendo tan sólo una cifra nominal de un dollar por año como honorarios simbólicos. Soy el primero en agradecer su deseo de ayudar a los colombianos con ánimo altamente desinteresado y como buen vecino, no obstante el especial valor en que es apreciada su labor en todos los países.

Queda entendido que su vinculación a esta etapa inicial de la organización estará determinada por las circunstancias especiales de sus actuales compromisos, y que sólo dedicará usted al desarrollo del programa colombiano, el tiempo de que pueda disponer, sin menoscabo de sus personales intereses.

Cuando sea necesario que usted viaje a Colombia para consultas en relación con estos planes, me es grato manifestarle que usted y su señora vendrán como huéspedes del Gobierno Nacional y que la Corporación hará los arreglos del caso para que los gastos relacionados con el desempeño de su labor le sean cubiertos adecuadamente.

En reconocimiento de las erogaciones que usted ha tenido que hacer hasta la fecha, desde la preparación de su informe y en desarrollo de los pasos iniciales para la organización de la Corporación, que ascienden aproximadamente a la suma de tres mil quinientos dólares (US$3.500.oo), el Gobierno pagará a usted esta suma, que le ruego aceptar, de acuerdo con lo convenido entre usted y el doctor Diego Garcés Giraldo.

Es entendido que este arreglo amistoso y cordial entre nosotros, cubrirá un período de seis meses, que es el plazo que se calcula para la organización de la Corporación, en la importante etapa de su iniciación: pero es obvio que, cualquiera de nosotros podrá terminarlo en cualquier tiempo, a voluntad.

De usted muy cordialmente,

G. Rojas Pinilla

Translation

Bogota, November 15, 1954

Dr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

My dear Dr. Lilienthal:

I must express to you anew my thanks for your help and your recommendations designed to put into operation a plan for comprehensive development of the natural resources of Colombia, following the methods and practices of the TVA, which you guided and directed with the extraordinary success recognized throughout the entire world.

My Government has decided to adopt your recommendations, and appreciates in its full value the opportunity to avail itself of the important services which, in response to our repeated requests, you have indicated you are prepared to offer as an adviser to the President of the Republic and as a consultant to the Autonomous Regional Corporation of the Cauca, which has just been officially created.

Dr. Diego Garces Giraldo, Governor of the Department of the Valle, has informed me that you wish to offer these important services without remuneration, proposing only the nominal sum of one dollar per year as a token figure. I am the first to recognize and to thank you for your desire to help the Colombians in a highly altruistic and humanitarian spirit and as a good neighbor, notwithstanding the great value placed upon your services, both in the United States and in all the countries of the world. This constitutes an additional proof of the noble sentiments that inspire you as a great American, which have earned for you the everlasting gratitude of your countrymen and now of Colombians.

It is understood that your connection with this initial phase of the organization, and the services that you are offering, will be determined by the special circumstances of your present commitments, and that you will devote to the work relating to the development of the Colombian program only the time that may be available to you without interfering with your personal affairs.

When it is necessary for you to travel to Colombia for consultations connected with these plans, it is a pleasure for me to state to you that you and your wife will be guests of the National Government.

For the expenditures you have had to date, since the preparation of your report and in developing the initial steps for the organization of the Corporation, which amount approximately to Three Thousand Five Hundred Dollars (U.S. $3,500), the Government will pay you this sum, which I beg you to accept in accordance with the Agreement between you and Dr. Diego Garces Giraldo.

It is my understanding that this friendly and cordial arrangement between us will cover a period of six months, which is the important initial period, anticipated for the organization of the Corporation but, naturally, either of us may at any time terminate the arrangement at will.

Very sincerely yours,
/s/ E. Rojas Pinilla

Lilienthal, Da

July 30, 1954

Dear Dave:

This is being dictated from my log house in the country. I hope you will forgive me for not having been in touch with you before this regarding your letter of April 28th.

I'm sorry we couldn't deal with TVA before we went off the air for the summer, but we now have active plans to do it in the Autumn. I had one conversation with Gordon Clapp and Larry Fly a week or so ago, and I shall hope to pick your brains about it when I get back in September.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

April 28, 1954

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

This letter is about a rather dramatic thing that is going on in the Tennessee Valley, of what I think is pretty considerable national importance, moreover it is an issue both sides of which can be presented through the filming of conversations, etc., of ordinary everyday people - something you and Fred Friendly have developed to a high art.

The particular issue is that between now and May 18th President Eisenhower will either reappoint Gordon R. Clapp as Chairman of TVA, or he will appoint someone else. Clapp's term expires on May 18th; another Member of the Board, Dr. Harry Curtis, is 71 years of age so, in effect, this may be a new head office for TVA.

I think I mentioned to you that the people down there consider the TVA something that they developed pretty much themselves and have strong feelings about it. On the other hand, there are critics of TVA, and a number of strong individuals in the Tennessee Valley who are very capable of presenting the other side.

So I would guess that this lends itself to your technique of interviews with farmers, housewives, businessmen, and the meetings of citizens that go on in the Valley whenever anything about TVA comes up that they get worked up about, and they certainly are worked up about the prospect of something adverse happening to their 20-year-old baby. Gordon Clapp himself is quite a personage and one who is almost completely unknown to the American public except through newspaper accounts.

I know that if your film crew wanted to undertake it, they could get plenty of cooperation from local people so it wouldn't be too difficult a chore in that respect. Also there is quite a library of film, as I understand, showing the way the Tennessee Valley looked in the early days of TVA and the rather blossoming effect it has today - particularly today, since the spring in the Valley is spectacularly lovely.

With warm personal regards, as always

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

DEL:RPI

Lilienthal, Dav

February 8, 1954

Dear Dave:

Thanks for sending me the note from Chief Wilson. He is really a top man to work for and so far has given me my head and stood behind me when the going was rough.

I am as ever grateful for your kind comments and regret only that we have so little opportunity of seeing each other. Perhaps we can remedy that when you return from Colombia. I am off to Berlin at the end of the week for a quick look through cameras at the Foreign Ministers Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

rh

Feb 3/54

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Ed:

Seeing you at the Century yesterday reminded me of some recent correspondence re Edward R Murrow — see attached.

Helen & I are off for Colombia (not 116th St!) in about 10 days — on a curious mission of a TVA-like kind.

Edward R Murrow Esq. Best to both of you

Dave & Helen

65

Aluminum Company of America

I. W. WILSON
PRESIDENT

Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

December 31, 1953

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

As you can well imagine, we receive quite a few letters commenting upon the "SEE IT NOW" program presented by Ed Murrow and sponsored by Alcoa. These comments run the whole gamut from bitter criticism to high praise.

However, I can assure you that none of them has brought me the satisfaction that I obtained from your thoughtful letter of December 30th. We so heartily reciprocate in the feelings you express in your letter toward us that we place a high valuation on your opinion of our TV program and are gratified that you feel that it makes a real contribution to the public. Your letter is deeply appreciated.

Your many friends in Alcoa would wish to include their best wishes with mine that this new year and the succeeding ones will bring you health, happiness and prosperity.

Sincerely,

Chief

IWW:meg

C O P Y

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

December 30, 1953

I. W. Wilson, Esq.
President, Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Chief:

It is a long time since I was dickering with Alcoa for miles and miles of conductor (and it is still there, and still mighty satisfactory) or working out that complicated deal for the Fontana dam site. Right then I acquired a lot of respect for Aluminum Company of America in general, and one Chief Wilson in particular.

But that respect for the quality and good sense of your Company has reached new heights lately. I refer to your sponsoring of the Ed Murrow TV show. (And I am saying this about a competitor, for I am proud to say, RCA is a consulting client of mine).

I have seen - and indulged in - a lot of institutional promotion and public relations in the last twenty years. I have never seen anything better than the way this show is handled, from the standpoint of the fellow who pays the bill, in this case Alcoa, the public point of view, or the interest of the audience. Murrow and Friendly and their field organization really know their business, and have brains and a sense of timing. But all this could be spoiled - as so often it is - if the spirit or "smell" of the whole thing were just a bit off, like an "only slightly" not-fresh egg. Each of you - Alcoa and its agency people and CBS-Murrow - make a balance that works, it seems to me.

I admit freely I'm not impartial. I have thought well of both Murrow and Alcoa for quite a long time. But impartial or not, I feel I ought to pay for the enjoyment of seeing good workmanship on TV, and since I don't buy much aluminum conductor nor many dam sites these days, this letter seemed the next best way of expressing that appreciation.

With cordial personal greetings, and best wishes of the season,

Sincerely,

David E. Lilienthal

DEL:RPI

Lilienthal, David

October 2, 1953

Dear Dave:

Many thanks for your letter. I now know where to turn first in the Times on October 4.

Janet and I had a very pleasant summer, even though a good bit of work somehow got mixed up with the rest period.

The Berlin trip was very strenuous, but we really enjoyed it and felt it worthwhile.

We must get together again as soon as I can get settled down into some kind of routine. In the meantime, Janet joins me in sending affectionate greetings to you and Helen.

As ever,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, N. Y.

EEM:ml

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

September 30, 1953

Dear Ed:

Several years ago, when I was still cohabiting with the atom, you introduced me to a "radio executives" audience here, and I made a speech "agin" the secrecy obsession and for the need for public knowledge of what goes on, lest we "stumble - or be pushed - without knowing what we are doing, into some desperate finality."

The nuclear arms race is unhappily a lot farther along now than it was then. In the light of the announcements about the H-bomb, I have written a brief article on the present picture, and about how not to go about countering this latest chapter in that race; it appears in next Sunday's New York Times magazine (October 4).

I'm writing to call your attention to it, not of course because it has news value, but because you are one of the people I would most hope would find what I have to say worth turning over in your mind.

Helen and I do hope you and Janet got some good solid rest during the summer; your voice on the air certainly sounds vigorous and fresh and rested, despite that terrific Berlin story and its exertions.

Do hope we shall be seeing you again one of these days before long; in the meantime, affectionate greetings and esteem

As ever,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

January 9, 1952

Dear Dave:

Sometimes, better late than early! I say that because I received several wires congratulating me on SEE IT NOW and some of them were dated a day or two before the program actually took air. The purpose of this epistle and of the lead sentence is to send you my congratulations on the Public Welfare Medal from the National Academy of Sciences. As we would say down South: "They honored themselves right much."

As ever yours,

gp

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
AMERICAN SECURITY BUILDING
WASHINGTON
REPUBLIC 1754

44 WALL STREET
NEW YORK
HANOVER 2-1200

17

November 5, 1951

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As a friend of Mr. Lilienthal's I thought you would be interested to know that the National Academy of Sciences, at a meeting at Yale on November 6, is awarding him its Public Welfare Medal.

Sincerely,

Mary S. Walden

Mrs. Mary S. Walden
Assistant to
Mr. Lilienthal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Excerpts from the Report of the Committee on the Marcellus Hartley Fund, National Academy of Sciences, recommending that the 1951 Public Welfare Medal be awarded to Mr. David E. Lilienthal:

The purpose of the award provided by the Marcellus Hartley Fund is to give recognition to individuals who have performed unusual public service through the application of the methods and techniques of science and technology. A portion of the recommendation of the committee is quoted below.

"Under his supervision, first as a director, and later as Chairman, of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a vast development project for the Tennessee Valley was initiated and carried into operation. Though there may be differences of opinion as to the political advisability of the Government undertaking such a project, there is no argument that the net result has been a tremendous technological achievement, that the availability of electric power has stimulated the growth of industry in the Valley (the Oak Ridge Atomic Energy Plant for example) and that this development has had a profound effect on the agriculture and on the standard of living of the people of that area. TVA represents an intricate interweaving of the technologies of water conservation, soil conservation, agricultural development and the generation and use of electric power.

"The problem presented to the Board of Consultants of the State Department in 1946 in drawing up the plan for international agreement on the control of atomic energy was certainly one of the most difficult and critical problems of modern times. Before feasible proposals could be drafted it was necessary for the members of this Board to become familiar with the basic science and technology of the atomic-energy field and become also familiar with the factors which stimulate the development of science and technology. On the basis of these principles the Board then attempted to draw up a plan which would win international acceptance and which would aim to reduce the chance that atomic energy would be used for purposes of war, without at the same time imposing controls which would prevent its development for purposes of peace. In looking back it can now be seen that the hope that this soundly conceived and far-sighted plan would be agreed to by the Soviet Union and its Satellites was doomed to disappointment. But this does not detract from the bold and brilliant thinking which went into the drafting of the plan, nor to the achievement of Mr. Lilienthal and others in bringing it into being and having it accepted as the official position of the United States Government, and later accepted by most of the Western nations.

"The Atomic Energy Act of 1946 created a wholly new type of Government Enterprise -- The Atomic Energy Commission. This Commission was charged with the task of taking over the military facilities which had been developed during the war and used for the development and manufacture of the atomic bomb, and to continue the operation of these facilities in the interests of national security and national defense. At the same time the Commission was instructed by the Law to proceed with the development of peaceful applications of atomic energy as a contribution to national welfare. The task of the Commission involved basic research and development in a large number of fields of science. It involved the development of new practices, techniques, and devices for the use of atomic energy, as well as the building of plants and factories for the production of materials required in the use of atomic energy for peaceful and war-time purposes. The vastness and complexity of the undertaking, and the difficulties faced in reconciling the

often conflicting interests of scientists, engineers, and the military, the unanticipated difficulty of the technological problems which arose are too well-known and too involved to be set forth here. It cannot be pretended that all these problems and difficulties have been solved, but it is clear that under the wise leadership of David Lilienthal as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission substantial progress was made under conditions made increasingly difficult by the deterioration of international relations, as well as by a frequently hostile political atmosphere in this country. For his wise and intelligent leadership in a critical enterprise during a critical period, the American people owe Mr. Lilienthal a debt of gratitude."

November 15, 1951

Dear Dave:

You were indeed thoughtful to send me the copy of your October 24 speech. My best thanks.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed: point on p. 6 may interest you. Hope your British visit is, (was) fun. Dave ~~was~~ Thanks Lil

For release on delivery
8:30 P.M. October 24, 1951

A PRIVATE CITIZEN LOOKS AT THE U.N.

Address of David E. Lilienthal
Pittsburgh Observation of United Nations Week
Carnegie Music Hall, October 24, 1951
Pittsburgh, Penna.

This is a day when we who are private citizens have our inning. This is our chance to say what we think about the U. N. and about war and peace. As one who was a public servant for almost twenty years I know that most public servants want to hear from the folks they are working for, to know what they are thinking, what their hopes are.

These local United Nations celebrations all over the land are a fine demonstration of a profound principle of democratic life. It is a principle that is just as alive and valid in international affairs as it is in national and local government. That principle is that the source of the strength and vigor and health of the United Nations is the people themselves, the people in their local communities, in their neighborhoods, in their churches, in their homes. Without the understanding, the criticism, the participation of the folks back home the United Nations is a tree without roots that will surely wither and die.

Pittsburgh is a singularly appropriate place for such a demonstration of grass roots democracy. Not long since, at an industrial conference held by the Corning Glass Works Dr. Charles Weidlein of the Mellon Institute told us the remarkable Pittsburgh story, told us how your recent civic improvements were sponsored by private citizens, organized by private citizens, carried through largely with the active participation of the citizenry of this fabulous center of American industry and education. This is democracy at its best. When something comparable to the Pittsburgh story takes place in the area of international relations, in the step-by-step development of the U. N., then peace and a golden future for the world will gradually become not a hope but an evolving reality.

What is it we are celebrating here? We are celebrating the establishment and the survival of the United Nations, as an institution for the promotion and preservation of peace and amity among the peoples of the world.

But what have we to celebrate? Is this "peace" that we see in the world today?

Your sons are fighting in Korea. Thousands of them are brought back home, dead, or wounded. American young men by the thousands are manning the defenses of Europe, my own son among them. There is fighting in Egypt and in Indo-China. In the subcontinent of India the soldiers of Pakistan and of India face each other in deadly anger. Ugly, violent things are going on in Iran. How then can we celebrate "peace"?

There are even more sobering facts than these to face up to.

Surely nothing could be plainer than this: The world lives from day to day on the very razor's edge of World War, of a war of annihilation between the Free

World and the Captive World. Both the Free World and the Captive World are engaged in an arms race, a desperate all-out arms race. As a consequence, what you and I produce is going largely into armies, into submarines and bombers, into airfields all over the world, into atomic bombs. Most of our huge tax payments are handed over to our military establishment. Our future income is mortgaged up to the hilt, for as long as you and I shall live, to pay for this great armament effort.

What is true of us is true as well of the tired people of Britain and France, and our other partners. The war-battered people of Russia are pouring most of their energies and their resources into the piling up of armies, air forces and atomic bombs.

And this arms race is not all. Spokesmen for the Free World and the spokesmen for the Communist World are flinging words of anger and contempt and bitterness at each other every day. Their words show but little faith that we can live together in the same world. Their words are of the kind that in other days would have been used only if the decision to go to war had already been made, the orders to march already given.

Now this is a somber picture. Does this mean that I think the United Nations is a failure, that our efforts to achieve peace and avoid the catastrophe of a World War through the U. N. have failed?

Not at all. For myself I have more faith in the U. N. today than ever before.

Moreover I happen to believe that the structure of our American foreign policy today, built upon the U. N. as its foundation, represents one of the finest examples of realistic and effective leadership in the history of modern statecraft.

I do indeed think there is something to celebrate tonight. I don't believe a gloomy view is justified.

It seems to me wrong to judge the progress of the U. N. and the prospects for peace almost solely on how things stand between us and the Russians. This is as grave a misapprehension as the earlier error we made: that if we Americans would disarm -- "bring the boys home" is what we called it after V-J Day -- then the Russians would behave.

Well, if a preoccupation with how we stand vis-a-vis the Russians at any particular time is not the way to judge the prospects for peace, or to judge the success of the United Nations as an instrument of peace, what is the way I think we should look at it? What other way is there?

The United Nations, as I see it, is not designed as a specific cure for war. We have tried such cures. In our own time the world has pinned its faith -- or in any case we Americans have put our faith -- in a whole series of such specific remedies. We tried pacificism, in various forms. By this I mean disarmament, backed up by promises contained in solemn treaties between nations. The Kellogg-Briand Pact, for example, was such a treaty to outlaw war -- a specific cure for war.

And then, after World War II many people thought peace had been achieved because we had defeated our enemies. That war can be eliminated by fighting a

war, is still the most widely believed of all the specific cures of war. This is a tragic illusion.

The purpose of our huge armament program is not to fight a war. It is to prevent one.

Now the United Nations is not like earlier efforts, a specific cure for anything, much less of war. It is not a formula, not so much a matter of organization, of vetoes and debate and resolutions. The dramatic televised Japanese treaty meeting at San Francisco recently did not represent the essence of the U. N. That is something broader, more affirmative than proceedings and debates in the General Assembly or the Security Council.

The U. N. is an expression of man's desire to eliminate the violence and destruction of war; but it is far more than that. It is a living expression of a feeling, widespread in the world, that in the 20th Century we have the greatest opportunity in all history slowly and painfully to build a world in which human beings can fulfill their destinies as the children of God.

This deeply felt sense of great opportunity accounts for much of the dissatisfaction and struggle and conflict -- and vitality -- in the world today.

Now it is upon this urge, upon this broad ethical and spiritual aspiration, that the U. N. rests. So also does democracy. In my opinion, then, the United Nations represents the democratic process, the democratic idea, on a world basis, applied to the world community.

The U. N. is not a formula, a dogma, a cure-all, a set of rules and regulations or treaties. It is a human process, the finest flower of the evolution of man in his relations to his fellow men. It is this same process, the process of adjustment and conciliation that is the heart of democracy. It is the process of open discussion, of persuasion, of listening to the other fellow's point of view and trying to understand it. It is leadership by example rather than by mere majority vote or by force or position. It is the recognizing of conflict and difference as the natural state of honest and free men. It is the process of resolving one conflict knowing full well that still another conflict lies ahead; adjusting opposing views knowing that still another and new problem will be created by the adjustment of the old. Democracy in world affairs, like democracy in Pittsburgh, is never-ending.

The U. N. then, in my view, stands squarely upon this democratic thesis. It therefore cannot expect to find perfect or complete or final answers. And above all, democracy -- exemplified by the United Nations -- does not rely only on the policeman or on the soldier, only upon the minister and priest, only upon the businessman or the diplomat, only upon force or upon faith -- but like democracy itself, relies on all of these together, each playing a part.

A few days ago I had a long visit with a very wise man, a pioneer in American business and a humanitarian who has profoundly affected the prospects for health of generations yet unborn. He talked about democracy. What makes American democracy so inspiring, he said, is that we are so everlastingly dissatisfied with it. Look at the great strides ahead we have made in living together, in racial relations, labor relations, respect for each other. But what do we hear?

Dissatisfaction, criticism, impatience, and complaints. That's the most heartening thing of all, he said -- that we are never satisfied; that we always keep trying to do better. That, he said, is the watermark of genuine democracy in this blessed country.

If, as I believe, the essence of the U. N. is that it is the democratic way on a world scale, then for similar reasons we can expect dissatisfaction and impatience with the U. N.'s accomplishments. But that dissatisfaction is in itself a sign of health, a sign that we are not once more depending upon specific cure-alls for war.

Peace is more than just the absence of fighting. Peace is a continuing process of striving, by a multiplicity of methods, to adjust the conflicts of men and nations. Peace is not something that is won, once and for all, any more than freedom can thus be won. Peace, like freedom, has to be earned day by day, by applying to the constantly changing conflicts of the human race what John Dewey called "the democratic methods of consultation, persuasion, negotiation, communication, cooperative intelligence..."

I would judge the success of the U. N. therefore by how well it exemplifies this educational process of democracy in world affairs. And by that yardstick it seems to me the United Nations measures up very well indeed.

The United Nations is the Free World's response to the universal longing for peace, just as democracy fills the universal longing of individuals to count for something. The U. N.'s record, judged by this standard, is impressive and heartening.

The U. N. has real achievements in the realm of persuasion and conciliation and adjustment of conflict, and in promoting self-government.

For example, the U. N. was successful, without force, in bringing about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Iran, in 1946.

The U. N. Commission on Indonesia brought about a settlement between the Dutch and the Indonesians. In Greece the U. N. helped bring something like order to that still tortured country.

The U. N. Mediation Commission for Palestine ended the fighting between Jews and Arabs, after the British left that area; U. N. influence has kept sporadic outbursts of violence from spreading into full-scale warfare.

The U. N. has not resigned itself to futility. It has, for example, found a way, within the Charter, to curb Russian abuse of the Security Council veto. It is resisting and punishing the invaders of South Korea, a signal victory for morality and law, and its greatest test as an international body.

The U. N. has not been vindictive and negative, not just an agency of suppression. The outstanding example is the Japanese treaty, well described as an act of reconciliation and reconstruction.

The economic and political activities of the U. N. are affirmative. For example the World Bank, the Monetary Fund, the Trusteeship Council,

The U. N. has been concerned about human welfare in a positive and concrete way. The U. N. International Refugee Organization, for example, has found new homes and in other ways assisted 1,500,000 human beings cast out on the world as a consequence of the last War. The U. N.'s World Health Organization halted a terrible cholera epidemic, has reduced the ravages of malaria and helped to control it.

A recitation of these and many other specific accomplishments of the U. N. is clear evidence that we now have a vital international organization that operates in the world of reality. It will not and cannot solve all the world's troubles. But the U. N. is by no means a symbol of futility. It is not mere words. It is something solid and effective. As such it deserves the support and the prayers of the people of this country.

We DO have something to celebrate on this United Nations Day.

The first and chief concern of most Americans and of most people the world over is how to keep the universal tragedy of another World War from happening. I firmly believe that the growing over-all military strength of the free nations can help mightily to avert war, and that without this re-armament effort the prospects for peace would be slim indeed.

What is America's chief function, in the U. N., in its struggle for peace and amity among nations?

If war is averted the great hope for peace lies in America's assertion of world leadership in her special and historically unique role. That role is the demonstration, in concrete, workaday, and easily understood terms that a living democracy is the best way of satisfying the aspirations of man: his physical needs for food, shelter, education, health; his moral need for a sense of purpose; his spiritual need freely to worship his Maker.

What we are now moving toward is a program of action that goes beyond re-arming. It is a program that calls for the kind of accomplishments that have made America known the world over as a land of hopes fulfilled.

Our program of action -- as a nation and through the U. N. -- should not rest upon argument and ideological appeals, should not be only a matter of outvoting the Russians in the U. N. and out-arming them. The vitality of American leadership is best expressed in the things we DO that satisfy deeply felt needs. Our program for peace must therefore be concerned with such things as pastures and fields and forests, and how to make them yield greater benefits to men; rivers and how to make them work for people; disease, and how to control it. We should demonstrate how we organize and manage industry, large and small, and cooperative ventures.

Our leadership moreover should be based upon the principle we ourselves exemplify that productiveness is unlimited, a fundamental but little understood tenet of our American experience.

Accordingly we should provide the world with an example -- as I believe we are -- that assigns a minimum role to controls, to restrictions, allocations, directives, orders, and a maximum role to stimulating productivity of human and

material resources.

We can work our way to peace -- if our efforts to prevent a world-wide war succeed -- by reason of continued demonstrations of the unique virtues of a way of living in which freedom, not fear, prevails. For the ultimate issue we face is not one that we can win by military force. It is not one the Communists can win by force either.

We should be reassured by our military progress. But to be perfectly candid about it, it seems to me this growing military strength has set off a wave of glorification of weapons that is neither in the best American tradition nor in our own best interests.

I can't recall when we have heard more out-and-out jingoism in America than in the past two or three months. A jingo is a fellow who talks a lot about how strong he is, and how he will just pulverize his opponents. He stands around flexing his muscles, pounding his chest, and hinting about some razzle-dazzle he has up his sleeve, some push-button secret weapon. Hitler used to scream this kind of stuff about secret weapons, and his invincible Luftwaffe, and so on. It is appropriate enough from Hitler or Stalin, but it is painful to hear Americans talk that way.

If this is supposed to be psychological warfare it is pretty amateur stuff, this jingo talk, and so often it backfires on us. If it is designed to promise us a cheap, quick mechanical way to win a war it is misleading and mischievous. Sooner or later some one responsible for the hard military realities has to pull the rug out from under these statements, in plain sight of all the neighbors. Either as amateur psychological warfare or as a way of re-assuring the American people this sort of talk leaves much to be desired. And it can become a positive danger.

It is possible to talk ourselves into a world war. I don't think we are going to do this. But a continuation of jingoism, of preoccupation with weapons, is not going to help develop that sense of restraint and prudence that is essential in a democracy if we are to try to win our victory by preventing war rather than fighting one.

We are a peace-loving people. We need to build up our military strength and we're doing a fabulous job of it. To get us re-armed it is neither right nor necessary to try to scare the daylights out of the American people, or to make them war-like by jingo talk. It is a dangerous and an unbecoming course.

The future of the U. N. depends to a large degree on the future of the U. S. Our future depends upon our maintaining the quality of our moral leadership. We must keep ourselves fit for our great role.

Perhaps it was in order that we be prepared for this supremely difficult undertaking that America has so long been favored by Providence. The full purpose of the American Experiment may now be unfolding in the Dangerous Decade of the 1950's: this people's role in striving to avert catastrophe and to open the door of new and unbounded opportunity for the whole world.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL SP

Topside, Vineyard Haven, Mass.
August 29, 1951.

Dear Ed:

Well, this is more like it!

I refer to the return of your voice to our living room.

Hope you had a decent change and rest this time. And that you skipped that long tiring hop to Yougosluvia or wherever. I know Janet and Casey must have enjoyed having a bit more of you than usual. We've had a good summer; I worked and commuted a good bit, but it wasn't strenuous. We've just taken an apartment at the Drake Hotel (440 Park Ave.) and will go back and forth to Washington this fall and winter, and except for trips will spend a good deal of the time in New York.

Our affection to all of you

Dave

PS We leave here September 4th.

July 12, 1951

Dear Dave:

Going back to your note of January 23; if I can't stand beside you in person, I am honored to stand beside Senator Norris.

Your piece on the session with Nehru was undoubtedly the best piece of writing you have done to date.

I assume you are now off to the vineyard but should you be passing this way, Janet and I would be greatly pleasured to have you spend as much time as possible with us. I shall be here until the end of July, after which time, as Mr. Luce's publications are wont to say, knows God I shall probably be going to Yugoslavia or some other improbable place. After all the old fashioned radio must manage somehow to compete with Colliers.

As ever yours,

E R Murrow

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
American Security Building
Washington, D.C.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
AMERICAN SECURITY BUILDING
WASHINGTON

(60)

January 23, 1951.

Dear Ed:

Wonderful to talk with you this afternoon; I'm to do the recording tomorrow afternoon.

A "morale builder" story, just in case, what with a stubborn cold, you may want to know how part of your auditors feel about you. to wit:

When my secretary Mrs. Walden is out of the offices she switches onto "Courtesy Associates", a wonderful outfit who answer your telephone, "sorry his Secretary is out, can I take a message,etc." Wonderful gals, and quite a story back of the service, but that's neither here nor there.

Mrs. Walden returned from a brief absence, the Courtesy gal called to say: "Oh I'm SO glad you were out Mrs. Walden. I have just talked to Edward R.Murrow and I am so excited . . he talked just like he does on the radio." Finally she quited down sufficiently to transmit the message. I liked this story.

Take care of yourself, and let's hope we'll see each other soon after our return, about March 15th.

Best as always,

Dave

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
CBS
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

ps I typed this, late at the office, hence the unorthodox location on the page.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
AMERICAN SECURITY BUILDING
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1951

Dear Ed:

The picture arrived, it was promptly framed, and now stands beside Senator Norris in my study. I am very proud of it and thank you so much.

On the basis of a sudden decision, but long in the brewing, Helen and I leave New York on February 2 on a flying trip to Pakistan, India, and back by Japan. There has been a great deal of cordiality about the whole thing, and though Lilienthal always picks the hard way and the hard time to do anything, it promises to be intensely interesting and not entirely hopeless. (By not "entirely hopeless" my formula is .001% hopeful out of 100%, which are sporting odds these days."

Should you come to Washington for a broadcast between now and February 2, or if we should get to New York ahead of time, it would be wonderful to have a visit with you before we go.

Warm regards,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Vice President and Director of Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

June 4, 1951

Dear Dave:

Belated thanks for your note of May 2. These Radio Awards are sort of passed around in rotation. There is a rumor that one man in Red Bank, New Jersey has never received one. And when do we see you again?

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
American Security Building
Washington, D.C.

=0

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
AMERICAN SECURITY BUILDING
WASHINGTON

15.

May 2, 1951

Dear Ed:

The "best radio and television interpretation of foreign news" indeed! In addition to congratulations on this award, I would like to ask this question from the back row -- what do they mean foreign news?

Anyway, it is a fine thing and our household sends best wishes and greetings.

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Edward R. Murrow, Esquire
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

January 2, 1951

Dear Dave:

I am having some of those "things" made up. Most of my friends thought I looked like a North Korean, which is a view I share, but if you want one, you shall have it.

Meanwhile permit me to hope that the New Year will be better than either of us thinks it is going to be.

As ever yours,

Mr. David Lilienthal
American Security Building
Washington, D. C.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
AMERICAN SECURITY BUILDING
WASHINGTON

December 15, 1950

Dear Ed:

Your new program sounds wonderful and the timing couldn't possibly have been better.

The line drawing in this morning's newspapers of one Edward R. Murrow appeals to me very much. Is there any chance that I could have a reproduction of that drawing to put up in my study at home? Don't go to a lot of bother about this, but if it is possible I would surely like to have it.

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Vice President & Director of Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

French Line

but they are spending dough on brochures,

PAR AVION · AIR MAIL

Mostly, full page ads etc I as if were the Gurl with the Billion Dollar hego.

à bord, le

Grasse
May 22/50

Dear Ed: Thanks so much for the radio; if I accomplished isolationism by such a passive measure as sitting on a ship and eating my way, just think what I may be able to do if I work at it... I radio'd Smith fine for June 14 & 16; no on 12th as we probably won't reach London till late that day. Very nice of him — and you.

Helen & I have slept unbelievable hours, and by Friday may be able to get through a day without two naps.

Collier's accepted all my urgings re promotion(x), and no changes in articles. They plan a big show. Hope it gets somewhere — I've tried every other tack re secrecy — maybe this will do it... Grand to have that visit with you

(x) They didn't use a certain Philadelphia-born phrase about my desire to have my pay in a manner not all-respicable to one with my office (public responsibilities etc, etc)

PAR AVION · AIR MAIL

French Line

à bord, le

I didn't get around to telling you of my business plans, which include opening an office in Wash., about Sept 15 – Oct 1, later one in N.Y. perhaps, and trying to find some things that will provide a less-than-85%-of-earned-income activity. You are as wise a human as I've ever known, so its not only the fun of having some work to do with you but also cupidity (*) that fathers the hope that you and I might find some things we could do together, along with our separate turns for Columbia and Crowell.

Hope Casey ok again – Janet & C sent us a sweet message.

As always Dave

(*) reminds me of Dardis' injunction when the "Imperatrix" started coming in, after reading "Dad, I hope you won't give way to 19 years of pent-up greed."

MAY 19, 1950

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL SP

ON BOARD THE DE GRASSE

TRIED REACH QUOTE VALUABLE PROPERTY UNQUOTE TELEPHONICALLY BUT NO GO YOU ARE ISOLATED STOP HOWARD SMITH WANTS ARRANGE THREE LUNCHEONS FOR YOU JUNE 12 CROWTHER ECONOMIST EDITOR OTHER EDITORS; JUNE 14 MORRISON OTHER LABORITES; AND JUNE 16 BUTLER OTHER TORIES STOP IF THIS AGREEABLE PLEASE MESSAGE HIM ADDRESS COLUMBIA LONDON LUCK

ED MURROW

1031EST

PLS ACK ' OK NOW PLS '

R1 PCG

RECEIVED
1950 MAY 19 AM 10:56
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT

FORM 101 PW—C

PCG/RCA2/MY

US1558 OPH998 LONDON 66 19 1505

LC COLUMBIA NEWYORK

MURROW IS IT OK ARRANGE SMALL LUNCHEONS FOR LILIENTHAL JUNE 12TH WITH CROWTHER OTHER EDITORS AND JUNE 14TH WITH MORRISON HYNDLEY OTHER LABOURITES AND JUNE 16TH WITH BUTLER AND TORIES QUERY STOP SORRY UNABLE GET RESERVATION CONNAUGHT JUNE 11TH BECAUSE ASCOT WEEK AND THEY BOOKED UP SINCE

MARCH AND SO FAR NO CANCELLATIONS THEREFORE GETTING BEST ALTERNATIVE ACCOMODATION AND WILL ADVISE REGARDS

SMITH

FORM 101 PW—C

12TH 14TH 16TH 11TH

1053A
' R2

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

for Ed Murrow

A. Lilienthal
SP

April 30, 1950

Dear Mr. Schoenbrun:

Thank you so very much for your interest and help; Ed has shown me your letter of April 19th, and with his approval I'm answering directly.

The reservation at the Hotel Bellman sounds fine. Do I need to do anything more about that, myself, in order to make it firm?

As to the car, we shall follow your suggestion, and make reservations through AAA either in New york (as noted) or out of Washington if they can do it from here.

Regarding appointments with a variety of people in Paris and elsewhere in France, I'll await your list of suggestions, after which I'll write you at once; perhaps it would be better to hold up confirmation on the Monick date for May 31 until I have the list before me.

I shall not want a schedule for meeting people that will not permit some time to see some of the places in Paris which two Americans who have never before been there should see. But as I am used to pretty strenuous activity, I'm sure we can do both. Paul Hoffman has asked me to call on Harriman and others in the ECA office there, which of course I shall do. But I'd rather be with Frenchmen, actually. How much of a handicap, with such men as Monick for example, would you say it would be that I speak and understand no French whatever?

I have written Jean Monnet, whom I met here years ago, and have great respect for, but there has not as yet been time to hear from him in response. But as to his question in your postscript, no one so far as I know is "arranging" the trip through the Rhone, and indeed I'm not sure that this is the best place to go either to see the French countryside or its agricultural and water resource headway. So I should be glad to have both his guidance as to what I should try to see, and some help of the kind he suggests in understanding what I see.

Having listened to you often, I look forward keenly to meeting you and visiting about this and that.

Sincerely yours

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 28, 1950

Dear Dave:

Herewith communications from the boys in London and Paris. You will notice that Schoenbrun raises certain questions regarding your plans. Maybe you would care to communicate with him directly or, alternatively, I'll pass on anything you want to tell him.

I hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

SP

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
5126 Albemarle Street, N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

5126 ALBEMARLE STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 16, D. C.

April 24, 1950

Dear Ed:

Your notes to your associates in Britain and France were certainly a wonderful response. You know how much I appreciate them and how much your expressions of confidence in me continue to mean to me.

I have just returned from a lecture trip which has gotten me all enthused and optimistic about the value of the kind of thing I have been doing.

Faithfully,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Warner Building
Washington, D. C.

Come out & see our dogwood whenever the spirit of Spring moveth thee

C
O
P
Y

CBS
PARIS

April 19, 1950

Dear Ed:

I'm really thrilled at the prospect of meeting Mr. Lilienthal. This seems to be my lucky year for meeting people I've admired most of my life. Just a few days ago I spent the afternoon with Helen Keller and her companion Polly Thompson, two of the most remarkable women of our time.

For Mr. Lilienthal we have reserved a double room with bath at the Hotel Bellman 37 rue Francois Premier, Paris 8eme, telephone number: ELysees 62-51. This is a small, quiet, elegant hotel and very reasonable in price. They quoted 2500 francs a day at present. It might go up somewhat at the height of the tourist season, but it is about one third less than the other first rate hotels.

Jean Monnet said that he is most anxious to see Mr. Lilienthal. However he has been invited by the Canadian Government for their Fair on May 29th and probably he will not be in Paris when Mr. Lilienthal gets here. He thinks that he would be back in time to see him in England about mid-June. Could that be arranged? He would like to have Mr. Lilienthal's address so that he could send him a friendly note. Mr. Monnet also sends you his best personal regards and asks whether you will be in New York the first week in June. He will be visiting New York and Washington after Canada, and would like to see you in New York if you are free.

I have, as per your request, tipped off the Embassy and ECA about the Lilienthal visit, telling them that it was just a vacation trip, no razzle-dazzle or protocol expected: this to Lane Timmons, Deputy Chief ECA Mission to France, and the Ambassador.

I have also arranged a tentative appointment, for a talk or a meal--which ever Mr. Lilienthal prefers--with Emmanual Monick former governor of the Banque de France and now President of the Banque do Paris & Pay Bas. Date May 31st, confirmation requested. Mr. Monick, as you know, is one of the best financial brains of France. In a day or two I will forward a list of suggestions, for Mr. Lilienthal's approval, of labor leaders and industrialists whom he would like to see, and would appreciate knowing just how he would like his appointments made and what days.

As for a drive-yourself car I am told by the American Express Car Service that it can best be arranged by the AAA in New York. They use the same agents as the American Express in Paris, can arrange all the formalities of licences, plates and customs papers, and can make the car reservation from there. Their address is 25 Broad Street New York, unless they have moved already to their new offices at Rockefeller Center. They can arrange the whole trip for him, including the reservation for a dirve-yourself car in Britain. However if you prefer I can make the reservation here in Paris and send the contracts papers to New York.

With best regards to Jessie and John,

Faithfully yours,

/s/ David

P.S. Monnet would like to know who the French officials are who are arranging Lilienthal's Rhone Valley trip. He's afraid they are tourist office or administrative types who wont know about the Dam projects etc. He'd like to help by assigning one of his top industrial-projects experts from his 5-Year Plan Council.

DS

COPY

CBS
LONDON

18th April, 1950

Dear Ed,

I received your memo about Lilienthal and will be very glad to so everything that I can to help him out. For a man of his stature it should be extremely easy getting anything he wants over here. As soon as I have some dates lined up I will send you a list of them for submission to him.

Regarding the preamble to your note, please don't ever hesitate making any personal requests. It is always a pleasure to fulfil them.

All the best,

/s/ Howard

PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Ed:

The trip has been a wonderful experience — beyond fondest hopes. The "conversations" here were lengthy, leisurely and not wholly unproductive tho it is a painfully difficult thing. So eager to talk about the whole thing with you. We expect be in Tokyo about March 9th, reach San F. about the 17th or so.

Warm greetings to you, Janet & Casey

Yours sincerely

Jawaharlal Nehru

Edward R Murrow Esq.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 553C

To Howard K. Smith and Dave Schoenbrun

From Ed Murrow

Station WTOP

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Lilienthal

April 12, 1950

Dear Fellows,

This is purely personal. I have no hesitation in making the request although, as you will recall, I have made damn few similar ones in the last four years. The point is David Lilienthal and his wife are coming to Europe. I need not tell either one of you anything about his distinguished career as a servant of his country, but I do want to say that I have never met a man in public life whose actions and integrity commanded more of my admiration and respect. Here's the dope:

He is due to arrive on the Conte De Grasse, Le Havre, May 26.

May 26 to June 1: In Paris. (Dave; Could you recommend and make reservations...sizeable double bedroom will do; no suite required for that period.)

June 2-8: Touring the Rhone Valley. French officials are planning this one and will provide transportation so no special arrangements are required. (Dave; If Jean Monnet is in Paris, would you advise him of Lilienthal's plans? You might also tip off the ECA and Embassy.)

June 9 & 10: A quick look at Belgium and Holland. (Would it be possible to tee up a drive-yourself car for this period?)

June 11 to July 2: In Britain. The first week in London. (Howard; couldst make reservations for the first week of this period at the Connaught; also a drive-yourself for the second two weeks.) The Lilienthals plan to leave by boat on July 3 although this may be delayed a week or two.

In Paris, Dave, Lilienthal would like to see some T.U.C. leaders and a few industrialists.

In London, Howard, you know the people he ought to see, but I would think it ought to be somebody from the Coal Board, whoever is running the Colonial Development Board now, as well as people like Jeff Crowther, Rab Butler, Herbert Morrison and the rest.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

To

From

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Now my reasons for asking you to do this. Lilienthal is most anxious to travel as a private citizen and to avoid the usual embassy and foreign office razzle-dazzle. If his plans and appointments are pretty well set in advance, he has a good excuse for by-passing protocol. I am asking you to do it because you will find him not only full of information about this country, but a guy who will restore some of your faith in it, too.

Like always,

E.R.M.

February 8, 1950

Dear Dave:

First of all, my thanks for a most enjoyable day.

Secondly, I am--and most belatedly--sending you a half-dozen of the second volume of "I Can Hear It Faintly Somewhere". The purpose of this being that now that you have room to store them, you might care to put a couple aside for your grandchildren.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

File
Lilienthal

February 3, 1950

Dear Miss Brown:

Thank you for sending us the editorials. They must provide a great sense of satisfaction for Mr. Lilienthal as they do for me.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Martha Jane Brown
Office of the Chairman
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1950

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Lilienthal, who is working at home today, asked me to send along this collection of editorials. He said they might have some relevance on one of the matters you and he discussed by phone. In particular, he pointed out the frequency with which a sentence in his resignation about one of his chief reasons for leaving the public service cropped up in or became the theme of the articles.

Sincerely yours,

Martha Jane Brown

Secretary to
David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

January 27, 1950

Dear Dave:

I am returning Mrs. Roosevelt's letter belatedly. If you do it, I'll listen.

I hope you pull out all the stops on the piece having to do with the airwaves. If you are in doubt as to where any bodies are buried I have got a Geiger counter that will uncover plenty skeletons.

The NBC matter does not progress; so far they ain't willing to talk dough and I'm a tough agent.

As ever yours,

SP

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
5126 Albermarle Street N. W.
Washington, D.C.

Captiva, Fla. Jan.16**1950

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

The enclosed invitation to take part in Mrs. Roosevelt's new radio program over NBC may be relevant to your recent remark about NBC and a radio series etc. by yours truly. My guess is it would preclude it, but anyway I'm sending the letter along; please return when you get around to it. I haven't answered it yet; won't till I get back Thursday or Friday, and can see my schedule. My inclination is to do it.

We're pleased to hear from Janet that you will be down the first week-end in February in any event, and that we can have a dinner for you that Sunday.

The work of roughing out articles to be written during the next 18 or 20 months goes merrily on, and I'm already enjoying the prospect. In addition to the one that I hope will take Secrecy really apart, there is one well along on Government Monopoly and the Atom, which says our present way of developing this new technology may work in Russia but not here, and suggests that the McMahon Act be repealed, and why. I'm figuring on a series of two maybe three on international control of atomic weapons, a new-look, a kind of Acheson-Lilienthal Re-Visited. There are several in the ectoplasm stage <u>not</u> on the atom: the phony side of the Big and Little Business issue; why business men are so defensive, the hell that this raises, and some things to do about it. I even have done some outlining on the Air Waves and what has happened to Them, and what I think will happen. Well, Ed, this is what happens when I get two swims a day. Some one ought to hold my head under and save the country.

Best always

Dave

Edward R. Murrow Esq.

Captiva Island, Fla. Jan.14 --50

Dear Ed:

The Town Hall-Rollins thing over, Helen and I are here again for a few days breather before retunning for the final spurt. At Winter Park Miss Lockhart's introduction of me to the Forum placed the blame for my being there (after 3 successive declinations in as many years) squarely on Edward R. Murrow--true enough. Enjoyed the shin-dig, used it as a try-out on a "lecture" that will be heard again on the Circuit in March, and met the new Rollins President, one Paul Wagner.

Am planning a personal press conference for my last day on the job, Feb.15th (or possibly the day before). Have some things I want to say on the "up" side, about public service, to contrast with the usual doleful and sorry-for-myself tone of most departures. But chiefly, want to be able to describe what my "plans" are, for the future, if they are in shape at all for that. Assume the U.K. elections will find you covering them at first hand, so your plan to be in Washington in Feb. will be changed, in part at least. Eager for a talk with you prior to the 15th, if this can be managed. Of course if you and Janet do come to Wash. on schedule in early Feb. that will work fine; if not, please let me know and I'll try to get to N.Y. to see you.

In addition to teaching offers, etc. (some of them interesting enough for some years hence once my finances improve a bit) the things I'm considering most actively and want help on relate to two kinds of things: 1. Writing and speaking; 2. A look at various places in the world from the angle of TVA-type economic developments, and a study and reports on the likely effect of ec. development, on an intensive schedule, upon the cold and not so cold war -- the Murrow "half-war".

I've had some offers with law firms, Wash. and N.Y., and an office of my own for economic consultation and law-policy consultation would apparently produce quite a lot of money for John Snyder, some trace of which I would retain. I've pushed this into the background, though; don't like the appearance of it, for one thing.

On the writing angle, while I'm still talking to newspaper groups, the periodical thing seems best adapted to my ability to pro - duce. The Collier's offer I haven't discussed further with them--I mentioned it by phone with you. That I could write 12 articles in 2 years, without bearing down very hard, or tying me up, seems fairly clear, though I could be wrong. You said the Sat. Eve.Post would be a better river on which to sail, but so far their interest has been confined to getting hold of the article on ending the government atom monopoly and industrial secrecy. Haven't asked them, but I'd guess they wouldn't be nearly ~~quite~~ so interested in ~~enterprising about~~ getting me for a two year period as Ruppel. The Collier's proposal would be exclusive, but not prevent writing for Harper's--Atlantic-Foreign Affairs--that sort of thing. And I assume the articles from the trip to fur parts they'd expect to have exclusively. None of this excludes radio, or putting together another book.

The idea of TVA development in the relatively undeveloped regions--such as are still left to us--as the basis for a two year effort on my part I've given a lot of thought to. This would be entirely non-governmental and non-official; but the President has several times expressed great enthusiasm, and some specific suggestions of his own about it. Thinking particularly about Mexico, Brazil and perhaps Chile in the Western Hemisphere; India, parts of Indonesia and the Phillipines, and then South Africa and the Congo, perhaps also Greece

#3 Ed Murrow

the Tigris-Euphrates region. On one scale this could be just Helen David and I. Or it could be part of quite a project. I spoke to you briefly about a Floundation, established with funds from an old gal in Chicago, Mrs. Emmett Blaine, of the Reaper fortune-- Institute for World Government or something like that; trustees Stringfellow Barr, Scott Buchanan and Bob Hutchins. She has angeled all sorts of liberal and wallace-ish things, including Henry's campaign, and of course the World Government thesis at this juncture is also no recommendation. They are willing (actually are pushing hard) to turn over to me substantial funds from the Trust (they have $700,000 unexpended and no other ideas of how to spend it, and the old gal has a huge fortune as yet unspoken for, they say) If the money didn't have the above background, I would think that a very influential and useful job could be done, without tying me up to the exclusion of other things I want to do. I've been outlining the scope of such a look-see; it could be the spade-work form a policy and program for world ecnomic development that might possibly help get us off the tobaggon ride we're now on, all of us, and avoid a repitition of China in Southeast Asia. I had in mind something far more specific than a "Report", or an Anticipatory Alibi of why India and Indonesia etc. are off of us. I may be wrong in being troubled about the fact that the old gal might make me vulnerable, the funds are out of her hands, literally, of course, in the hands of the Trustees of the Foundation, who are willing they say to change the name and purpose of the Foundation etc. I also thought some of doing the job by transfer of funds to the F.D. Roosevelt Foundation, which wants me to become its head (that doesn't interest me much) since F.D.R. had so clearly in mind this world-wide TVA devel opt.

#4 E.R.M.

Well, I hope you'll give this some thought. Anything you can learn about the Blaine-Barr-Buchanan angle I'd appreciate and esp. how relevant it would be that they would provide the funds. It goes without much saying that they would not ask for any kind of committment about the results, or how the money was to be spent--full and complete discretion. I've been wrestling with this dream since 1942 and its hard, now I'm almost free, to let go of it.

So many people have spoken to me, or written, about the recording of the reply to McKellar. I'd guess that the Album has done very well; certainly hope so.

Anything new on the NBC folks--your note about them (and the sophomore letter from their representative in Wash) stirred my curiosity, to put it mildly.

I've told Leigh to go ahead signing me up for lectures for 5 weeks next Oct-November; the financial prospects were too much for my blood. Will do 3 weeks in March, opening the 1st, and a few in April, spend most of the time writing and seeing people till we go to the Vineyard for the summer.

Best wishes and affectionate greetings as ever

Dave

Edward R. Murrow Esq.

December 27, 1949

Dear Dave:

My spies tell me that the NBC boys are more serious about wanting you to manipulate a microphone than their juvenile correspondence would indicate. Do you wish me to brace them for a definite proposition?

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

P.S. Meanwhile if you feel the urge to give tongue I will provide you with a microphone and a patient and tolerant audience. We get a standard fee of fifty bucks; no commission.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

Say why didn't you tell me about the Sateve-Post piece! Nice going!

Thought the enclosed better be before you — doesn't sound very hot.

Signed up with Leigh: he accepted the rejection-of-any engagement provision without a murmur — thanks.

Always sincerely

Dave

Waldorf
Wed night Dec 7/49

Ed:

I'm sending the Leigh contract, for the review and counsel of my "agent" and favorite guy; you recall saying you, and a friend whose name I disremember, would look it over.

We had a most amicable discourse, Leigh & I. He didn't enjoy the fee idea, but on this & everything else I could think of he said: I want to manage you, you bastard; write the ticket. He is tough but I think I'll get along fine with him.

I'll undertake to reach you by phone Thursday, after lunch, for comments; you

may not have had time by then, in which case I'll try to reach you from Wash, to which center of cin I return at 4 PM tommorrow.

He asked me to promise I'd not tell anyone except my mysterious Adviser that this isn't a 50-50 fee; so bear that in mind. He's dying of curiosity to know who I'm consulting — but keeping secrets is ~~see~~ my business — until, and I quote "the close of business on Dec 31".

My it was good to be with you + Janet + Casey

Faithfully
Dave

You'll pad hours for sure today = when are you
to submit to
humanity off?

December 10, 1949

Dear Mr. Keller:

Thank you for your letter of December 7.

I shall have to defer until a later date consideration of such matters as you cover in your letter for, as you can well imagine, I am terribly pressed just now getting things finished up here.

Sincerely yours,

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. C. M. Keller, Director
News and Special Events
National Broadcasting Company, Inc.
Trans-Lux Building
Washington 5, D. C.

DEL:b

cc: Ed Murrow

C
O
P
Y

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

Trans-Lux Building, Washington 5, D. C.

December 7, 1949

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission
1901 Constitution Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lilienthal:

This refers to our telephone conversation and my letter of Thursday, December 1, concerning the possibility of your presenting a series of public affairs discussions on the National Broadcasting Company's radio and/or television networks after you leave government service on December 31, 1949.

I suggest that the proposed discussions might take the form of a 15 minute program once a week in which you might, for one thing, discuss current developments in the field of atomic energy and the interpretation and meaning of these developments to the public. As an example of a somewhat similar program, NBC now is broadcasting a weekly series, entitled "The U.N. Is My Beat," in which Clark M. Eichelberger discusses the United Nations and its activities. Mr. Eichelberger does not limit himself to presenting a chronological account of U.N. activities but also discusses issues, interviews personalities connected with the United Nations and otherwise covers a broad field of public service in his broadcasts.

I suggest that you prepare one or more 15 minute trial scripts which would cover twelve minutes of broadcast time, which provides the time necessary for the necessary introduction and close on the program. When you have prepared this script, or scripts, I will be glad to arrange for you to record the audition program or programs in the WRC studios in Washington. The recorded material and your script then would be sent to Mr. William F. Brooks, Vice President in charge of News and International Relations for NBC in New York. The recorded and written material then could form the basis for concrete discussion between you and Mr. Brooks about the necessary arrangements for the proposed series of programs.

I hope this proposal meets with your approval. I will be very glad to make the arrangements for you to make the audition recordings or to discuss any other details with you at any time convenient to you.

Sincerely,

/s/ C. M. Keller
Director
News and Special Events

C
O
P
Y

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

Trans-Lux Building, Washington 5, D. C.

December 1, 1949

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission
1901 Constitution Avenue
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lilienthal:

Your recent letter to President Truman in which you resigned as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission stated that one of your reasons for returning to private life after your long career in Government service was to be able to engage in public discussion and public affairs.

I do not know what your plans may be for furthering this goal after you leave Government service on December 31, 1949. However, I wonder if you have given any thought to engaging in public discussion by means of radio or television broadcasting. Radio and television, as you know, are able to bring such discussions to many millions of listeners and viewers. In my opinion, they enable a speaker to achieve a greater impression with his message than is the case with any other information medium.

If you have given any consideration to entering the radio or television field, or if you may be interested in the future, the National Broadcasting Company requests the opportunity of discussing the subject with you before you make a decision or accept another commitment. I will be glad to arrange for an NBC representative to confer with you at any time which is convenient for you.

Sincerely,

/s/ C. M. Keller
Director
News and Special Events

TELEPHONE
MURRAY HILL 3-5627
MURRAY HILL 3-5628

CABLE ADDRESS
"KEEDICK, NEW YORK"

LEE KEEDICK

MANAGER OF THE WORLD'S MOST CELEBRATED LECTURERS
475 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

December 6, 1949.

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
R. R. #2
Rockville, Maryland

Dear Mr. Lilienthal:

Now that you are free to discuss the Atomic Commission, would you consider a proposition to debate Fulton Lewis, jr. on the subject of whether or not the Commission has handled effectively all matters that were entrusted to them by the government?

Many of our clients would welcome the opportunity of hearing a public discussion by the most able member of the Commission and our well known commentator, Fulton Lewis, jr. I am sure that you both would produce a very lively time to the edification and education of the public.

Perhaps you would consider more than one such meeting; possibly ten or twenty. If so, I shall be glad to discuss the matter in detail as to terms, dates, places, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Lee Keedick

LEE KEEDICK

Ed: By god, I make it — I'm on the radio!
Dave

read and drop in John.

Ed Murrow

For all illustrated lectures it will be necessary for the local organization to supply the services of the operator and projection equipment.

5126 Albemarle St. NW
Washington Xmas day 49

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

Phoned to you Friday night --thinking Casey might be abed and "not available" to cheer you and Janet on the show that You weren't home but just wanted to say: night. Delightful. And to add that the Album arrived, and was played that evening, with even greater admiration for your skill and understanding of the communication-form you have pioneered and established. The lilienthal part pleased me a very great deal; I was slightly apprehensive, and would not have yielded to any other human being's assurances that what was a fearful experience could, later, be recorded in more or less cold blood, and still not seem contrived and stagey. The recording, the latter part esp. gave even me a feeling of warmth, without "speech-making". Your "narration" throughout, and the words you used, are excellent --noteworthy even for you. You ought to feel good about your year, my friend. Ever Yours

Dave

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

P.S. The pheasant are beautiful, and will no doubt be as tasty as handsome.

Our children arrived and we've had as happy a Xmas as I can remember: all the old jokes and kiddings are as good as ever. Helen and I send our esteem and love to you both.

David

RUSH

DECEMBER 22, 1949

SP

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
CHAIRMAN
UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

I AM COVERED WITH CONFUSION, HAVE JUST UTTERLY DESTROYED COLUMBIA RECORDS' SHIPPING DEPARTMENT STOP ALBUM WILL BE ON YOUR DESK THIS AFTERNOON. LOVE TO ALL.

ED

MURROW & BUSINESS

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Say Ed —
whaddabout that
Album — to
play to the kids
at Xmas — and
I want to hear it.
Of course, I could
buy one, but . . .

Dave

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL SP

December 21, 1949

Dear Dottie:

Did Mr. Lilienthal leave with Mr. Murrow a letter of December 7 from Colston Leigh to DEL; and a copy of the proposed letter of contract between the two of them. If so, would you be so kind as to send both letters on to us.

I hope you are all set for a very wonderful holiday season, Dottie. My very best wishes to you and to your boss--who is so very high on my list of "favorite people".

Martha Jane

Martha Jane Brown

Sent. 1/2/50

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
statement before
Joint Congressional
Committee on Atomic
Energy, February 4th, 1947

Final Version

Recorded for "I Can Hear It Now" - Volume 2 - October 4, 1949

LILIENTHAL: This I do carry in my head, Senator. I'll do my best to make it clear. I believe, and I conceive, the Constitution of the United States to rest, as does religion, upon the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual, that this is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights as it is essentially the meaning of religion. The fundamental tenet of Communism is that the state is an end in itself and that, therefore, the powers which the state exercises over the individual are without any ethical standard to limit them. That I deeply disbelieve. I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead, provided only that we practice it in our daily lives. And among the things that we must practice is this, - that while we seek fervently to ferret out the subversive and anti-democratic forces in the country we do not at the same time, by hysteria, by resort to innuendo, and smears, and other unfortunate tactics, besmirch the very cause that we believe in and cause a separation among our people, cause one group and one individual to hate another, based on mere attacks, mere unsubstantiated attacks upon their loyalty. This I deeply believe.

Recorded for album
10/4/49

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
statement before
Joint Congressional
Committee on Atomic
Energy, February 4, 1947

LILIENTHAL: This I do carry in my head, Senator. I will do my best to make it clear. My convictions are not so much concerned with what I am against as what I am for; and that excludes a lot of things automatically. Traditionally, democracy has been an affirmative doctrine rather than merely a negative one. I believe — and I do so conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest upon, as does religion — the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all Government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and to protect and defend the integrity and dignity of the individual; that that is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as it is essentially the meaning of religion.....One of the tenets of democracy that grow out of this central core of a belief that the individual comes first, that all men are the children of God and their personalities are therefore sacred, carries with it a great belief in civil liberties and their protection, and a repugnance to anyone who would steal from a human being that which is most precious to him — his good name; either by impugning things to him by insuendo or by insinuations.

(MORE)

And it is especially an unhappy circumstance that occasionally that is done in the name of democracy. This, I think, can tear our country apart and destroy it if we carry it further.....There are always witch hunters and people who will gladly defame and assassinate the character of others without responsibility.....I will be very glad to be lynched if, in the process of that lynching, this lesson about what our history means is learned and what the history of the common law means in terms of protection of the individual citizen against irresponsible charges of witch-hunters

September 28, 1949

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL
THE ALLEN HOUSE
VINEYARD HAVEN
MASSACHUSETTS

Sg.

DELIGHTED YOU COMING ON THE THIRD STOP WE WILL BE HAPPY TO HAVE

YOU FOR A MEAL OR OVERNIGHT AND AWAIT YOUR INSTRUCTIONS PARA

I AM HALF-WAY THROUGH THE BOOK AND IT IS MAGNIFICENT REGARDS

ED MURROW

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

SP

The Allen House, Vineyard Haven, Mass
September 23, 1949.
8:04 Pm

Dear Ed:

Helen and I have just heard your broadcast. If you and Janet were here, your feet stretched out before the fire (a beauty, as only an ancient apple tree fire can be, especially if you cut the old gent up yourself) there are many things about the past three years I would love to regurgitate and chew over with you. For this past week (part of which I spent in Washington) has kinda added up figures on the adding machine -- the keys had been punched down quite a bit ago, and now the machine arm is swung and the addition shows up. This week's occurrences themselves are so melodramatic in the way they happened as to be too corny to believe. Some day I hope we can chew it over.

About the "recording", when approached on this before I've declined, having some reservations, because of this and that. I still have some of those reservations; but I am fairly sure that the careful way you would have this done, andyour understanding of why I am reluctant about it, would take care of them very well. I could discuss this with your representative, or if you have the time of course I'd enjoy talking with you. I'll be back pretty pronto now, perhaps (though I appreciated the "deserved vacation" reemark tonight) before October 4 which is when I planned. I may be in New York October 3 in connection with my book, and might manage it that day. I asked Mr. Canfield to send you an advance copy; at that time I didn't know today's announcement was going to make some of the things therein written (some of them, re Congress, so belligerently) quite so timely.

Helen sends her love to you and Janet and Casey as do I ; and I remain as ever

Faithfully

Dave

Edward R. Murrow Esq.

September 14, 1949

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
The Allen house
R. F. D. #1
Vineyard Haven, Mass.

Dear Dave:

I am just coasting now that I know you aren't listening. When you return to this world of scurry and scamper, I shall screw the pop valve down and make an effort.

Any chance of your stopping by Quaker Hill on your way back to work? We would love to have you.

Without ary damned apology for intruding upon your vacation, I send you the enclosed, with which you may be familiar. We are working on another album of recordings covering the period from the end of the war to date. These words were not recorded. They must be included in the album. I want to lay it on your conscience to record this as soon as your holiday is ended. We will do it in your home, in your office, in your automobile, or anywhere else. I would even carry the recording gear on my back to any point that you may designate.

Janet and Casey charge me to send you both their very best regards.

As ever yours,

from David Lilienthal

The Allen house
RFD#1 Vineyard Haven Mass
Sept 2--49

Dear Ed:

You sounded crisp as the first autumn morning, night before last when we heard your broadcast, the first we'd heard since your return from your holiday; so we're hoping this means you got a good change and rest and refreshment. Besides, your auditorial on the 10th anniversary of the onset of the War was one of your very best, in content, my style (so especially designed to the listening process, not-like so many of your contemporaries- written for the eye and then declaimed from the script) and in timing-as-you-speak. This latter has special reference to the long spacing (that is, long relative to your customary pacing) between some of the very short heard-phrases (sentences they would be in another and older medium)

But good as it was, be damned if I listen to you again for some time, for you are counter-stream to my main purpose and function in life at the moment, that is: to dawdle, fritter, laze, be dopey, vegetablish, to-hell-with-it-ish. We got here 2 weeks ago tomorrow; most of the time I've had "terminal" work to do, delegations with anxious frowns and wearing tightly drawn neckties so out of keeping with our oil-lamp and oil-stove existence here. They all promise to drop me from their life as of today; we hope to be here until about Oct 1. . . . Affectionate greetings from Helen and from me

as ever

June 16, 1949

Dear Dave:

You will, I am sure, understand why I haven't bothered you. This is merely a note to say that your stature increaseth daily, and my admiration for your handling of this affair does likewise. Some of my mail would, as they say in the South, pleasure you greatly

I venture it not as a personal but as a professional opinion that the developments so far--in spite of what it has cost you, have been beneficial for the body politic.

I send you my best salute.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
R.F.D. #2
Rockville, Maryland

May 24, 1949

Dear Ed:

It is a great gift you have, the ability to sum up and clarify a confused issue in a few inspired words. Your broadcast of last night was an example of that.

I have a question that I think you might find interesting, and if you do think so, might find someone who could ask it. I don't mean I want you to be the someone, don't misunderstand me. But it would seem to me (I speak as an "informed" taxpayer, now!) that it might be pertinent to ask what the congressional Atomic Energy committe has been doing these many months, to become curious about the attendance at committee meetings, now that many of these men have become so publicly alarmed. I hppe that the minutes, or rather that the attendance rolls of those committee meetings are not classified. I know the answers, of course -- two and three, and rarely the same two or three in succession.

It looks this morning as if they were going to throw the book at Dave. Well, at least we won't have to speculate much longer about whether he is to continue in public service. That can be checked off.

My best to Janet and Casey.

Sincerely

Helen Lilienthal

at home May 19, 1949

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

Your analysis of the fight I'm in at the moment, on tonight's broadcast, put new heart into me. It has been rough--and with the planted time bomb of the 4 gram jitters going off right in the middle of it, and other such scheduled now doubt--but there really is a principle involved, and I think one or two of the Senators this morning began to see it.

My first talk, after appointment to this job, was impromptu, to a gathering of correspondents here. I said: any men named to this job, with all the emotion and mystery and fears surrounding it, must understand that they are expendable--they can't last long, and that is just part of the job. So---don't forget I may be looking for some ideas of how to live sans atom any day now! But I'll be ridin' him cowboy till then.

This Yuranium Yumps, over the 1/7 ounce is something. After 4 hours of listening to big strong Members and Senators trembling I said: If you fellows issue that kind of a statement over the reported discrepancy in accounts of 4 grams of uranium oxide, how do you think the country will behave by your example when Russian has a stockpile of weapons." The statement was changed; no further argument. Quite a life.

As ever Dave

rockville md rfd#5 April 30--49

Personal

My dear Ed:

Naturally, I was delighted to read of the Peabody award. More was involved--far more--than the satisfaction of seeing a friend get his just deserts. Without being too impersonal (a reprehensible trait, and not I hope one I'm guilty of too frequently) I thought this award re-assuring, in a deep sense. Your reporting and your comments are not deliberately sensational, or theatrical or escapist. They aren't pollyannish; and they don't appeal to the fascination for catastrophe that is also a sign of an unhealthy public mind. You assume that the men and women of America are adults, most of the time, and that you are responsible to them and not to Hooper or to your personal ambitions or axes or vanity or prejudices. (And if you have none of these latter things, in normal dosages, you are less attractive a human being than I'm under the impression you are.) Well--in short, the award confirms a high opinion of your audience and your audience's sense of values. And since that audience is very large and their opinions are far more important than those of any public official (or aggregation thereof) the award is deeply re-assuring.

I was asked, formally, yesterday, to name the man I thought had contributed most to "the public service" during the past year; this was part of the American University's selection of one to receive their annual award for public service. In putting down your name, I answered their question

ed murrow #2 4-30-49

"why this nomination" in two sentences about the central importance of informed democracy--and your place in keeping it informed--that was another way of saying what I've just said about the Peabody award and one Edward R. Murrow.

You would have enjoyed the trip to Washington (State of) from which I returned last Tuesday. Talked to 7000 students at W.S.C., at Pullman, and had a wonderful time. In the huge gym, with the sunlight on them, and all of us in a fine mood. When I included among the reasons for my joy in being out there, looking at them, my admiration for one of their graduates, whom i regarded as probably "the most modern and civilized man of my generation" they greeted your name with a lusty round of applause and rustling that was good to hear. Had a terrific time at Hanford, and at Seattle, where I put in one day that tops all of mine up to this point for a round of activities, not excluding a speech to the best "cross-section" I've ever seen assembled, a speech at night at Meaney Hall to an audience so responsive as to approximate a lively conversation; and recording two half-hour radio conversations, one with Grange leaders and one with 5 newsmen, a kind of meet the press, and then radio-interview stuff with 3 stations. It was foolishness to try all this (to which add a breakfast conference, a luncheon meeting, a dinner at Dr. Allen's, and a reception that lasted till 1 A.M.) but at least it was fun, refreshing, and showed there's nothing wrong with my stamina, yet--with birthday number 50 ahead in July.

Best to Janet and Casey. Hope we'll see you soon.

As ever, faithfully, Dave

Sent
Feb 14, 1949

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 12, 1949

Miss Joan Platoff
Secretary to Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Platoff:

Thanks so much for sending us the transcript of the January 31st broadcast.

Would you, by any chance, still have the copy which Mr. Lilienthal used the night of the broadcast? Don't go to a lot of trouble in looking for it but if you should have it available we would like to have it for our files since Mr. Lilienthal has a mania (well, almost!!) for saving all drafts of his speeches, broadcasts, etc. But as I say--don't worry about it if you don't have it.

Give my regards to that nice boss of yours.

Sincerely yours,

Martha Jane Brown

Secretary to
David E. Lilienthal

Ed: This is the Lehigh thing I referred to. Sure we boys did enjoy our visit with you & Janet Davis

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington 25, D.C.

INFORMATION FOR THE PRESS
Telephone ST 8000, Ext. 307

FOR RELEASE AT 2:30 P.M. (EST)
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1949

Commencement Address
by David E. Lilienthal, Chairman,
United States Atomic Energy Commission,
to be delivered at Lehigh University,
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 2:30 P.M., February 6, 1949

SCIENCE AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN

We meet today upon a campus famous the world over for the men Lehigh has trained, for the additions to knowledge Lehigh has made and has nourished. Wherever science and engineering are known and respected, Lehigh and her teachers and graduates are known and are respected.

Science and technology were once matters that concerned only those with special technical knowledge; today they are front page news, affecting men's daily lives and daily decisions. Whether millions of human beings shall go hungry or be fed, shall suffer disease or enjoy good health, be condemned to drudgery or use machines to relieve their toil -- more and more such human questions are determined by modern technology. Even more than this: technology and the machine have become central figures in the perilous struggle to safeguard the free spirit of man and to establish a peace that is a true peace.

This was made plain by the President in his Inaugural Address a fortnight or so ago, an address directed to the people of the whole world.

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"We must", the President declared, "embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas.... More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery.... For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people." He continued, "The United States is pre-eminent among the nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life." Such a program as this "can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living." "Democracy alone," the President said, in a challenge to other systems of the left and right basically in conflict with our own, "Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force" to overcome the "ancient enemies--hunger, misery and despair."

Thus did the American people once more assert and strengthen their historic role of maintaining the offensive in the ceaseless contest for men's minds and loyalties, with the most potent weapon ever devised, a weapon that makes the atomic bomb seem a firecracker by comparison: an idea. That idea is this: that technology applied for human welfare can bring not only material well-being but can also nourish the free spirit of man.

The towering place of the machine, of science and the technical skills that create the machine, are among the dominant facts of the turbulent times

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in which we live. The President's "new bold program," the activities in our atomic laboratories, the new advances in medicine, in the production of food by scientific methods, in the design of new scientific weapons of vast destructiveness -- these and many other instances can be cited of the predominant position of science and engineering today. And from such facts the great issue of our lifetime emerges. It is an issue with which you and I and all the peoples of the world will be at grips, day in and day out, for the rest of our lives. It is this:

> Are machines and science to be used to degrade man and destroy him, or are they to be used to augment the dignity and nobility of humankind? How can men use science and the machine to further the well-being of all men and the flowering of the human spirit?

From this issue no one who lives today can escape. It reaches into the lives of every one of us, old and young, rich and poor, you who graduate today and you who are freshmen. It concerns the housewife, the librarian, the chemist; it must be faced by the clergyman, the professor and the physician no less than by the businessman and public official. For this is the kind of world we live in -- the world of the machine -- and this is the struggle of our time.

Standing always at the elbow of each delegate at the United Nations Security Council meetings, always present at the conference tables of this troubled world is this same issue: how is technology to be used? Cross the seas and the shadow of this question has preceded you -- to the valley

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of China's Yangtze River, to the rising factories of Bombay, to the oil fields of Iran, the tractor-powered wheat farms of the Ukraine. Geography and language differ, but the question and the struggle are everywhere in essence the same.

Men ask themselves: Is our advancing technology good? Is the ever more important machine good? Or are they evil?

To some people modern technology is plainly evil. To them the more gadgets the more unpalatable is life. The more things we produce, the faster we can travel, the more complex the machines we invent the nearer--they assert--we move to the edge of a bottomless pit. They ask: "Is not scientific warfare the inevitable fruit of technology? Are not ever more devastating atomic bombs the ultimate proof that modern applied science is a curse, an unmitigated blight?" Even great figures are heard to say: "Let us cease learning more of the world, let scientists declare a moratorium in their ceaseless prying into Nature's secrets." They are homesick for that simpler life, before the days when man produced so much and knew so much. They want to flee. But where and how? They cannot say. They cry out against science and the machine and call them evil; but their voices are the voices of despair and defeat.

There are others of our contemporaries who have an almost opposite view of the machine. You will find them all over the world. What they say is exuberant and uncritical. "Of course technology is good," they say, "for it produces more and more things; and isn't production the answer to everything?" They are usually skeptical of God, but they openly worship the machine.

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"Of course the machine is good," they say. "When assembly lines cut costs, when production curves are upward or when Five-Year Plans are fulfilled -- those are the important things; let's not agonize over the effect of the machine on the freedom of men."

Technology, they seem to say, is good as an end in itself. If the spirit of man balks, if the yearning to be human increases cost of production or requires coercion -- well, man must be redesigned to fit the assembly line, not the assembly line revised for man. The supertechnologists of the world are quite prepared to recreate man in the image of the machine.

I venture to say that neither of these views -- of the defeatist or the technolator -- will appeal to most Americans.

The machine and technology are neither good nor evil in themselves. They are good only when man uses them for good. They are evil only if he puts them to evil purposes.

The machine can, of course, be so used as to degrade and enslave man. It can be used to exhaust the land and with it the human dignity of those who live on the land; it can poison the air, foul the streams, devastate the forests, and thereby doom men and women and children to the spiritual degradation of great poverty. But it can also open wider -- and it has so opened -- the doors of human opportunity; it can nourish the spirit of men. Technology can be used to eliminate filth and congestion and disease; to strengthen the soil; to conserve the forests; to humanize man's environment.

The machine can be so used as to make men free as they have never been free before.

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We have a choice -- that it seems to me is the shining and hopeful fact. If we are wise enough, if we follow our democratic precepts, we can control and direct technology and the machine and make them serve for good.

I believe in the great potentialities for well-being of the machine and technology; and though they do hold a real threat of enslavement and frustration for the human spirit, I believe those dangers can be averted. I believe that through the methods of democracy the world of technology holds out the greatest opportunity in all history for the development of the individual, according to his own talents, aspirations, and willingness to shoulder the responsibilities of a free man. I believe men can make themselves free. Men can direct technology so that it can carry mankind toward the fulfillment of the greatest promise for human life and the human spirit in all history.

But this result is by no means inevitable. It is equally possible that technology may yield a harvest of bitter fruit.

More huge cyclotrons and nuclear research reactors are not enough. More fine laboratories, more extensive projects in physical and social research are not enough. More <u>use</u> of technology, more factories, more gadgets, whether in this country or in the undeveloped reaches of Africa and Asia and South America is not enough. Those who encourage a contrary belief are playing a dangerous game or are quite blind to the realities.

I say to you that unless the applications of research and technology are consciously related to a central purpose of human welfare, unless technology is defined and directed by those who believe in people and in democratic

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and ethical ends and means, it could be that the more research money we spend the further we miss the mark. It is like driving in an automobile that is going in the wrong direction; the faster and faster you drive the farther away from your destination you will be.

The guiding of technical activity is safe, in terms of the human spirit,only when it is in the hands of those, in private business and in public agencies, who have faith in the individual human being. It is only safe when it is carried on by methods that are in furtherance of that faith, and methods that insure accountability to the people for the results.

This is not always the case with modern technology. There are times when these matters are controlled by men who lack a faith in people. People, to them, are only a "market." They are a market to whom to sell new gadgets; a labor market with which to make the gadgets; a political market to be cajoled and organized and voted and coerced. Technical development under such direction will not further freedom or will do so only by accident, by sheer coincidence.

We know what amazing things applied research can do to increase the destructive powers of Armies and Navies and Air Forces--our own, or a potential enemy's. But we still must ask: What can technology do to nourish and strengthen the human spirit? What can technology do to safeguard and strengthen men's freedom?

That modern man can completely change his environment is a matter of common observation. Perhaps as widely known an illustration in other parts of the world is afforded by the development in the Tennessee Valley.

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In a single decade the face of a region larger than England was substantially altered, a region comprising parts of seven Southern states. The great Tennessee River has been changed: more than a score of huge dams make it do what men tell it to do. The farming land is changed -- millions of acres -- and the forests and woodlands. New factories, large and small, barges on the new river channel, and yards building ships; fields once dead and hideous with gullies now fruitful and green to the sun, secure with pastures and meadows; electric pumps in farmyards; new local and regional libraries; state parks and county health facilities -- these and many other changes make it a new Valley today. The job of development is not done, of course -- such a task never is -- but it is well on the way. It is one more demonstration that modern technical tools and managerial skills can control Nature and change the physical setting of our life in almost any way we choose -- there is the point -- in whatever way we as a people choose.

These changes in that Valley -- these physical changes -- strike the eye. They are unmistakable evidence of what can be done. Equally impressive are the evidences of increased production of farm and factory, of rising individual income among people who have suffered under shockingly sparse incomes. But most important of all the changes is the change in the spirit of the Valley's people. One of Alabama's younger leaders described it in these words: "We can write of great dams...of the building of home-grown industry and of electricity at last coming to the farms of thousands of farm people in the Valley. Yet the significant advances have been made in the thinking of a people. They are no longer afraid. They have caught the vision of their own powers. They can stand now and talk out in meeting..." And they do!

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The real significance to many observers of what has taken place in the Valley of the Tennessee is this: This American experiment has fortified confidence that men need not be chained to the wheel of technology. If their purpose is firm and clear, and if they insist upon ways and means to make that purpose effective, man can use the machine in the interest of human welfare and the human spirit.

A great many men and women from foreign countries have come to study the TVA. They have come from more than 50 countries, and in particular from the technically undeveloped regions of the world, and from areas in which unsparing and unwise exploitation threatens their natural resources with utter exhaustion. These visitors have not only seen new life come to a dying soil; they have also seen how a new hope and faith return to people living on that soil, have seen men's pride and their human dignity strengthened as their soil was strengthened. They have not only seen the once wasted energies of a great river turned into electricity but they have also seen the way that electricity has put an end to degrading drudgery in tens of thousands of homes. They have seen businessmen, farmers, laborers -- all kinds of men and women -- joining together to apply the lessons of science and technology to the building of their region, and in the very act of joining together for that common purpose have seen many of them become better neighbors, kinder and more generous and more cooperative human beings.

These hundreds of foreign visitors see with particular clarity that the new Tennessee Valley speaks in a tongue that is universal among men, a language of things close to the everyday lives of people: soil, forests,

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factories, minerals, rivers. No English interpreter is needed when a Chinese or a Hindu or a Peruvian sees these products of a working technology, sees a series of working dams, or a hillside pasture brought back to life by phosphate and lime and an understanding of soils. For it is not really Fontana Dam on a North Carolina stream or a farm in Kentucky that he sees, but a river, a valley, a farm in China or India or Peru.

Because it is an illustration with which I am familiar, I have pointed to the Tennessee Valley as one bit of American evidence that it can be done, that men can use science and technology in the interest of the human spirit. It does not make the demonstration less relevant that only a beginning has been made in that Valley, that the people of the Valley realize what a long, long way there is yet to travel. And it should surely not be necessary to utter the warning that no one should regard the TVA, or any other one effort in this direction as a single way out. The paths are many, and TVA is but one of the many moving toward the same goal.

We have a choice. We can choose deliberately and consciously whether the machine or man comes first. But that choice will not be exercised on a single occasion, surrounded by spectacle and drama. We will move from decision to decision, from issue to issue, and as I said to you at the outset, you and I and all of us will be in the midst of this struggle for the rest of our days.

We cannot master the machine in the interest of the human spirit unless we have a faith in people. This is the foundation of everything. The rock upon which all these efforts rest must be a deep and abiding faith in

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human beings, which is a faith in the supreme worth of life. The machine can only add to the dignity and integrity of human existence if it is deliberately used in furtherance of such faith in people. It is the purpose for which the machine is used, and particularly the methods pursued in carrying out that purpose that determine whether technology is likely to further human well-being or to threaten it.

Let me restate: We do have a choice. On the one hand, it is clear that science in the hands of those seeking arbitrary power over men can make us slaves -- well-fed perhaps, but more pathetic for that fact. On the other hand, it is plain that men can use technology and the machine to further human freedom and the development of human personality.

How the machine shall be used will be determined by choices made by the people. But those choices are genuine choices only if the people make them with a knowledge of the facts, with a knowledge of the alternatives that are open to them. The means whereby the people make their decisions depends upon a sacred and inviolable process -- the dissemination of knowledge.

One such recent choice was the decision of the American people, through their elected representatives, in favor of civilian as distinguished from military direction of the scientific and technical development of atomic energy. After months of hearings and extended public discussion, Congress decided that although atomic energy is of central importance to the national defense, it also holds such broad implications for our health, agriculture, industry, education -- in short our whole way of life -- that it must be fitted into the democratic scheme of civilian self-government.

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That was an important decision. But many other questions concerning atomic energy are before this country today, and many more will arise in the months and years ahead.

These questions concern every last one of us. They include such questions as these: What kind of Army, Navy and Air Force do we now require, in the light of these new discoveries? What are safe and what are unsafe methods of international control of atomic energy to prevent its use as a surprise weapon? How extensively should the American people support medical research in this field, and similarly research in nutrition and in increasing the production of food by novel methods opened up by these new developments? What should be the place of private corporations in this brand-new technology, an industry that unlike anything the world has ever seen before was a giant at birth, and wholly government-owned? How do the people see to it that our universities and research institutions shall remain free of Government or military control when it is necessary that such vast sums for research and development be provided to them by the Federal treasury? How can the people see to it that narrow politics and pork barrel methods are kept strictly out of this huge scientific, industrial and educational enterprise? How can we maintain essential secrecy without drying up the very well-springs of scientific and technical advance, which flourishes not in secrecy but in openness and free discussion?

The questions are manifold. The answers, the decisions, will affect directly the future well-being of the 145 million stockholders in this atomic enterprise, that is the people of the United States. They will indeed affect every human being on the globe.

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Those decisions to be genuine democratic decisions require facts in the hands of the people. Indeed facts and the dissemination of knowledge are the very foundation of self-government, are the very foundation of any effort to direct technology toward the protection of the free spirit of man.

Because of its military aspects and the present unhappy international situation, it is not possible to make the whole atomic energy field subject to public scrutiny. But as we on the Commission have studied the matter, we have found that much of what is going on in this strange new enterprise can with safety be publicly reported and publicly discussed. One such report was issued last Monday. More reports, ranging from an Atomic Primer to an Atomic Weapons' Effects Handbook, are in preparation.

Wide dissemination of facts and broad public discussion in this field must continue and must increase. For unless the people have the essential facts about atomic energy they cannot act wisely nor can they act democratically.

It is well that we recall our basic tenet: that this democracy of ours is founded upon a faith in the judgment of the people as a whole. It is founded upon a belief that when the people are informed -- honestly and clearly informed -- their conscience and their common sense can be relied upon to carry us safely through any crisis. The direction of applied science and the machine by the judgment and conscience of the people as a whole requires that we be an informed people.

Faith in the people must have as its corollaries faith in the facts, faith in the power of knowledge, faith in the free flow of ideas, and hence faith in education and the processes of education. These are the very pillars of our free society.

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December 28, 1948

Dear Dave:

I cannot let the day pass without offering you my best salute on the opinion re Frank Graham. It was an act of courage and justice in a world where there is little of either to be found. The least surprising thing I have encountered in a long while was your reaction to my piece of December 16th. I think it was Thoreau who said: "It takes two men to speak the truth--one to speak it, the other to hear it".

I am eagerly looking forward to spending as much time with you as you can spare during January, for in the words of the old hymn, "I am standing sore in need of help", and being a dog of an unbeliever, I think I am probably more likely to get it from you than the "omnipotent boss".

As ever yours,

The Honorable David E. Lilienthal
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

Dec 21/48

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

I didn't get to hear you on Dec 16 but I've just read the — do they call it "rescript" — and it makes sense. What we've been hammering at for a year does need more explicitness — and with public opinion and understanding where it

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

now is — a considerable advance — and a better Congressional picture we now have the ball. What I said about raw materials, in Denver, on Dec 17, previously secret, should be followed by equally explicit things — and with luck & support it will.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

So keep on telling me off when I get in the "rights" —

And I'm looking forward to seeing you, in January.

As ever
Dave

P.S. Did you see our opinion on Frank Graham re "associations"? I enclose copy.

C O P Y

MEMORANDUM OF DECISION
REGARDING DR. F. P. GRAHAM

The Commission has under consideration the question of the security clearance of Dr. Frank Porter Graham for access to restricted data under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

Since 1930 Dr. Graham has been President of the University of North Carolina. In addition, he has a record of distinguished public service, which includes service as a member of the National Defense Mediation Board during 1941-1942, as a member of the National War Labor Board during 1942-1945, and as a member of the Maritime War Emergency Board during 1942-1946.

The question of Dr. Graham's security clearance arises because he is President of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, a non-profit organization of southern universities established to assure broad regional participation in the atomic energy educational and training activities centered at Oak Ridge, Tenn. The Institute carries on its work under a cost-reimbursement contract with the Atomic Energy Commission, and much of this work is conducted on a wholly unclassified basis. However, the President and the Board of Directors of the Institute require occasional access to certain general information of a classified nature if they are to provide effective leadership and guidance in the development of the Institute's programs.

Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, security clearance is to be based on a Commission determination that "permitting such person to have access to restricted data will not endanger the common defense or security", and each case is considered in the light of a Federal Bureau of Investigation report on the individual's "character, associations, and loyalty".

The five members of the Commission have examined with care the security file relating to Dr. Graham. They are fully satisfied that Dr. Graham is a man of upright character and thorough-going loyalty to the United States. His career as a leading educator and prominent public figure in the South has, it appears, been marked by controversy, engendered in part by his active role in championing freedom of speech and other basic civil or economic rights.

In the course of his vigorous advocacy of the principles in which he believes, Dr. Graham has allied himself, by sponsorship or participation, with large numbers of people and organizations all over the country. In this way he has been associated at times with individuals or organizations influenced by motives or views of Communist derivation. These associations, which in substance are described in various published material, are all referred to in the security file.

"Associations" of course have a probative value in determining whether an individual is a good or bad security risk. But it must be recognized that it is the man himself the Commission is actually concerned with, that the associations are only evidentiary, and that common sense must be exercised in judging their significance. It does not appear that Dr. Graham ever associated with any such individuals or organizations for improper purposes; on the contrary, the specific purposes for which he had these associations were in keeping with American traditions and principles. Moreover, from the entire record it is clear in Dr. Graham's case that such associations have neither impaired his integrity and independence, nor aroused in him the slightest sympathy for Communism or other anti-democratic or subversive doctrines. His record on controversial issues has made this abundantly clear, and his course of conduct during the past two decades leaves no doubt as to his opposition to Communism and his attachment to the principles of the Constitution.

All five members of the Commission agree with the conclusion of the General Manager that, in the words of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, it "will not endanger the common defense or security" for Dr. Graham to be given security clearance, and that it is very much to the advantage of the country that Dr. Graham continue his participation in the atomic energy program. Our long range success in the field of atomic energy depends in large part on our ability to attract into the program men of character and vision with a wide variety of talents and viewpoints.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

December 14, 1948

Dear Ed:

I am quite anxious to talk to you on a matter that we touched on at your place at Quaker Hill. Therefore I am delighted to learn that you are planning to work out of Washington during January. It would be fine if we could have a relaxed couple of hours together so I can lay this before you.

Best to Janet and yourself.

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

DEL:ok

December 9, 1948

Dear Dave:

I appreciate greatly your kind words about the album. The things seems to be in some danger of becoming a success. In any event, the critics have treated it kindly.

Any chance of your coming to New York before the first of the year? If not, I plan to work out of Washington during the entire month of January and perhaps we can get together there.

As ever yours,

The Honorable David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

Dec 3/48

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

The reviews of the Columbia Records undertaking are terrific — ones I've seen. Deservedly so; as I guess you know my views.

When do we get together? Do you come to Wash soon

Warm regards to you & Janet Cooper

Edward R Murrow Ez Dave

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

November 23, 1948

Dear Ed:

It looks as though I am not going to have a chance to see Norman Collins, as much as I would like to. We were unable to reach him today when I had a few minutes and tomorrow is scheduled down to the very last minute. Sorry.

Warm regards as always.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
465 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

DEL:b

November 17, 1948

Dear Dave:

A good friend of mine, Norman Collins, Program Director of the British Broadcasting Corporation and author of "Dulcimer Street", is spending Monday and Tuesday, November 22nd and 23rd, at the Mayflower in Washington. If you should have a few minutes to see him, perhaps your secretary would leave a message for him there.

As ever yours,

The Honorable David E. Lilienthal
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

July 23, 1948

Dear Ed:

Helen and I are leaving the forepart of the first week in August for the holiday we are taking in Martha's Vineyard. We are still thinking of driving via your neck of the woods and stopping off to say "hello". Are you likely to be at home about that time.

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal

Phoned to E.R. Murrow 7/26

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

DEL:mjb

June 28, 1948

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
United States Atomic Energy
Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Lilienthal:

The copy of your Commencement Address at the University of Virginia has been received here in Mr. Murrow's absence from the city.

I am forwarding it to Mr. Murrow, as I am sure he will be interested to see it.

Sincerely yours,

Ed: parts of this may interest you. I enjoyed writing it anyway! Jane

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington 25, D.C.

INFORMATION FOR THE PRESS
June 11, 1948
Telephone ST 8000, Ext. 307

FOR RELEASE AT 5:30 P.M. (EST)
Monday, June 14, 1948

Commencement Address
by David E. Lilienthal, Chairman,
United States Atomic Energy Commission
to be delivered at McIntire Theatre
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia
5:30 P.M., June 14, 1948

THE CITIZEN AS PUBLIC SERVANT

Every individual has a philosophy. Sometimes it is explicit and articulate; more often it is not, but it is there nonetheless.

Similarly every generation has a philosophy, a theme, a major premise.

When my generation sat where you graduates of '48 sit today, we, as a generation, had a rather definite philosophy. This guiding general principle of those of us who in the Twenties were at about the age and time of life you are today, can be summed up in this phrase:

"Take care of Number One."

The idea was a simple one; it was almost universally accepted; it seemed eminently sensible. If everyone devoted himself to his own success, to his own advancement, if everyone took care of Number One, and concentrated on that -- why obviously the sum total of the successes of all the Number Ones would be prosperity and happiness all around, an end to poverty, in brief a golden era.

(more)

Taking care of Number One, the philosophy of my generation, was not however confined to individuals, and the careers of individuals. It applied to groups. If farmers looked out for their own interests, if organized labor and industrial management did the same for their respective interests, if physicians and lawyers and bankers and bond salesmen and ship-builders and merchants -- each looked out for Number One then all the Number Ones would be looked out for.

The same philosophy dominated international relations of the Twenties. Since we felt this was a good philosophy for individuals and for groups, naturally it was a sound idea among nations too. If the United States concentrated on advancing the welfare of the United States, and if Germany did the same, and Britain the same, and France and Russia and all the other nations, then by the philosophy of "Look out for Number One," by each nation paying strict attention to its own business, the sum total would be prosperity and peace for all.

The idea seemed sound; it was what we then liked to call "just plain common sense." We had made the simple discovery that not only was poverty unnecessary but so was war. To make sure of it, all the Number Ones who were each going to look out for himself, got together and signed an eloquent piece of paper agreeing that there would be no more wars.

(more)

For a time the idea worked wonderfully well. A great many of us, just out of college and professional school or just beginning in business looked out for Number One, and found it surprisingly profitable. It was, by and large, a time of easy earning and free spending. We did not know then, as we do now, that in a time of rising prices, of inflating values, you really have to be very dumb indeed to fail to make money. So, in our naivete, we attributed this easy success to our own great talents for money-making, and to the fine education in self-advancement we had received, and for which we had been awarded diplomas from the universities of the land.

Nations found the idea worked well, too. We protected our own industries by high tariffs, and other nations took measures they deemed appropriate to take care of their prosperity. Taxes were low, and the budget was balanced. What need was there for expensive armies and navies, since we had a piece of paper that said, officially, that war had been outlawed? With every interest watching out for its own pickings, the President could take a long nap every afternoon, and Congress a rest several months out of every term.

But to say that Taking Care of Number One <u>did not work</u> is a masterpiece of understatement. Judged by the implacable and merciless test of results -- a prostrating depression followed by a terrible war -- it was soon made clear that the philosophy of

(more)

my generation was somehow, tragically in error.

Each man took care of himself, but the sum total of all this self-reliance was that the devil not only took the hindmost but the foremost and those in between. Each nation tended to its own affairs, but the net result was not the end of war, but the greatest war of all time.

The art of self-government, the whole process of Government that had seemed so irrelevant, so inconsequential to us who thought we had found the golden way, became suddenly the center of our greatest concern. A business depression of great severity brought us all to the brink of collapse. Many of our leading citizens, who had theretofore never given a thought to Government except as a minor irritation, gave up their business to devote themselves entirely to Government, in order to pull us out of this havoc. Later they put their own interests aside to work in Government, in order to help win a war, a war their own sons were fighting.

Some of our generation, thinking it over later, felt that it might have been better if they had concerned themselves with Government sooner, before the day came when they saw so many people's life-savings go down the drain. They wondered if it wouldn't have been smarter to have come to Washington, or to have concerned themselves more with the kind of men chosen to go to Washington, before a war was on, while there was still time perhaps to do something to prevent war, than to have put off their interest

(more)

in Government until that day when they walked down that long, long station corridor to see their sons off to military training camp, to wish them bon voyage on their journey to possible mutilation and death in some far-off jungle or beach.

Yes, we, your fathers and your grandfathers have done some sober thinking since the good old days of the Twenties when we worshipped at the altar of Personal Success.

There is sound precedent -- a great deal of it, and very impressive it is too -- for a commencement speaker to commend to the young graduates, that they follow in the philosophy of the speaker's own generation. I must depart from that precedent today. I can't honestly recommend "Take care of Number One" as a philosophy for your generation.

Why was it wrong? Well, the explanations are various. There are some who would say the philosophy was doomed to fail because it contravenes the moral law, since it embodies the glorification of self; that its failure was foretold by the teachings of the Old and the New Testaments. But there is no need for such speculations, not this afternoon at least. I certainly cannot commend that philosophy to you, whatever the reasons. For its results alone are sufficient to mark it a failure, not worthy of repetition as a major premise for your own individual lives, or as a principle of our national life, or as a principle of international relations.

(more)

No, I cannot commend to your generation the philosophy of my own. What I propose in its stead I can compress in this phrase:

"Be an active, living part of your times."

Do a good job and attain success in your chosen field; yes, definitely. Be self-reliant, yes. But self-sufficient, self-centered, self-loving -- no, not that. Become an active part of your time -- this I propose as the best, though clearly a most difficult, alternative to the idea of each man withdrawing into the shell of self-preoccupation, of concern solely about his own success.

I speak of "your times." What kind of times will yours be? And what do I mean by being an active, living part of that time?

I can best suggest what I have in mind by quoting to you the remarks of two men.

First I quote from Warren Gamaliel Harding, 28th President of the United States, who, I think it is fair to say, exemplified to a degree the central philosophy of the generation of the Twenties, a generation that with infinite appropriateness made him and his associates our corporeal and symbolic leaders.

This is what President Harding is reported to have said: "Government, after all, is a simple thing."

Next I quote the comment of Dr. Albert Einstein, whose brain has comprehended abstractions and arabesques of the intellect quite beyond most of us: "Politics" the great mathematician said,

(more)

meaning I take it the whole art of government, "Politics is more difficult than physics." And for physics I think we may substitute science, all science.

There you have it. The times, of which I urge you to be an active living part, will be chiefly occupied, indeed "dominated" is not too strong a word, with these two: physics and politics, or more accurately science and government.

First, as to the role of science in the drama of your time.

The assertion that science (taken together with the technologies based on physical science) is a dominant fact with which your generation must reckon is surely one that requires little elaboration, certainly not to you who only three years ago read the astounding headlines of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and only a few weeks ago the accounts of man-made cosmic rays and of multi-billion volt atom-smashers. One need but refer to atomic science (to mention but one branch) and how that science has spurred progress in the search for the cause of disease, how it is helping to throw light on the ancient mysteries of growth in plants and in animals, the way it is opening fresh fields in industry in the development of quite new materials and metals. One need but point to the probability that in your life-time there will be created new sources of energy that may shape the future of the undeveloped continents of the world. These and other developments and opportunities in various sectors of science are almost as fresh and new as the diplomas you carry away with you this day.

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What do I mean when I urge you to play an active part in science? I do not, of course, suggest that the members of your generation must all adopt science and engineering as a life's work. What I do urge is that, as an educated citizen, that is to say a privileged citizen, you keep informed of the essentials, of the basic facts. For it is chiefly upon the lay citizen, informed about science but not its practitioner, that the country must depend in determining the use to which science is put, in resolving the many public policy questions that scientific discoveries constantly force upon us.

Science itself, of course, is neither good for mankind nor is it evil; it is, in itself, neither beneficent or destructive. How its findings are used -- whether for good or for ill -- these are matters largely for the good judgment, in human affairs, of all citizens, scientists and non-scientists; but they should be informed citizens.

You need not, of course, have the detailed knowledge that the professional scientist must have. But in the field of atomic sciences, as one example, you should know the elementary principles and the basic concepts, and the progress of their development. You should have a knowledge of the methods and principles of scientific inquiry, and how that method differs from the method of the politician or administrator or executive, skilled in the arts of government or of business.

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For all of you who have had a course in the fundamentals of any of the physical sciences -- and most of you have -- this will not be difficult, particularly in view of the improvement now taking place in scientific journalism for lay readers.

The quickened pace of scientific discovery and development will touch and affect all manner of issues of concern to you, some of them matters of life and death. These will be issues bearing upon the security of the nation, upon the state of mind of your communities (ranging from blind fear and panic to calm and prudent judgment) issues of health, of investment opportunities, of what we need by way of armies, navies and air forces -- this list could be extended indefinitely in length and variety.

So whether you are going into business or the law or journalism or farming or any of a number of lines of work, I urge that you become a living part of that vital fact of your times that is covered by the term "science."

I said, a few moments ago, that Government and Science would, in my opinion, be the two towering facts of your generation and I have spoken briefly of science.

Let me state more precisely what I mean when I urge you to be active in Government. Do I mean what we call "good citizenship," that is keeping informed on public questions by reading and listening to the radio and attending forums, by remembering to vote, and

(more)

never neglecting to put the wastepaper neatly at the curb during Clean-Up-Your-Town week? Yes, of course. But that won't be enough, not for what you are going to encounter in the Fifties of this century.

Well, surely I don't mean that every man and woman to whom this country has given the high privilege of a college education, and who has the qualifications, should actually spend a part of his life in some form of public service!

That is exactly what I am proposing.

In the next three decades I urge that every educated person who is qualified to do so, plan definitely to set aside a number of years for the rendering of service in the legislative, or executive branches of his local, state or federal government, and that as nearly as possible this be full-time service.

I am proposing a widespread rotation of the not-too-pleasant duties of the public service. And I do not mean merely part-time or "dollar-a-year" service alone. Nor in my opinion will it meet the situation to put this public service off until you are of retirement age.

I propose that, out of the best and most productive years of your life you should carve out a segment in which you put your private career aside to serve your community and your country, and thereby to serve your children, your neighbors, your fellow men, and the cause of freedom.

(more)

Today our concept of what constitutes a decent society, our deepest moral convictions, our ideas of self-government, these are all the targets of the fury of extremism, of fanaticism, both abroad and at home. The threat to our institutions is not one that military force can remove or from which it alone can protect us. Nor is it a crisis of a few months' or a few years' duration; we face, I fear, a decade, more probably a generation, of continued tension, a period in which one pressure will follow another, a period in which alarms and excursions alternate with "sweet talk" of peace and of normalcy, of easy solutions that will cost us almost nothing -- cost us nothing but the whole of our moral principles and the heart of our liberties.

This period will not only call for steadfastness and faith, but for great skills in self-government, great judgment and open-mindedness in the development of public policies, and creativeness in all the arts of Government. In these circumstances we must summon all of our talents for citizenship, for self-government, for public service as we chart our course through these dark waters.

By whom will the public services be manned? By mediocrity and by hacks? Or by our very ablest citizens? I say it must be the latter, and it is for that reason I have made this proposal of a citizens' universal public service.

(more)

In the Twenties, in the era of Common Sense, Government was something way off yonder, something really quite unimportant. We were well content to permit people we thought not quite respectable or not quite good enough for the competitive struggle, to run Government.

In those days the sort of proposal I have just made would have sounded quite mad. Our own careers were what counted. Why in the world should anyone break into his career to associate with a bunch of politicos in the city council, or the state legislature, or in Congress? We would have asked, in some indignation: What sense does it make for a fine physician to bother with veterans' hospitals, or a distinguished scientist or engineer to bother trying to give special quality to a government research laboratory, or a rising young business executive to bring modern ideas of management into public works? That just wouldn't have made sense.

Well, we were sensible, all right, we of the Twenties. Government wasn't important, we thought, and by the time we found out that we were wrong, it was pretty late, very late indeed.

I urge your generation not to drift into the same error. I say to you that there is no one in this country, however talented, however well-trained, however ambiticus, who can safely adopt the attitude toward local or federal Government, in all its many ramifications, that we of the Twenties adopted. Upon the ability and

(more)

integrity and judgment of men and women in Government -- whether they be mediocre and mere political hacks and windbags, or whether they be superior, well-trained and independent -- upon them too many grave decisions depend these days to permit anyone to assert that his career is too important to be bothered by the irrelevance of Government service.

And we all remember with pride that in the early formative years of the Republic, full time public service, though at least as distasteful as today, was not thought beneath the talents or the dignity of the ablest and most successful of men. By any measure Mr. Washington and Mr. Jefferson were not the least able citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The maintenance of peace -- or atomic warfare? Is that important to you as an individual? To your children?

Business stability -- or depression? Is that important: I mean important to you?

Sensible taxation and fiscal policies -- or the kind that bankrupt us? Important?

World trade-- or a contracting economic isolation? Scientific progress, outdistancing the world, or the hamstringing of scientific enterprise? Public education on a flourishing basis, or in a state of collapse?

(more)

Are these things important to you? To your families?

They are indeed. And by and large most of these questions are determined, the course laid out, by men in the public service. They had better be the best men and women we have, since these are among the most important questions we have.

I hope I have made it clear that I'm not urging that everyone pursue public service, in some form, as a life career. Not at all. As a matter of fact, I am inclined to think that the idea of public service as a life-time career has certain severe limitations, judged by present-day public needs.

What I urge is a fluid kind of citizen-service, in which men and women move from private life into public service for a period of years, and then back to private life. Thus there will be an almost ideal situation, as I see it, in this: On their return to private life, we will have private citizens experienced in first-hand knowledge of public affairs and of the special difficulties that beset the public servant; we will have public servants whose judgment will be enriched by recent experience in the day-to-day problems of private affairs. The careers of the Founder of the University of Virginia, and of its present distinguished President and Chancellor are illustrations of what I have in mind.

Such a plan has a number of advantages to the country. The proposal also has in it an element of common fairness.

(more)

It seems only right to me that the grim and disagreeable tasks that so often are the lot of the responsible public servant should not be exacted of him for an indefinite period, but should be rotated among all who have an equal stake in these grave issues.

There are these days many gloomy predictions about the future, sometimes profoundly gloomy. It is, indeed, not uncommon to hear responsible and well-informed men foretell mankind's suicide, predict a cataclysm that will bring the end of our civilization in the not distant future.

I do not share this gloom, nor these forebodings of utter catastrophe. Of course, no man in his right mind can minimize the hazards of the gathering storm, or fail to see that troubled days and years lie ahead. I am sure there is no time to waste. But I have confidence that the philosophy of "Take Care of Number One" has so clearly been demonstrated a tragic failure that it will not be embraced again in your generation; that despite occasional (and quite human) relapses from time to time we will not again be led down that road. More than that, I believe there is a good chance that we shall more and more apply in our daily affairs and public policies the moral precepts and ethical standards mankind over thousands of years has learned, with such pain, may not be lightly ignored nor disregarded. I firmly believe that your generation intends to be and will become an active living part of your times.

- 30 -

May 19, 1948

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Unites States Atomic Energy
Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dave:

Many thanks for your note and for your kind invitation to dine. Janet will not be coming to Washington next week, but I will be delighted to join you and Helen on Thursday evening, May 27th.

I'm looking forward to seeing you both.

As ever yours,

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1948

Special Del

Dear Ed:

I am going to be in New York a couple of days this week--some urgent business and an informal talk at the Council on Foreign Relations.

Since, as I recall, you expect to be in Washington next week perhaps we can put off our visit until then but Helen wants me to find out as promptly as I can whether you and Janet will have dinner with us one day during your stay. We can make it any day but just to start the ball rolling may I suggest Thursday evening, May 27.* Because of your broadcast we will ask you to dine in town with us.

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

DEL:mjb

* I'll phone for the answer while I am there.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1948

note for work
Noted 4/26

Dear Ed:

Sorry to have missed your call while I was away. Let me know when you are to be in Washington next.

Sincerely,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

DEL:k

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

February 13, 1948

Dear Ed:

I hated like mischief to wire you that I could not manage the Overseas Press speech but after looking over what I know is ahead in the next few weeks (to say nothing of the things that come up that can't be foreseen) it just didn't seem humanly possible. It would have provided a great opportunity.

Helen and I enjoyed being in your home and visiting with you and Janet more than we can say. The chance to meet Lady Reading was a great treat. What a gal she is!

I am hoping to see Russell Davenport again shortly.

I thought your broadcast on the markets, etc. the other evening one of the very best you have done--and on a very difficult subject. You manage to give things a sharp point without any trace of the pontifical or dogmatic that drives most people away from even the most relevant and important issues of their lives. You sound more like the fellow you meet on the street who has given a subject some thought and persuades you by tracing his own mental processes rather than the all-wise "expert" from whom most of us shy off. It is the most difficult thing in the world to do--that kind of simple, relaxed but penetrating analysis. It is the thing, of course, that gave Roosevelt his hold on the country.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Ed Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

DEL

P.S. And last night on russophobia as a substitute for public discussion was another beaut. D

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

February 9, 1948

The Honorable David E. Lilienthal
Chairman
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dave:

Herewith our suggestions for what we think will add up to a fine address and a good reason for your breaking bread with the Overseas Press Club at its annual dinner on Tuesday, March 16th.

The dinner, held at the Waldorf Astoria, draws in the bulk of OPC's 650 members from all over the country and some 650 guests, distinguished citizens from every major field of industry, education, science etc., with the main emphasis on those who operate the instruments for the dissemination of news.

Having in mind your earnest plea for the necessity of public understanding of atomic energy made at the Radio Executives Club last Thursday, and your recent address in Chicago, which sketched in broad strokes the bright potential of intelligent use and understanding of atomic energy, we suggest, in effect, that you talk about your charge in hard comparative terms understandable to the layman.

To repeat—for Daly bent your ear at great length in this matter—the hard comparative term is the TVA. The TVA meant power. What did its arrival bring to the community and mean to its inhabitants in terms of better living, greater opportunity and emancipation of body and spirit? This goes all the way from more and better food to better health; to a better breed of youngsters because they're better fed, have better medical care, have more educational and informational contacts with the world and its doings through radio;

E. R. M.
F. 1155

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

The Honorable David E. Lilienthal February 9, 1948

because, with the advent of power and its economic effects, they have their heads up, hope for tomorrow, and a chance for the knowledge to sustain the present. In sum, here is what TVA and Power did to, and for, the area and people it serves.

Atomic energy, too, means, fundamentally, Power. Here is the bright promise of what it can do for the area and people it can serve—all the globe and all its populations. Its telling will lie in a reprise of your Chicago address. Specific terms can do nothing but create great interest and win wide distribution—such terms of reference as your Chicago statement that atomic energy in the field of agriculture can make hunger disappear from the globe perhaps in a decade; that within a decade you hope to have harnessed atomic power, on a pilot basis, to the operation of refrigators and washing machines, etc. Enclosed is a clipping from The Christian Science Monitor of February 3rd which speaks of a power development in the combustion engine as becoming available to the public in five to ten years. Surely then, when you speak of the promise of atomic energy in terms of a decade, it is as though you spoke of tomorrow.

We will avoid further detail, for this note gets over long, and I think what is laid down here will refresh your mind on other details of the talks you have had with both of us.

One last reminder. Daly spoke of relating your quest for public interest in atomic energy to the recent drive to establish the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund. This drive tapped a well-spring of generosity and interest because cancer is something we all live with, fear, and hate. Yet, cancer is only one of the bitter enemies of society that atomic energy is already seeking to destroy. Also you will remember that we suggested that your peroration might be that TVA has shown what can happen when men use Power intelligently, the promise of atomic energy already is that it can do as much more as its equation of power exceeds that of electricity, and the choice rests at every hearth and fireside. Bombs or benefits—we must take our choice and back it up.

Daly bespoke our need for getting invitations out immediately. May we have your acceptance (they said in unison) by Wednesday?

Sincerely yours,

E. R. M.
F. 115

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

INFORMATION FOR THE PRESS
February 2, 1948
Tel. EX 1616, Ext. 307

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY OF
ADDRESS, 12:30 P.M., EST,
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1948

ATOMIC ENERGY -- WHERE DO WE STAND TODAY?

An address by David E. Lilienthal, Chairman
United States Atomic Energy Commission,
before the Radio Executives Club, Grand Ballroom, Hotel Roosevelt, New York, New York,
Thursday, February 5, 1948, 12:30 P.M.

The topic I have chosen to discuss, "Atomic Energy--Where Do We Stand Today?" may give you the impression that I intend to tell you how many atomic bombs this country has, and where they are; or the progress in use of atomic energy for the treatment of disease; or how the new super-cyclotron has split and shattered the nucleus of such a common substance as lead.

But I have something quite different in mind. I shall talk with you chiefly about people.

For people are the most important fact about atomic energy. What goes on in people's minds -- and in their hearts -- is even more important in determining the fateful future than what goes on in atomic energy laboratories and vast production centers.

The theme of what I shall say to you is this: The people must know; the people as a whole must come to understand the essentials of this new world into the outer reaches of which science has brought us so suddenly.

We must not, we dare not, enter upon this new era of human life if the very facts that set our time off from any that preceded it are, in their essentials,

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not widely known. For men generally to be in the dark as to the nature of the fundamental structure and forces of the atom -- and of the evil and the great good this knowledge can bring -- would be for us to live in a world in which we are, in elementary knowledge, quite blind and unseeing. It would be almost as if we did not know that fire is hot, that water is wet; as if we did not know there are seasons and gravity and magnetism and electricity.

I am persuaded that the people are increasingly determined to find out, to learn about these things. Some of the obstructions in their path are being exposed as myths. For example the widely circulated piece of nonsense that atomic science in its entirety is a military secret is about exploded. The well-cultivated fiction that atomic energy is a bomb and nothing else, that it has no humanitarian and practical uses -- this too is being understood for what it is, a bit of pure moonshine. The myth that the essentials are too technical, are "over people's heads" is giving way to the truth.

The mischievous notion that people are such utter dopes that they are not and can not be made interested in the atom -- though every cell of their bodies and everything they eat and touch is made up of atoms -- this notion does persist, but it is taking a beating in those communities where the people are setting out to find out about what makes the physical world tick.

What is happening in the country, at the grass-roots, is an encouraging and heartening story.

The people, in their home towns and neighborhoods, in their churches, and schools, in their service clubs and farm organizations and local professional societies, the people are on their way.

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They have, it is true, made only a beginning, and there are difficulties to be overcome. Some of these difficulties in creating wider interest and understanding the radio industry (with the press, the periodicals and the films) could help mightly to overcome. You of the radio, if you are willing to pitch in with your great skill and your vast facilities -- you can give a great and perhaps decisive impetus to this effort by the people to understand the atomic world.

I said that the important thing about atomic energy is people, what goes on in people's minds, how well the people understand the broad outlines of this "knowledge so new" to man that with it "he can become a new man". I do not mean any special kind of people -- scientists or generals or public officials. By people I certainly do not mean leaders only. No, when I speak of what goes on in people's minds about atomic energy I simply mean people as they come, as you find them up and down the country, the people in the drug stores and art galleries and churches and bars and banks and union halls, the people who go to the ball games and horse shows, the people, in short, who listen by the tens of millions to the radio programs for which you are responsible.

For me to discuss people and what people think is appropriate before a radio industry audience. For people are your business, you who own and manage the radio industry, you who get in the revenue and direct the programs and analyze the news and do all the other things that have persuaded the families of this country to put in their homes more radio sets by far than there are in all the rest of the world put together. It is your business and your responsibility to know what it is that will hold the interest of millions upon millions of people, from hour to hour and day to day;

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and not only to entertain -- a very important function indeed -- but to inform, to stimulate and to inspire.

The energy within the atom has been released and put to use. This event, dreamed of, speculated about for centuries, has actually taken place, and on a large dramatic scale. Something has happened that has quite fundamentally changed the world.

The river of time has abruptly altered its course. You and I and all men now alive have actually seen this happen.

In the drama now unfolding there is no one -- not a single one of us -- who is a mere spectator, no one who is just listening in. There is no one who can turn a knob and tune himself out; no one who can just pick up and leave if he is bored, or horrified, or is more interested in his private affairs. You and I are all in this, we are all players, participants in that future chain of events that these epochal discoveries have set off.

The world looks the same. Radio City and Fifth Avenue and all the familiar sights of our world look the same. But they are not the same. They are not the same, because of this culmination of new knowledge about Nature and matter and about force and destruction that we call "atomic energy."

Now I began by saying that it is of great importance what people in our country and elsewhere think about atomic energy.

But it is wrong to assume, off hand, that this is self-evident. Actually, what difference does it make? What does it matter what the people think about this admittedly startling series of scientific discoveries about the fundamentals of life?

In the case of other great discoveries and events, it didn't make a great deal of difference, one way or the other. It is a notorious fact

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that on very few occasions did people understand the significance of great events at the time they occurred, nor for a long time thereafter, for that matter.

There is a classic story about this very thing. Some forty-odd years ago there were two young fellows, who ran a bicycle repair shop in Dayton, Ohio. Gadgets interested them. They read in the paper that a fellow by the name of Otto Lilienthal had broken his neck trying to fly by jumping off hills in a pair of wings. This gave the bicycle boys a hair-brained idea. They thought that if they mounted a motor on a pair of wings they could make the darned thing fly. They took their contraption to the sand dunes of the North Carolina coast. One day their sister in Dayton got a telegram reading: "First sustained flight today. 59 seconds. Very happy. Home by Christmas." Signed, Orville and Wilbur. She rushed to the local newspaper office with this great news. The next day in the Personals column there appeared the following headline:

POPULAR LOCAL BICYCLE MERCHANTS
EXPECTED HOME FOR HOLIDAYS

As I say, in the past other great changes have taken place and have not been well understood, most of them have not even been widely known, at the time. The voyage of Columbus marked a sharp turn in events, affecting every human life from that time forward. But apparently Columbus himself did not understand what he had found. The discovery of fire, the invention of the wheel, of gunpowder, of steam as a source of energy, Farraday's discovery of electro-magnetic induction (or electricity, as we say), the discovery by Hertz of radio wave propagation -- what people thought about these events at the time was mighty little, and what they thought was largely wrong. Then why

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should we expect atomic energy to follow any different course? Why can't we go about our business and not fret about understanding atomic energy in its essentials, what with all the other things there are to understand -- from just how a zipper works, or how to meet the crisis when it doesn't work, to the facts about the Marshall Plan? Isn't it enough if the scientists and engineers know what they are doing, and keep at it? As for the rest of mankind, well, suppose we do ignore the whole thing, or miss the point; suppose we do think that the real news is that those up and coming Wright boys will be home for Christmas, or that a new route to India has been found rather than a new world. If it didn't matter what people thought before what is there about this particular discovery that makes it different?

The answer is found in the circumstances that set off this discovery and its effects on human life from any that have gone before.

The first and most important circumstance is time. There was no long time interval between the discovery of the controlled release of the fantastic energies within the atom, and the large-scale application of that knowledge. The very first atomic bomb, though just the beginning, became almost overnight the most successful and potent weapon of all time. It was almost as if the Wright brothers in their first attempt at Kitty Hawk had flown smack across the Atlantic Ocean, or as if Marconi instead of tinkering with a spark gap started off the first crack out of the box with a 1948 television network complete with coaxial cable links.

The second circumstance that sets the event of atomic energy off from all previous new beginnings by man is this: the very first application of this knowledge was in the form of a weapon, but a weapon so utterly revolutionary

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and devastating that it shook all existing ideas of warfare and international relations. Even before it had been improved -- and on top of a mesa in the mountains of New Mexico we are improving it -- the very first product at once affected the lives of every being on the globe, and almost every institution to which men have somehow adjusted themselves and grown accustomed, including the idea of nations, and of balance of power, and of how wars may be prevented, fought and begun.

There is a third circumstance about atomic energy that makes it different not only in degree but I rather think in kind, among the great ideas and events of history. Atomic energy presents the two-sidedness of knowledge-- good and evil -- in the most dramatic way possible. Indeed it may be said to symbolize the two-sidedness of knowledge, and the choice men must make. It is difficult to recall any discovery or any idea in all of mankind's history in which the choice between the beneficial uses of knowledge and the destructive uses of the same knowledge is presented on such a heroic scale, and with such umistakable clarity.

The development of our knowledge of this fundamental force for the improvement of the lot of men everywhere holds out promise of benefits that stir the imagination. And these are not merely remote hopes. This same knowledge that has put a cloud of fear and uncertainty over the future, is the means of searching out some of life's most baffling secrets. In laboratories and hospitals quite near us today they are aiding dramatically in research that may uncover the cause of dread diseases and aid in their cure, and in the alleviation of human suffering. Benefits to the health of millions, increased food and better nutrition and vast new sources of energy -- these we may look

forward to with confidence as a consequence of knowledge of the atom. And it was this knowledge that made the Bomb.

Now of course almost all knowledge has such a two-sided aspect; all knowledge can be used for good or for evil. The closest modern parallel is probably radio itself. Radio has been used and is being used to develop and strengthen freedom, and all that is good and humane and creative. But radio was also used to inflame the minds and poison the hearts of the German people, and thereby to crush European civilization.

Atomic energy, the new-found land of the atom, is beyond our ordinary human experience. There is little now to which we who are laymen can immediately relate this extraordinary phenomenon. But given time -- a generation or so -- gradually to get used to the idea, we would come to understand it, and make good sense of it.

But we were not given time.

We do not have time today. That is the crux of the matter.

You recall the circumstances. Radio broadcasts around the globe told mankind that a single bomb had destroyed an entire city. That single bomb had the power of 40,000,000 pounds of TNT. There followed a most remarkable horrow build-up. The effect -- though this was not the purpose -- was to make the mysterious and the horrible even more mysterious and even more horrible. We were to be frightened into our salvation. We were told that we must have world government and have it at once -- within a definite and implacable time schedule of a few years -- or we were goners. Our own special vulnerability to atomic warfare was told and re-told in a way that was correct but fearsome in the extreme. Maps of the New York City were published showing in detail

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just what ghastly horrors would occur if an atomic bomb no more powerful than those already used was dropped in the Hudson River or above the Roosevelt Hotel -- accounts that were scientifically correct, but harrowing. We were reminded that these bombs need not be dropped by air armadas, that could be intercepted, but might be smuggled in, in parts, or easily concealed in the cargo of a tramp steamer moving innocently up the Hudson or into the Golden Gate. Such bombs, we were told, could poison the air and all plant life, and used in numbers render areas of the earth uninhabitable for decades.

Nothing quite like the effect of this upon the human mind has happened before, in the case of a new idea or discovery; certainly not on such a scale. And the most important factor has been TIME. There has simply not been an adequate or decent interval of time between the advent of the discovery and its application in a manner that affects most of our institutions.

Usually we've had a generation or even a century or two to adjust ourselves to the new and incomprehensible. This jump has been the biggest one we have ever been called upon to make, in our thinking. For example, after 50 years of continuous development the destructive power of explosives was about doubled. Atomic energy multiplied the power of the highest explosive previously known not by 2 times but by 17,000,000 times -- and this occurred virtually overnight. Similarly as to the release of energies for peaceful uses. In the atomic furnace at Oak Ridge the energy we are releasing from the splitting of the fissionable atoms of a pound of uranium is greater than from the burning of a pound of coal, but greater by tens of millions of times.

These are all big jumps for the human mind to adjust to overnight.

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And then to top all the difficulties, this new discovery comes at a time of bitterness and unhappiness in the world, and a state of international distrust such as has rarely existed before in time of peace.

I certainly need not labor this fact.

We shall need good steady judgment and cool heads in the coming years. Public thinking that is dominated by great fear, by phantasy, or by indifference to one of the central facts of our century provides a sorry foundation for the strains we may find it necessary to withstand, and the hard decisions and courses of action that may inhere in this extraordinary situation.

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Anyone experienced in human affairs recognizes fear as a dangerous state of mind. To those who have given little thought to such matters, it might have seemed a good idea to scare the world into being good, or at least sensible. But fear is brother to panic. Fear is an unreliable ally, it can never be depended upon to produce good. One result of intense fear may be panic, but another is likely to be phantasy, a dream-world. For men can stand great fear only so long. The sturdier ones look around for something specific they can do to overcome the cause of their fear. But most people unable long to endure fear, turn to unreality. Things that are disturbing just don't exist. Other more pleasant objects are substituted. People who insist upon talking about unpleasant facts, and after a while facts of any kind, are condemned or avoided.

If not fear, then what?

Our answer is: understanding, comprehension, knowledge.

Now this is a big order. But it is by no means an impossible one. Even the fact that there is not as much time for understanding to develop among people generally, even this time factor does not present impossible difficulties. For we have today some offsetting advantages.

Never before in man's whole history did we have at hand such magic to aid in the communication of ideas and of information: the radio and television; our newspapers and magazines, both now at a peak of quality, usefulness and reliability unequaled in our history; the motion pictures with their infinite potentialities; our amazing network of formal educational agencies—schools in every hamlet, colleges and universities by the thousands, with the greatest enrollment of men and women in higher education ever known;

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the churches, and lay churchmen's organizations; the thousands of local societies and service clubs and Forums and libraries in every town and city. What forces for stimulating understanding we have in such as these!

The radio is a medium so new, so pervasive, so potentially helpful in this crisis that it is nothing less than providential that it should be ready at this hour when the world needs desperately to shorten the time necessary for the dissemination of knowledge and understanding. Here is this great instrument, manned by a corps of talent capable not only of entertaining and stimulating but of finding ways as yet undiscovered--but discoverable--of inspiring man's interest and aiding his comprehension of knowledge that holds our common destiny.

The magnificent performance of radio during the war in promoting public understanding and individual action essential to the winning of that war shows clearly that the radio industry can do an heroic job in the public interest.

Your industry is in a sense trustee of a natural resource--the broadcast frequencies. This, in the public mind, makes it all the more reasonable to expect and to demand that radio play an important part in the task of stimulating interest in and communicating facts about a subject so vital to all men everywhere.

You are the people by and large who decide just what it is your fellow countrymen will have a chance to learn over the air. The tens of millions of homes of this country can receive broadcasts about atomic energy only if you choose to transmit them--and this is quite a responsibility; it is not a responsibility that is remote and vague, and I'm not

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going to exhort you about it. But it is my duty simply to say to you that public knowledge and understanding of atomic energy involves your own security, your own profits, your own future. There is nothing remote or academic about this.

This theme I have chosen to discuss with you is not sensational. No big headlines in it. It can't compete with colorful talk about "push-button warfare" or spies or crystal-ball stuff about atomic pie in the sky by and by. It is not a spectacular theme, and it is part of my job and that of my colleagues not to be spectacular.

But can the atom be made interesting? Many people think so— interesting and in many aspects deeply heartening and hopeful, and dramatic too.

What is in people's minds today, about atomic energy is important. But what may be in their minds next year at this time, or two or three years hence, when tensions may have increased, when steady judgment may be essential, depends upon what we do in the meantime.

What may be in people's minds a year or two hence depends largely on leadership in each community; it depends upon how successful the press, the radio and education generally will be in inspiring people to think about atomic energy, and to appreciate the force of the facts about it.

As people become more and more convinced that they must know about this new critter, the atom, and what it holds for evil and for good, this is going to happen: people are going to become less patient with explanations that informing the public is not part of the business of radio or

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the press or the periodicals. This may be especially resented in the case of radio, since it is an industry that in this country makes use of a natural resource of the whole people. People will become particularly impatient--impatient is a weaker word than I think might be justified--they will be particularly impatient as more and more of them come to understand the following fact--at least I believe it to be a fact:

> that the principal and perhaps the only solid hope for preventing the use of atomic energy for destruction on a scale that has not yet been disclosed is for peoples everywhere to come to understand the atomic world; and to understand thereby the opportunities that lie before us to put this knowledge to uses beneficent and humane.

A vacuum of knowledge about the atom will be filled; of that we may be sure. As time goes on it may be filled by utter indifference. This would be tragic and disastrous for a people to whom some of our well-intentioned compatriots orate sweet-nothings about peace being had if we wish for it hard enough. Or that vacuum of lack of knowledge may be filled by deep unreasoning fear and panic. The vacuum may be filled by phantasy, by illusions. Neither panic nor phantasy provides the basis for a world of peace and security.

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But whether the vacuum is filled by indifference, or panic or wishful nonsense--the vacuum of public knowledge will be filled.

If people have knowledge and understanding they may or may not be happier as individuals.

But the country will be safer.

The peace of the world will be more secure.

We will be less likely to be taken in by sweet talk, or scared by shadows, or stumble--or be pushed--without knowing what we are doing, into some desperate finality.

An informed and understanding people will take the facts as they come, not reject them because some of them may not be pretty. We will, with familiarity with this subject, set out to live with the facts of life, begin to take them into our thinking, into our everyday vocabulary.

We will then begin to form common sense judgments, not only as individuals, but as neighborhoods, as communities, as a people. There are no supermen, no all-wise to solve these problems for us. There is no substitute, no good substitute, for the common sense judgment of a whole people.

WESTERN UNION

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EDWARD R MURROW

RELUCTANTLY CONCLUDE OVERSEAS PRESS DINNER NOT IN CARDS BECAUSE OF PILE OF INESCAPABLE URGENCIES FOR MARCH. THEME SUGGESTED BY DALY AND YOURSELF GRAND. APPRECIATE YOUR CONTINUING HELPFULNESS MORE THAN I CAN TELL YOU. REGARDS

DAVE LILIENTHAL

1201P

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 30, 1948

Dear Ed:

I am terribly grateful to you for your willingness (as transmitted through your secretary) to take a look at this speech. I am particularly anxious to have your candid views on the references to radio--particularly those that are critical--which I have marked on page 4 and from page 24 to the end of the speech.

I promised to have this in final form by 11:30 Monday morning; hence if you can call me by phone, reversing the charges please, either on Saturday or Sunday or Monday morning it would be a great help. You can reach me through the AEC operator (EXecutive-1616) though I shall be at home. In case there is any trouble my phone number at home, which is unlisted, is OLympia-8939.

Mrs. Lilienthal and I are looking forward to dining with you and going to the theatre Thursday evening.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
130 East 74th Street
New York, New York

DEL:mjb

For Ed Murrow

SECOND DRAFT

RADIO EXECUTIVES CLUB

The topic I have chosen to discuss, "Atomic Energy--Where Do We Stand Today?" may give you the impression that I intend to tell you how many atomic bombs this country has, and where; or what progress there has been in world-wide explorations for uranium ore, or how the new super-cyclotron at Berkeley has split and shattered the atom of such common elements as lead and tin.

But I have something quite different in mind. I shall talk with you chiefly about people.

For people are the most important fact about atomic energy. What goes on in people's minds -- and in their hearts -- is even more important in determining the fateful future,

than what goes on in atomic energy laboratories and vast production centers.

And this importance of people and people's understanding is the theme of what I shall say to you of the broadcasting industry today. It is the theme of what in various ways I have been saying to the country in the months since last April. namely: The people must know. The people as a whole must come to understand the essentials of this new world into the outer reaches of which science has brought us so suddenly. We must not, indeed we dare not enter upon this new era of human life if the very facts that set our time off from any that proceeded it are not known by the people, in their simply essentials. For the people generally to be in the dark as to the nature of the

fundamental structure and forces of the atom -- and of the good and evil this knowledge can bring -- would be for us to live in a world in which we are, in elementary knowledge, quite blind and unseeing. It would be almost as if we did not know that fire is hot, that water is wet, as if we did not know there are seasons, and air waves and gravity and magnetism and electricity. I myself am persuaded that the people are increasingly determined to find out, to learn about these things. Some of the myths that obstruct their path are being given the heave-ho. For example, the fairy tale that ~~this~~ atomic science in its entirety is ~~all~~ a military secret -- a widely circulated piece of nonsense -- is about exploded. The equally absurd myth that the essentials are too technical, are "over people's heads," is beginning to be exploded. The mischievous fiction that people are such dopes that they aren't interested in the atom -- though every cell of their

body and everything they eat and touch is made up of atoms -- this notion persists, but it is taking a beating at the grass roots, in those communities where the people are setting out to find out about what makes the physical world tick. And what is happening in the country, at the grass-roots is an encouraging and heartening story. The people, in their home towns and neighborhoods, in their churches, and schools, in their farm organizations and local societies are on their way. It is only a beginning, and there are difficulties. Some of these difficulties the radio industry could help overcome. You ~~Before~~ people of radio, if you will ~~can get you to~~ pitch in, with your ingenuity and your facilities -- you can give a great impetus to this ~~in this~~ extensive effort by the people to understand the ~~to find out what goes on in the~~ atomic world.

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are responsible.

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It hasn't made a great deal of difference, one way or the other, In the case of other great discoveries and events, It is a notorious fact of history that on very few occasions did people understand

the significance of events at the time they occurred, nor for a long time thereafter, for that matter.

There is a classic story about this very thing. Some forty-odd years ago there were two young fellows, brothers, who ran a bicycle repair shop in Dayton, Ohio. Gadgets interested them. They read in the paper that a fellow by the name of Otto Lilienthal had broken his neck trying to fly by jumping off hills in a contrivance that looked like a pair of wings. This gave the bicycle boys a hair-brained idea. They thought that if they mounted a gasoline motor on a pair of wings they could make the thing leave the ground and stay off the ground, with them in it. ~~The dopes thought they could fly!~~ They saved their money, and in mid-December 1903

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the whole thing, or miss the point; suppose we do think that the real news is that those up and coming Wright boys will be home for ~~XXXX~~ Christmas, or that a new route to India has been found rather than a new world. It didn't matter what people thought before; what is there about this particular discovery that makes it different?

The answer is not easy to state.

But essentially the answer is found in circumstances that set off this discovery and its effects on human life, from any that have gone before.

First and most important is concerned with with time. There was no long time interval between the discovery of the controlled release of the fantastic energies within the atom, and the large-scale application of that knowledge. The very first atomic

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There is little now to which we who are laymen can immediately relate this extraordinary phenomon. But given time -- a generation or so -- gradually to get used to the idea, we would come to understand it.

But we were not given time.

We do not have a generation of time, ~~today.~~ That is the crux of the matter.

You recall the circumstances. Our radio told us one day that a single bomb that could be carried in a plane had destroyed an entire city. That single bomb had the power of 40,000,000 pounds of TNT. Then followed one of the most remarkable horror build-ups of all time. The effect -- whatever the purpose -- was to make the mysterious and the horrible even more mysterious and even more horrible.

We were to be frightened into our salvation. We were told that we must have world government and have it at once -- within a definite and implacable time schedule of a few years -- or we were goners. Our own vulnerability to atomic warfare was told and re-told in a way that was correct but fearsome in the extreme. Maps of New York City were published showing in detail just what ghastly horrors would occur if an atomic bomb no more powerful than those already used was dropped in the Hudson River or above the Plaza Hotel -- accounts that were scientifically correct, but harrowing almost beyond endurance. These bombs were such, we were reminded, that they need not be dropped by air armadas, that might be intercepted, but might be smuggled in, in parts, or secreted in the

cargo of a tramp steamer moving innocently up the Hudson [redacted] or into the Golden Gate. The radioactive death rays from such bombs, we were told, could poison the air and all plant life, and in numbers render large areas of the earth uninhabitable for decades; even change our descendants into creatures hardly recognizable as human.

Nothing quite like the effect of this upon the human mind has happened before, in the case of a new idea or discovery; certainly not on such a scale. And the most important factor has been TIME. There has simply not been an adequate or decent interval of time between the advent of the discovery and its application in a manner that changes and affects most of our

institutions. Usually we've had a generation or even a century or two to adjust ourselves to the new and incomprehensible. This jump has been the biggest one we have ever been called upon to make, in our thinking. For example, the increase in the destructive power of TNT over early versions of gunpowder was a multiplication of a few fold, perhaps twenty ~~[illegible]~~ and it took place over a period of centuries. The jump in destructive power between atomic energy and the previously most powerful sustance was ~~[illegible]~~. Similarly as to the release of energies for peaceful uses. In the atomic furnace at Oak Ridge the energies we are releasing from the splitting of the atoms of a pound of uranium is greater than the energies that result from the burning of a pound of coal.

~~the public~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~this~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

But not twice as much or ten times as much -- tens of millions of times as much -- a factor no one can understand off hand

These are all big jumps for the human mind to adjust to overnight.

And then to top all the difficulties, this new discovery comes at a time of bitterness and unhappiness in the world, and a state of international antagonism and distrust such as has rarely existed before except in time of a shooting war.

I certainly need not labor this fact.

We shall need good steady judgment and cool heads in the coming years. Public thinking that is dominated by fear, phantasy or indifference to one of the central facts of our decade provides a

sorry foundation for the strains we may find it necessary to withstand, and the hard decisions and courses of action that may inhere in this extraordinary situation.

Anyone experienced in human affairs recognizes fear as a dangerous state of mind. To those who have given little thought to such matters, it might have seemed a good idea to scare the world into being good, ~~"good" in this case being the adaptation of some form of world government.~~ But fear is brother to panic. Fear is an unreliable ally, it can never be depended upon to produce good. One of the results of great fear is panic, but another is likely to be phantasy, a dream-world. For men can stand great

fear only so long. The sturdier ones look around for something ~~useful~~ specific they can do to overcome ~~defeat~~ the ~~object~~ cause of their fear. But most people unable long to endure fear, turn to unreality. Things that are disturbing just don't exist. Other more pleasant objects are substituted. ~~Facts are swept under the rug~~. People who insist upon talking about unpleasant facts, and after a while facts of any kind, are condemned or avoided. ~~A dream world takes the place of reality.~~

There are chapters in recent history that tell us what happens to whole peoples who run away from reality.

If not fear, then what?

Our answer is: understanding, comprehension, knowledge.

This is a big order. But it is by no means an impossible one. Even the fact that there is not as much time for knowledge to grow, for understanding to develop among people generally, even this time factor does not present impossible difficulties. For we have today some offsetting advantages.

Never before in man's whole history did we have at hand such magic to aid in the communication of ideas and of information: the radio and ~~more than 60 million sets in this country;~~ television; the ~~services~~ of our newspapers, and magazines, both now at a peak of quality, usefulness and reliability unequalled ~~never before equalled~~ in our history; our amazing network of formal educational agencies--schools

in every hamlet, colleges and universities by the thousands, ~~hundreds~~, with the greatest enrollment of men and women in higher education ever known; the churches, and lay churchmen's organizations; the thousands of local societies and service clubs and forums and libraries in every town and city. What forces for ~~developing~~ stimulating an awareness + developing understanding we have in such as ~~all~~ these!

The radio is a medium so new, so pervasive, so potentially helpful in this crisis that it ~~might almost seem that its invention and wide development was timed by some strange circumstance so it would be~~ is nothing less than providential ~~that~~ it is ready at this hour when the world needs desperately to ~~telescope and~~ shorten the time necessary for the dissemination of knowledge and understanding. Here is this great instrument manned by a corps of talent capable not only of entertaining and stimulating but of finding ways as yet undiscovered--but discoverable--

of inspiring men's interest and comprehension of a subject so close to our common destiny. ¶ The magnificent performance of radio during the war in promoting public understanding and individual action essential to the winning of that war shows clearly that the radio industry can do a heroic job in the public interest. The fact ~~that you are,~~ Your industry is in a sense, trustee of a natural resource--the broadcast frequencies. This, in the public mind, makes it all the more reasonable to ~~anticipate~~ expect that radio will ~~take its place with older forms of the communication of facts and of~~ play an important part in the task of stimulating interest ~~in this vital~~ in and communicating facts about ~~so vital a~~ subject so vital to all men everywhere. ~~This is not a spectacular~~ theme I have chosen to discuss with you is not sensational. No big headlines in it. Can't compete with colorful talk about "push-button warfare" or spies or dream-stuff about pie in the sky by and by. It is not a sensational theme; And it is part of my job <u>not</u> to be ~~spectacular~~ sensational.

¶ As you see, the

But can ~~Can~~ the atom be made interesting to the people? Lots of people think so. Just how is a matter of opinion. I have heard it suggested ~~A radio executive is quoted as saying in some~~

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~~imitation Jonathan,~~ that if we could get Bob Hope to talk about atomic energy that would do it. This may have been intended as sarcasm, or seriously, I don't know which. But I don't regard even this as out of the question; ~~for~~ in any case Mr. Hope ~~is an intelligent and able man, and so are his sponsors, and it also happens that he~~ and his sponsors and their advertising agency are all in the same ~~boat~~ boat with the rest of us, ~~neither.~~

I grant that this theme of understanding the world we now live in is not side-splitting, and it may not at first blush seem dramatic--though I do recall the use of the radio at a time of desperate panic in this country, in March of 1933, as the indispensible factor in quickly restoring this people to confidence in themselves. And that seemed dramatic to most of us.

What is in people's minds today, about atomic energy is important. But what <u>may be in</u>

their minds next year at this time, or two or three years hence, when tensions may have increased, when steady judgment may be essential, depends upon what we do in the meantime. What may be in people's minds a year or two hence depends on leadership in each community; it depends upon leadership ~~among the educational forces of the country and among the media of communication.~~ how successful that is in inspiring people to think about atomic energy, and to appreciate the force of the facts about it. ¶ As people become more and more convinced that they must know about this new critter, the atom, and what it holds for good and for evil, this is going to happen: people are going to become less patient with explanations that stimulate the story to an interest in the public ~~in~~ to informing themselves is not part of the business of radio or the press or the periodicals. This may ~~possibly~~ be especially resented in the case of radio, since it is an industry that in this country makes use of a natural resource of the whole people. People ~~They~~ will become particularly impatient--

impatient is a weaker word than I think might be justified--they will be particularly impatient as more and more of them come

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to understand the following fact--at least I believe it to be a fact:

> that the principal and perhaps the only solid hope for preventing the use of atomic energy for destruction on a scale that has not yet been disclosed is for peoples everywhere to come to understand the atomic world; and to understand thereby the opportunities that lie before us to put this knowledge to uses beneficent and humane.

A vacuum of knowledge about the atom will be filled; of that we may be sure.

As time goes on it may be filled by utter indifference. This would be tragic and disastrous

for a people to whom some of our well-intentioned compatriots orate sweet-nothings about peace being had if we wish for it hard enough. Or that vacuum of lack of knowledge may be filled by deep unreasoning fear and panic. The vacuum may be filled by phantasy, by illusions. But whether the vacuum is filled by indifference, or panic, or wishful nonsense--the vacuum of public knowledge will be filled. If people have knowledge and understanding they may or may not be happier as individuals. I don't know. But the country will be safer; the peace of the world will be more secure; we will be less likely to be taken in by sweet talk; we will be less likely to be skeptical and unbelieving of everything. With understanding we will take the facts as they come, not reject them because some of them may not be pretty. We will, with familiarity with this subject,

neither panic nor phantasy provides the basis for peace + security

set out to live with the facts of life, begin to take them into our thinking, into our everyday vocabulary--and this is more important than may seem. We will begin to form common sense judgments, not only as individuals, but as neighborhoods, as communities, as a people. There are no supermen, no all-wise to solve these problems for us. There is no substitute, no good substitute, for the common sense judgment of a whole people.

January 8, 1948

DAVID LILIENTHAL
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

WILL BE AT CARLTON HOTEL ALL NEXT WEEK AND TWOULD QUOTE PLEASURE UNQUOTE

ME TO SEE YOU IF YOU HAVETEN MINUTES TO SPARE

ED MURROW

Rockville, Md. RFD#2
January 4, 1948.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

Feel badly about the Radio Executives Club engagement; trying my best to figure something out, but with Congress back (and how) and many urgent fires to be put out, not easy. Still rocky with the flu after-effect.

Hard to believe that it is almost a year since we visited at my office when I asked your counsel about staying on this post, if I should be confirmed. Reminded of this by finding in my mail a reprint of my reply to Senator McKellar's question about my "views on communistic doctrine"--a reprint put out the other day by a St.Louis bank, for heaven's sake. And shocked to note that this was February 4th, 1947--almost a year ago.

I like to think--as I am sometimes told by well-wishers--that Feb. 4, 1947 marked the high tide of smearing and scare-methods, that the trend since then has been slowly back to American common sense; that for the Herald Trib and Bert Andrews to go after the State Department on arbitrary panic methods of "eliminating" suspected employes is one of many evidences of that return to sense. I would like to believe this. As the Marshall Plan debate opens, it becomes important to remember that the reasons for supporting the Plan are almost as important as getting it through; those reasons, as I tried to say a year ago, are more concerned with what we are for than merely what we are against.

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Best wishes to you, always

Sincerely

Dave

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York City

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Rockville, Md. RFD #5
January 3, 8 P.M.

Dear Ed:

That was a mighty good one tonight: as my Dad would say "un--uzer-al good". When it comes to teaching the alphabet of democracy --and its arithmetic, about which so little is known, my friend -- you are in a wonderful bit of terrain; and do you miss a chance? Not so as I have noticed.

I'm taking off for several days at Oak Ridge; but Miss Brown is trying to snag you for a luncheon or other spot for me for next week; and Helen is writing Janet.

Always, my best

Dave

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS: Washington DC.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

December 31, 1947

Dear Dave:

I am deeply distressed to hear that you are ill, and hope that you will soon be back on your feet.

Thanks for the kind words about my piece on your Farm Bureau speech. The credit is all yours because the words were yours. You will be amused to know that I received one wire from an irate middle westerner saying why did I quote Lilienthal? didn't I know that the Jesuits had been teaching that sort of thing for hundreds of years?

I shall probably be coming down for the opening of Congress and will hope to see you then. Meanwhile, may your strength increase during the coming year.

As ever yours,

The Honorable David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

E. R. M.
F. 1155

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1947.

My dear Ed:

The evening you broadcast your comment upon my Farm Bureau speech I was on the train returning to Washington. But I have since seen the script, and was and am enormously pleased and heartened by it. Your words of comment and quotation reach more people, by a factor I suppose of a thousand, perhaps more, than a speech of mine would. More important still, your audience is in a frame of mind that a radio audience listening to a speech almost never is.

This is being written at home, where I've been in bed for a week with a sharp attack of flu; it looks now as if I'd be directed to defer all speeches and travel and extra chores for some weeks, till I get right, which will probably mean I shan't be able to make the Radio Executives Club on January 8. I haven't had the nerve to raise the question yet.

We were enchanted with Casey!

Sincerely

Dave

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

October 1, 1947

Dear Dave:

I would not send you the attached memorandum but for two reasons: (1) if the allegations are true, I am confident you would want to concern yourself with the matter, and (2) my colleague, Bill Downs, is a conscientious and accurate reporter. What do you think of his suggestion?

As ever yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

cc: Bill Downs

E. R. M.
F. 1155

Sunday October 26--47
Rockville Md RR#2

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Well met at Waldorf.

Dear Ed:

You said something the other night on the 'phone -- something generous-- about a "platform", for things that needed saying. I am "busting out" with something that seems to me very important, in a brief speech on the Herald-Tribune Forum Tuesday night, the 28d. It is a kind of bridge between the discussion of America and the following day's discussion of the reconstruction of Europe--called it "The Strength of America". It may not be appropriate for your broadcast, but as I put the finishing touches on the darn thing today, and see how to the roots of me these ideas go, I thought this was something I should let you know of, anyway. I speak Tues.night and leave Wed. AM at 9:30 so there doesn't appear to be a chance to see you this trip. Faithfully yours Dave

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

September 24, 1947

Dear Dave:

My gratitude to you for sending me the speech at Crawfordsville. It seems to me altogether admirable.

I start broadcasting again Monday night and hope for your good will and also for unsparing criticism if I get off the reservation.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

September 18, 1947

Dear Ed:

I believe the enclosed statement of policy will interest you; and naturally I hope it will appeal to you as making sense.

Sincerely yours,

Dave

David E. Lilienthal
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

DEL:ok

This is the CBS radio speech — a kind of Atom at the Grass Roots.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington, D.C.

INFORMATION FOR THE PRESS:
Tel. EX 1616, Brs. 308,309

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

ATOMIC ENERGY IS YOUR BUSINESS

Address by David E. Lilienthal
Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission
Before a Community Public Meeting
Sponsored by the Civic Organizations of
Crawfordsville, Indiana
Monday Evening, September 22, 1947
on the Campus of Wabash College
(For Broadcast CBS Network
9 p.m. C.S.T., Monday, September 22)

There is a growing tendency in some quarters to act as if atomic energy were none of the American public's business.

It isn't said in just those words, of course. It is put more discreetly. It is said that the subject is too "technical" for public discussion -- or that "national security" requires that the public be kept in the dark, even on discussions of broad policy -- or that the steps that need to be considered are such strong meat that all these matters must be withheld from the public. It is said, in support of this practice, that it was followed successfully in wartime, and hence should be continued today.

In my opinion this is plain nonsense, and dangerous nonsense, dangerous to cherished American institutions and for that reason dangerous to genuine national security. And if I sound belligerent it is because on this issue I am in a fighting mood. I have come back home to Indiana to say so, as emphatically as I can.

(more)

I say to you that atomic energy and scientific discoveries have not and need not change the fundamental principles of democracy, which rest upon faith in the ultimate wisdom of the people, when they have been truthfully and clearly informed of the essential facts. This principle and this faith form the basis of the law establishing the civilian Atomic Energy Commission. If the people of this country want that principle and that policy to be made effective -- the policy that it is they who decide their future and their fate -- that is the policy that will prevail.

I propose tonight to suggest a specific program whereby here in Crawfordsville and in all other American communities the people on their own can set about to learn the essential facts about atomic energy. I make this proposal so that in the months and crucial years ahead it can continue to be said as it has in the past that the glory of the American system is that the common sense judgment of the people as a whole determines the course of the Republic.

What do you think of when you think of atomic energy? The chances are that you think only of the atomic bomb. This is natural enough. You have been fed a publicity diet of almost nothing else but horror stories since the blast at Hiroshima two years ago. Some people are warning you to get ready to move into caves. Others are actually proposing, as a defense measure, that we prepare to turn the life of the country over to military control; and other such proposals are being urged. It is a tribute to the American people's horse sense that they have kept their shirts on through all of this. You are troubled, of course, concerned, uneasy -- and you should be. The atomic weapon is real. I live with it, day and night, and I assure you that however fantastic it is plenty real. But scaring the daylights out of everyone so no one can think, inducing hysteria and unreasoning fear -- this is not going to get us anywhere -- anywhere we want to go.

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Now it is perfectly true that atomic energy produces a weapon of unimaginably destructive power. It is true that this nation's Atomic Energy Commission is today designing, developing and producing such weapons. As required by law we fully intend to maintain American preeminence in these weapons until effective international safeguards are in force. It is true that our present monopoly in the production of such weapons will not last indefinitely, and that in time other nations on their own can produce such bombs. It is true that a war in which such bombs were used in numbers would be a catastrophe of unendurable violence to civilization. It is for these reasons that in the United Nations this and other nations have made and continue to make efforts to place atomic weapons under international controls -- workable, foolproof controls -- efforts which are thus far not successful.

No one -- least of all your speaker -- underestimates the importance of atomic energy as a weapon, as a weapon that has shaken previous military and diplomatic concepts to their foundations. These facts are just as important to you right here along the peaceful shaded streets of Crawfordsville, Indiana, as they are to anyone in Washington, or London or Paris or Moscow.

But it is equally important to understand that atomic energy and atomic bombs are not synonymous. To continue to think so as most people do is a major fallacy, a fallacy that will make more difficult our efforts to eliminate atomic energy as a weapon of war, a fallacy that may keep us from the beneficial fruits of this great discovery.

The weapon is the first demonstration of the use of atomic energy, and a very dramatic one it is indeed. But what we have here actually is not simply a weapon. Here is newly acquired knowledge of great and universal forces comparable to the forces of gravity and the forces of electric charges and of magnetism.

(more)

I suppose there is nothing of a physical nature that is more friendly to man, or more necessary to his well-being than the sun. From the sun you and I get every bit of our energy, the -- chemical energy -- energy that gives life and sustains life, the energy that builds skyscrapers, and churches, that writes poems and symphonies. The sun is the friend of man. In its rays is the magic stuff of life itself.

As familiar as all of this is to every one of us, it is very close to the subject of atomic energy. For the life-giving sun is itself a huge atomic energy factory. The energy the sun pours forth -- that energy has its origin in a process within the sun by which there is released for our benefit the forces within the atomic nucleus, within the atom of the familiar substance known as hydrogen. The sun, I repeat, is an atomic energy plant.

The forces, then, within the atom are not new. Far from it. Without the atomic energy released by the sun, this country would be a lifeless crater.

What <u>is</u> new is this: that in our day, our generation, knowledge has so increased, that we are now actually on the long road to understanding atomic energy and making it serve men's needs.

These atomic forces are still not well understood by even the most learned scientists. But here are two towering facts of greatest importance to every living human being the world over:

First: Mankind has probably learned more in the past thirty years about atomic forces than in all the preceeding centuries.

Second: Within the next few years -- a decade perhaps -- we should be in a position to unlock new knowledge about life and matter so great that wholly new concepts of human life will follow in the wake of this new knowledge.

Just as the sun is fundamental to human life, so are the forces within the atom. It is our fortune, yours and mine, and that of our children, to live

(more)

in that fragment of historical time when knowledge of the very cornerstone and foundation of life may be opened to human understanding.

Let me repeat: atomic science and atomic bombs are not synonymous. That is why I have spoken to you about the sun. The atomic bomb is just one manifestation of atomic energy; the energy in the rays of the sun is another. One is destructive, the other benign and a source of life and strength.

I had another purpose in beginning with the sun. I wanted to make plain that what we are dealing with in the forces of the atomic nucleus are fundamental, basic, and have an effect on everyone's life, as do the nuclear transformations within the sun. Atomic energy is not just another new gadget, nor just a new weapon, however powerful and devastating. We are dealing with forces as fundamental to your life as the force of the sun, the forces of gravity, the forces of magnetism.

Such new knowledge inevitably brings changes. These are changes that will affect you and yours, in your life here in this community. Some of these changes are in process at this moment. Thus the atomic weapon has changed the relations between nations and the problem of the maintenance of peace -- and nothing could be closer to your life and that of your children than that. Atomic energy has already brought changes in the treatment of human suffering, and is at this moment adding to knowledge to be used in fighting cancer, heart ailments, and many other diseases.

Radioactive materials from the Commission's plant at Oak Ridge are throwing a clear light upon some of the oldest mysteries of life. For example, how does a stalk of growing corn use the rays of the sun to manufacture its products into energy-giving food substances? How does a plant absorb fertilizer from the soil, and just what happens within the plant? Much progress has already been made through the availability of these radioactive tracers. It is fair to say that the entire investment in the atomic energy project -- now nearly

(more)

two and a half billion dollars -- may be more than repaid by the benefits to agriculture and to human nutrition alone. Atomic treatment of familiar metals, and new knowledge of little known metals opens up great prospects in industry. At Commission laboratories work proceeds so that some day the energy released by the splitting of the atoms of uranium and plutonium, will provide a new source of electricity and heat. New professions for your young people, new hope for the afflicted, new understanding of how science can serve for peace -- these are among the items on the agenda of the present and immediate future.

But these things -- and many others I might mention -- are but a beginning. The door of knowledge is but barely opened. No one can predict just what changes will come of knowledge that goes to the root of all things physical. For bear in mind that every living being is composed of atoms, and the nuclear forces we are talking about are within each of these atoms. Remember too that every bit of matter, this desk, the walls of this chapel, the mountains and the seas are likewise composed of atoms and their nuclei. We are therefore throwing light upon the very nature of the structure of the world we live in. What is important to understand is not just what the precise effect of knowledge of these basic forces will be -- which is necessarily speculative -- but rather that important changes will come -- which is as certain as anything in this world can be.

The primitive man who first beheld fire was probably terrified by this strange and destructive force he knew so little about. He could not predict that fire would change the life of every mortal from that early day to this, nor could he possibly know that the forces that he saw lay waste the forest and consume his enemies would someday be accepted as one of the most friendly and helpful forces at man's command.

(more)

What should concern us, it seems to me, is not that changes are coming. Americans have always taken change in their stride; indeed generally speaking we thrive on it.

What we should be concerned about, and what we should make sure of is that the changes shall be fitted into the American way of doing things, that those changes shall not be so imposed upon us that individual freedom is impaired. We must make sure that the American people will have a say-so, and a decisive say-so, in the adjustments these discoveries will bring in community life, in our agricultural, educational, industrial and military institutions. You must make dead sure that your public servants in all branches of your Government, civil and military, legislative and executive, all understand clearly that atomic energy is your business, the people's business.

Now I must warn you that this will not be easy. But it is vitally important to you here in this community and all other communities, large and small, that you keep the decisions, the broad decisions in your hands. For science and technical matters will become more and more important, important in determining peace and security, important in industry and jobs, in health, in farming, in education, in community affairs here in Crawfordsville and in thousands of cities and towns and villages all through the country. More and more things of your daily life, and in the factory and school and farm will be affected by the discoveries and applications of science. Atomic science will stimulate a whole new world of other discoveries: this is already happening and it will continue. And it can be made pretty much to the good -- good for you here in your town, good for peace and decency and human freedom. But you must not at your peril let these new technical advances get out of your power to control and direct. I warn you that this must not happen or the essence of the American scheme of things will be lost.

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It comes down to this, the whole problem of atomic energy, and of all the great scientific discoveries it is bound to bring -- it comes down to this:

First: We must persist until we find ways whereby mankind will not make use of these discoveries for destructive and evil ends;

Second: (and closely related to the first) We must find ways of encouraging and stimulating the application of these discoveries and new ones to come, to things that are beneficial and helpful to mankind and to the best of human aspirations.

To what use will we put this great new ever-growing knowledge? There is the real question -- to what purpose, to what ends will atomic energy and the fruits of scientific discovery be put?

My friends of Crawfordsville, my fellow citizens of all the peace-loving communities of the wide world, here is the challenge of our time.

These are not scientific matters. What this vast problem requires is not technical judgment, but rather the human experience and good sense of the natural leaders of opinion within the thousands of communities of the country. There has never been any good substitute for the all-around common sense of an informed lay public. That is just what is needed here.

But you can be barred from a decisive voice in these issues about atomic science, issues so close to your life and your future. You can be kept out by your own default -- by failing to inform yourselves, so that you will not be able to be effective in the making of the great decisions on the problems that atomic science presents for determination.

There are many reasons why you need to know and understand the basic facts of atomic energy. But none is more pressing than this: that it is those basic facts that determine whether a particular proposal for international control is workable, one that in the language of Secretary Marshall last Wednesday will

(more)

"remove the specter of a war of annihilation"; or whether the facts of atomic energy show that a particular proposal is ineffective and indeed a "fraud on the peoples of the world". It is the facts and an understanding of those facts that determined the American proposal, the Baruch plan, now carried forward by Mr. Frederick Osborn, a proposal which the representatives of ~~the~~ ten nations have approved.

Now just what is it that you can do about becoming informed, right here in Crawfordsville, and in Galesburg and in Sioux City, in Hartford and Yipsilanti and Fresno and all the other communities of the country?

Bear in mind, what is needed is not knowledge and judgment about scientific or engineering matters -- you don't have that and couldn't take the time to acquire it of course. The technical forces associated with the Atomic Energy Commission can do that, and are doing a good job of it, and one you will be proud of. The quality of that job is being constantly checked by independent advisory boards of distinguished scientists. But the kind of judgment that I am talking about is of quite a different sort -- for example, a sense of what things people will accept as right and sensible and workable. What is needed is sense about human relations, about standards of fairness, about principles of self-government and of self-education. These judgments turn on the weight to be given to concern for the individual as compared to concern for the state. The issues call for the kind of over-all judgment that is summed up when your neighbor says: "That makes sense to me."

Nothing could weaken the security of our country in the atomic field more quickly, nor more surely slow up research in cancer control, say, than to permit science and scientists to be kicked around by the organized forces of ignorance and demagoguery, and petty politics. You don't have to have scientific training to sense that this would be bad, bad for you, bad for Crawfordsville, bad for the country. This sort of thing is a real danger to our scientific

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progress, for as the old Hoosier saying has it, "There are some men who would play peanut politics with the multiplication table and the Ten Commandments." There is only one real protection against the harm selfish and ignorant and fanatical men can do and that is an informed public.

There are many other broad issues where your judgment will be essential, and your interest vital. These might include such matters as the proposals for international control of atomic weapons; the conditions under which the present Government monopoly in this field can safely be changed to private competitive production; the share of the national budget that should be devoted to scientific research; the adequacy of protection against health hazards from radioactive materials in the air and on the ground; the proper relation of civilian direction to the military, in this field; what kind and size of navy, army and air force we need in the light of developments in scientific warfare; what sense the proposals make that we go underground; the workability of decentralization of cities as a defense measure; how rapidly atomic fuel may supplement coal, oil and water power as a source of electricity; the wisdom and workability of censorship of the press and radio as a means of maintaining secrecy in this field, under peacetime conditions. Such a list of policy issues could be extended almost indefinitely.

You need to watch your public servants, to keep an eye on us, whether in the Executive Branch, the military, or in Congress. And to do so effectively your views and judgments must be based upon some knowledge of the background of facts.

How can you acquire sufficient information to make you effective? I have some suggestions to offer along this line.

As to <u>what</u> you should know, remember that the information you need to have is not secret technical information. Nor is it highly complicated. The essentials of atomic energy even on the scientific side, are actually not difficult, not nearly as difficult as those who would like to keep the decisions

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to themselves would lead you to believe.

For what technical information you need try your nearby colleges or your local high schools -- and if their science teachers don't know enough about the subject to be able to explain it simply to the average layman, then you know there is something wrong with the teaching going on around you -- and that is worth something in itself. As for the public issues, there too the colleges and the schools can assemble and boil down the relevant facts for the use of your civic organizations.

In providing information about atomic energy the United States Atomic Energy Commission has a responsibility, imposed by law. It is our hope that it can be discharged with good sense and restraint. A considerable area of technical and other information must and will be kept secret under present conditions, and elaborate precautions are being taken to this end. The Commission must provide some guidance on such matters, of course, and will from time to time be prepared to release new information that can be made public without prejudice to security. But by and large, the sources of information on public issues are already open. Much of the information has already been published.

The problem is chiefly one of getting non-secret information into a form for your consideration that will be clear, interesting, and without bias. And for this you can properly expect great things of the press of the United States, the radio and the magazines. These, together with motion pictures, constitute one of the greatest educational forces in human history. There has never been anything like it. The press, the radio and the magazines are competent to take the body of knowledge that exists and with their great skills of presentation make this subject clear and alive for every school child, and every grown-up in your community and all the communities of America. In our great pictorial magazines the country has an unique asset for the presenting of information in graphic form. Similarly with other magazines --- those addressed to groups of which you now

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have local entities here in your town --- the national magazine of the Elks, the Rotarians, the American Legion and the other organizations in your community.

It is important that the facts and analysis of policies should come to you from a variety of sources, not from only one, and above all that they should not come solely from official sources. This variety gives you a chance to check one version against another, and draw your own conclusions.

Such help as this from the outside is necessary, and can be very useful. But try to keep this as close to home as possible, when you come to your analysis and your discussion of these things. Don't be content to take ideas that have been pre-digested for you at some distant place. Put this on the programs of your Chamber of Commerce, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the unions, the Parent-Teachers Association, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and similar organizations, the League of Women Voters, your Montgomery County Farm Bureau and 4-H Clubs, the local veterans organizations, the business and professional women's organization, the bar association and county medical society -- and so on. These are your organizations. You can speak your mind in your own town.

You don't need a brand new organization for this purpose. Make use of the many fine civic, fraternal, educational, professional, and religious organizations you now have in your community.

Don't make this a crusade, a "drive", full of ardor and zing for a couple of weeks and then it's all over. This is not a "campaign." This subject will be with you for a long time, so take it in your stride, as part of your community responsibilities.

What I am proposing here tonight -- and will continue to urge -- is not that you or any other community start a new organization, and certainly not that this be regarded as a "movement". My hope is that the people of the country will come to be familiar with this new realm of facts and ideas that are so important to us all. I can see the time not long off when the terms Geiger

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counter, radioisotope, the Baruch plan, alpha particles, neutron absorption, nuclear reactor -- these will become just as much a part of common speech and common understanding as carburetor, X-ray, high octane, short-circuit, and frequency modulation have become in other fields.

What I propose will mean some work. No doubt of that. Most of you are already about as busy as you can be, and those of you who are looked up to as leaders in your community are usually quite burdened with chores beyond your own business and home. Some of this will require reading, discussion, meetings, added to everything else you have.

Let me say this: Look upon this task of becoming familiar with the essentials of atomic energy as an obligation directly to your children -- and if there are grandchildren, to your grandchildren; or to those nice likeable youngsters next door. This is at least as direct a way of doing your duty to your children as the sacrifices you make without hesitation to get them an education, or the right diet and good doctors. If schemers or fools or rascals or hysterical stuffed shirts get this thing out of your hands -- it may then be too late to find out what it is all about. Do this for your children.

Anyway, that idea helps me on my own job; that idea, and the feeling I have deep in me that God the Father of us all did not make man in His image and endow him with capacity to learn nature's secrets in order that man use that knowledge to destroy the human race.

The American people, talking these things over in all the Crawfordsvilles of this broad land, will get a feel for this subject, an understanding of the essentials of this new force that may make the difference between calamity and progress. I believe the American people, thinking it over together in their home towns, and having it on their hearts, will work this thing out and make good sense of it. For in the conscience and the judgment of the people lies the strength of democracy.

****

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

September 30, 1947

Dear Dave:

You will remember that we discussed some time ago, the possibility of your talking at the Radio Executives Club Luncheon. I I undertook to suggest alternate dates to you about the time; here they are:

December 3rd
January 8th
January 22nd

In terms of securing the best possible audience, I think December 3rd will be the best date.

Any time you feel like talking on the radio again please let me know.

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

American Broadcasting Company, Inc.
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · CIRCLE 7-5700
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

September 24 1947

Mr Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York New York

Dear Ed:

Bill Hedges advises that the following dates are open for the Radio Executives Club luncheons:

December 3rd
January 8th
January 22nd

The December 3rd lunch could be held in the ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel jointly with the Advertising Club of New York, which would appear to make that the most attractive date.

Will you please let me know if Lilienthal is interested?

Many thanks for this help.

Sincerely

Bob

Director of Public Affairs

Robert Saudek:jpt

80TH CONGRESS
2d Session

SENATE

DOCUMENT
No. 118

UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

LETTER

FROM THE

CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

TRANSMITTING

PURSUANT TO LAW THE THIRD SEMIANNUAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Ed: from Dave.

FEBRUARY 2, 1948.—Referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and ordered to be printed, with an illustration

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
71068 WASHINGTON : 1948

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

The honorable the PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

The honorable the SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIRS: We have the honor to submit herewith the third semiannual report of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, as required by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

There are a number of important phases of the atomic energy program which for reasons of national security cannot be presented in a public report of this character. These are discussed with the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which was authorized by the Congress to receive information on all activities of the Commission.

Respectfully,

UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION.
ROBERT F. BACHER.
SUMNER T. PIKE.
LEWIS L. STRAUSS.
WILLIAM W. WAYMACK.
DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, *Chairman*.

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THIRD SEMIANNUAL REPORT TO THE CONGRESS BY THE UNITED STATES ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

Section I—The First Year—A Summary

In its first report to the Congress a year ago, within the month of the transfer of the United States atomic energy program from military to civilian management, the Atomic Energy Commission outlined its organizational policies and general operating plan. In July 1947 the second semiannual report to the Congress reviewed the status of preparations for the long-term program envisioned in the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, and reported briefly on the program for expansion of the project to maintain and improve the Nation's position in the field of nuclear development.

The Commission, in its third open report to the Congress, is able to report that this program is under way. The following pages are a summary of the first year of operation under legislative authority of a project of government in which the American people have invested heavily of their funds and their hopes.

Through the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the Atomic Energy Act provides the means for informing the Congress of those matters the open discussion of which might be prejudicial to the security of the United States. In this public report, however, we have attempted to provide sufficient unclassified information to enable the Congress and the people of the United States to appraise in general the management and progress of the Nation's atomic energy business.

During 1947 there was definite progress toward the repair of those areas of administrative and physical erosion which resulted from the period of national uncertainty following the cessation of hostilities of World War II. While a number of specific steps have been taken to establish the program on a sound, permanent basis of operation, in both physical plant and organization, it would be incorrect to assume that the project will become static either in facilities or in general activity for many years to come.

The paramount objective of "assuring the common defense and security," as defined in the Atomic Energy Act, required a major program of development at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, where the weapons program is concentrated. An over-all plan was completed during the year and a number of important steps taken toward its fulfillment, including the construction of service and technical facilities, improvement and standardization of design of weapon components, development work on new designs, and the beginning of an extensive program of stabilizing production operations.

The work of the laboratory progressed to a point permitting field tests of indicated laboratory results at a proving ground established on Eniwetok Atoll in the South Pacific.

The production of fissionable materials was maintained throughout the year. A general program for the expansion of capacity was started along four main lines:

1. Through development of new sources of raw materials.
2. Through improvement of processes for the reduction of ores and the preparation of feed materials for the Commission's plants.
3. Through renovation and expansion of existing facilities for the production of fissionable materials, and advances in operating techniques.
4. Through the development of the nuclear reactor for more efficient utilization of the available fissionable material.

A major program of expansion and improvement of the Hanford plant for plutonium production was started in the fall of the year.

Research, both applied and fundamental, was reorganized and expanded. Increased emphasis in applied, or programmatic, research was placed on the work leading to an assured maximum supply of fissionable materials. With respect to fundamental, or basic, research, a plan and policy was adopted to obtain the greatest possible effort toward restoring the level of fundamental knowledge and replacing and increasing the flow of basic information which in years past came to the United States from a healthy science abroad.

While quantitative measurements of a research program are wholly inadequate, the Commission had more than 100 research contracts or subcontracts in effect during 1947 and inaugurated a $90,000,000 plan for the provision of new research facilities. The major accomplishment in the field of research during 1947, however, was the consolidation of programmatic research projects aimed at urgent objectives and the establishment of a research policy designed to utilize the full scientific potential of the Nation.

The continued production of radioisotopes at the Clinton National Laboratory made possible a Nation-wide program of tracer research in medicine, agriculture, biology, metallurgy, and industrial processing. The Commission does not report on the work done by the many agencies using this important research tool. These agencies are required to publish the results of this work, and some of the most significant advances in human welfare may result from the work done in nearly 300 public and private institutions which last year received more than 1,800 shipments of radioisotopes.

The Commission established a Division of Biology and Medicine to direct the work done in Commission facilities in this field and to effect the proper coordination with the work of other agencies. By year's end, the Division had completed an industrial hygiene survey and laid plans for still further improvement in health protective measures; developed a program for the training of scientists and technicians in medical, biological, and health physics fields; arranged for the operation of two medical and biological training centers to be established by the Commission; and completed plans for the Commission's support of cancer research.

The security of the project has been strengthened. Physical security measures include the establishment of special guard forces, installation of new facilities and equipment, and more adequate controls of classified materials. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has completed more than 40,000 personnel investigations [1] of "char-

[1] Full background investigation.

acter, associations, and loyalty," as required by the act. To insure adequate review of decisions based on evaluation by the Commission of investigative reports, a Personnel Security Review Board headed by former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, was appointed.

The dissemination of scientific and technological data necessary to the growth of American science was continued under the system of declassification established early in 1946. A technical information service for the Commission and contractor organizations was established, and public information service was provided to supply information requested by press, radio, pictorial media, and citizen groups. The availability of security guidance to these media has been helpful in maintaining the security of information.

In appraising the United States atomic energy program, it should be recognized that the basic structure is determined by the location and characteristics of the physical plant built during the war to accomplish the single objective of developing and producing a weapon in the shortest possible time, and by the plans and programs initiated by the Manhattan project prior to the passage of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, including the establishment of the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory and the broad National Laboratories program.

Section II—Raw Materials

The Commission established in October a Division of Raw Materials to plan and carry out the exploration, procurement, and processing program in this field. A group of eight well-known mining men was appointed as an Advisory Committee on Mining and Exploration. Members are:

Donald H. McLaughlin, president, Homestake Mining Co., Lead, S. Dak., chairman.

G. Temple Bridgman, consulting engineer, San Francisco, Calif.

Everette L. DeGolyer, petroleum geologist, DeGolyer & McNaughton, Dallas, Tex.

Anton Gray, geologist, Kennecott Copper Co., New York, N. Y.

Wilber Judson, vice president and director, Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., New York, N. Y.

Robert E. McConnell, trustee, McConnell Foundation, New York, N. Y.

Fred Searls, Jr., president, Newmont Mining Corp., New York, N. Y.

Clyde Williams, director, Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio.

The staff of the Raw Materials Division, composed of mining engineers, geologists, and metallurgists, has recently been recruited.

The supplies of source material used in the atomic energy program to date have come predominantly from certain foreign countries whose uranium deposits are richer than any in the United States. No production of uranium from the United States other than the recovery of byproduct uranium from the vanadium industry of the Colorado Plateau was feasible during the war period. In the field of raw materials, however, as in other fields, the Commission now must plan for the indefinite future in which the requirements of national defense and of peacetime industrial applications of atomic energy will bring unpredictable demands for uranium ores.

One of the objectives of the Division of Raw Materials is to determine the extent of the uranium resources of the United States. A solution to the problem of assuring adequate supplies of fissionable materials is not confined to the discovery and development of ore reserves. Equally important objectives are improvement in the ore refining and recovery processes, development of reactors that will more efficiently utilize the fissionable material with which they are fueled, and the development of processes to utilize uranium contained in materials which now go from the various stages in the process to storage. Intensive research is directed toward each of these goals.

Research is also being directed toward the development of new radiation detection instruments and field prospecting techniques.

DOMESTIC RESOURCES

The first appraisal of domestic reserves of uranium ores was undertaken during the war by the Manhattan Engineer District, which carried on a program of exploration in many parts of the United States.

In addition to exploration, the program included purchase and refining of residue products from current operations of vanadium-ore mills as well as of waste tailings which had accumulated. These were treated for the recovery of their uranium content. In that period vanadium-ore mills were operating at Durango, Uravan, and Naturita, Colo., and Monticello, Utah. Following the war, the Government-owned facilities for treating tailings in residues from these mills were dismantled by the Manhattan Engineer District, and Government-owned plants for processing vanadium ores were declared surplus. Privately owned plants in this area also curtailed or suspended operations. The only operations at the present time are those sustained by Government purchases of vanadium and uranium.

As a result of the Manhattan Engineer District program, deposits of very low-grade ore were discovered. These are now being studied from the point of view of developing methods for the recovery of their uranium content. Their utilization, however, depends upon the solution of difficult and complex research and industrial problems, which for security reasons cannot be described in detail. Exploration for additional deposits is continuing.

The Commission believes new reserves of source materials can best be developed by competitive private industry, under the stimulus of profits, and the means of accomplishing this are under study.

In general it will be Commission policy to purchase ores for its program from private sources and limit direct Government production as far as possible. It is desirable, however, for the Commission itself to carry on certain activities for the purpose of determining the most efficient methods of ore extraction and beneficiation. The Commission recently purchased the vanadium plant at Monticello, Utah, from War Assets Administration and plans to put these facilities into operation after necessary repairs and alterations have been made and an ore stock pile has been accumulated. Consideration will be given to operating or encouraging the operation of other plants in the area.

The scope and extent of the ore-buying program to be recommended will be determined after a survey and full consideration of the entire raw-materials picture. The survey is actively under way. It should be emphasized that mine operators should not make commitments for

supplying ore to the Commission except on the basis of definite contracts or publicly announced purchase schedules.

A raw-materials office has been opened at Grand Junction, Colo., where a new office building will be constructed.

Section III—Production

FISSIONABLE MATERIALS

Production operations are by far the major portion of the total United States atomic-energy program, accounting for about 70 percent of construction expenditures and about 80 percent of operating expenditures. A public report of the Commission's work, however, can reflect only those phases of the production effort which do not reveal operating information.

The year's record of production work is reflected in activities throughout the project, including specific research assignments to the laboratories, improvements in operating techniques, higher standards of quality of materials produced, and construction of new production facilities which take into account both new developments and the deterioration and obsolescence of plants and equipment. While restrictions on information as to production operations are wholly justified and will be maintained, it is clear that effective security really depends upon technological advancement and production achievement.

Processing of source materials

All processing of source materials done at the point of extraction from the earth is under the direction of the Commission's Division of Raw Materials. All subsequent steps, through the reduction to metal and the preparation of feed materials, the separation of fissionable isotopes, production of fissionable materials in reactors, the separation of radioactive materials, and the manufacture of components of weapons are production operations. This work takes place at a number of locations and is coordinated through the Division of Production.

Experience gained in the processing of source materials in the plants of the contractors handling this work has been reflected in both improved quality of product and increased efficiency. The program is demanding an ever-increasing output of feed materials, but unit costs to the Government have been reduced.

The organization for the feed-materials preparation is designed to maintain current production at maximum levels and to insure as far as possible against future contingencies which might reduce the flow of materials to feed isotope separation plants and production reactors. In addition, certain residue materials potentially valuable for other purposes are stored for possible additional processing.

Production of fissionable materials

Immediately prior to the transfer of the properties to the Commission, the Manhattan project began the reduction of operations at the Oak Ridge electromagnetic plant for the separation of fissionable isotope of uranium, U–235, and initiated a program of increased production at the gaseous diffusion plant at Oak Ridge. While much of the production equipment in the electromagnetic plant is maintained in stand-by condition, its powerful magnets and research facilities are used for limited production and process-improvement purposes.

Plutonium is produced by the transmutation of uranium metal in the reactors at Hanford, where facilities are being substantially ex-

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panded, taking into account both new developments and the normal deterioration and obsolescence of this type of facility. The plant additions at Hanford, with necessary residential, administrative, service, technical, and production auxiliaries constitute one of the largest construction programs ever undertaken by the Government in peacetime.

The General Electric Co., contract operator of the Hanford Works, also has the prime contract for the construction program, which will require a greater expenditure of funds than the original building of the plant. The prime contractor has mobilized a strong technical and construction group and under some difficulty has organized the procurement of the many nonstandard items of equipment needed in the plant. Assembly of materials is now under way. Under a carefully planned schedule of work, a construction camp to house some 15,000 workers and their families is nearing completion. Special development work is going on in a number of laboratories, industrial plants, and Government installations.

Quality control

Since the materials used, at every stage of the production process, must be of a purity never before achieved outside the laboratory, an elaborate system of quality control and specification testing is necessary. Every factory supplying materials must maintain testing facilities and constantly analyze the product. The more difficult tests are performed in laboratories of the Commission, the National Bureau of Standards, or in cooperating universities.

A great variety of new instruments has been developed for these purposes and for the detection of radiation, many of which are now proving useful in other kinds of industries and laboratories. To insure a continuing supply for the Commission's work and for others, the manufacture of these instruments is being licensed to commercial firms wherever security considerations will permit.

WEAPON PRODUCTION

The atomic weapons produced during the war were literally laboratory products, experimental devices not only designed but also largely fabricated and assembled by the distinguished scientists who conceived them, in the mesa-top laboratory, at Los Alamos, N. Mex. And with the ending of the war there came an inevitable interval of readjustment during which weapon development was carried on under very difficult conditions. It became clear that for the longer-term operation it was necessary to establish a much broader base for production operations and take steps to insure against "bottlenecking" at any stage.

During its first year, therefore, the Commission's weapon program was directed toward furthering this project, converting the productive system from the unit fabrication of a laboratory device to a different scale of weapon production. This conversion necessitated basic changes in organization and planning for production, handling, and utilization of weapons, with these primary objectives:

Expansion of production facilities, to effect a continuous flow of component parts.

Development of new designs, stemming partly from work done during the war.

Improvement and standardization in the design of component parts.

Standardization of procedures—and provision of standard instructions—for storage and handling.

Progress is being made toward all of these objectives. The continued development of production facilities is being executed in accordance with an over-all plan. In the procurement phases of this work, the assistance of the Army and Navy has been of the highest order. Preliminary plans of the Manhattan project were incorporated in the weapon stabilization program.

PRODUCTION OF ISOTOPES

Artificial radioactive isotopes were first manufactured in cyclotrons, in minute quantities and at very great expense. Now, as a result of the development of atomic energy, there are more than a hundred kinds available for research work, and in adequate quantities—more than adquate, in fact, in view of the number of technicians qualified to use them. Radioisotopes for off-project distribution are produced in the reactor at Clinton National Laboratory, Oak Ridge.

The stable isotopes are separated from their brother atoms in the great magnetic machines built during the war at Oak Ridge to extract the fissionable U–235 isotope from common uranium. The radioactive isotopes are manufactured by irradiation of materials in nuclear reactors constructed for the production of fissionable plutonium or for research. Thus, isotopes are byproducts of the manufacture of the atomic bomb.

But although byproducts, isotopes are generally regarded as the most valuable new research tool since the invention of the microscope. If the development of atomic energy had produced nothing else, its cost would undoubtedly have been balanced within a few years by the gains in knowledge that the Nation is making with isotopes—gains that are already becoming tangible in medicine, chemistry, industry, and agriculture.

The Commission considers it to be of vital importance to make isotopes available to all qualified users in quantities as large as can be profitably used, in variety as great as can be developed, and at the lowest possible cost.

Nearly 2,000 shipments of radioactive isotopes have been made from the Commission's Isotopes Division at Oak Ridge since August 1946, more than 1,600 of them within the past year. Close to 100 different kinds are available. Production and distribution methods have been brought to the point where it is certain that all reasonable future demands can be met. Costs are being reduced rapidly and, for most types, are now well within the range that the average laboratory can afford to pay.

The Commission provides advice on the utilization of radioactive isotopes, together with film badges and other safety equipment, and hopes soon to expand this service to the point where all inexperienced prospective users are instructed in the most productive and safest research techniques.

In September 1947 the President, in a message to the International Cancer Research Congress at St. Louis, announced a program of

foreign distribution of isotopes by the Commission. Twenty varieties, particularly those most important for biological and medical research, are now being made available in limited quantities to foreign laboratories and medical-research groups, upon prior agreement by the recipients to make 6-month reports to the Commission on results obtained and freely permit publication of such results; to use the isotopes only for purposes stated in the original requests; and to permit qualified scientists of all nations to visit their institutions and freely obtain information about the work, in accordance with the best scientific tradition. By the year's end, 20 shipments had been made to foreign users in Argentina, Australia, Denmark, and the United Kingdom. To date, as the result of requests received, the Commission has approved future distribution to Belgium, Canada, Cuba, France, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Sweden, and the Union of South Africa.

Intensive development work in the Oak Ridge electromagnetic separation plant made possible the recent announcement of the availability of more than 100 types of stable (nonradioactive) isotopes for distribution in the United States, and some 200 shipments were made in 1947.

Liaison is maintained with the National Bureau of Standards on radioactivity standards and safety, the United States Department of Agriculture and State agricultural experiment stations on agricultural utilization, the National Research Council on cancer research, and the medical agencies of the armed forces.

A new Committee on Isotope Distribution was named to advise the Commission's Isotopes Division on the most productive and safest distribution, particularly where therapeutic treatment was planned. Members of this advisory committee are:

Dr. G. Failla, of the Columbia University Medical School; chairman.
Dr. H. A. Barker, plant nutrition, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
Dr. Henry Borsook, department of biochemistry, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif.
Dr. Robley D. Evans, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Dr. Hymer L. Friedell, Lakeside Hospital, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dr. J. G. Hamilton, University of California, Berkeley.
Dr. Joseph W. Kennedy, Washington University (St. Louis).
Dr. Robert F. Mehl, Carnegie Institute of Technology.
Dr. Paul C. Aebersold, Chief, Isotopes Division, AEC, Oak Ridge.
Dr. Austin M. Brues, Argonne National Laboratory, Chicago.
Dr. A. H. Holland, Jr., medical adviser, AEC, Oak Ridge.
Dr. L. N. Nims, acting head of department of biology, Brookhaven National Laboratory, Patchogue, Long Island, N. Y.

Details of the distribution and utilization of isotopes are included in appendix 4.

Section IV.—Research and Development

Since submission of its last report to Congress, the Commission has made progress toward reorganization of the atomic energy research program. Recognizing that aggressive and almost contin-

uously changing research, both applied and basic, is vital to the national defense and welfare, the Commission has established a program in accordance with the following major requirements:

1. Concentration of immediately available facilities and personnel on the most urgent problems. This has required selective planning in programmatic or applied research and extensive direction of applied research activities under way at the time of the transfer of the properties.
2. Adequate support and stimulation of fundamental, or basic, research in order to restore the levels of fundamental research activity reduced seriously since the period before the war.
3. Maximum utilization of the national research potential: Governmental, academic, and industrial.
4. Provision for expanding the supply of qualified research personnel.

Within the policy framework, the Commission has directed its current research program in the physical sciences toward increased production and more efficient utilization of fissionable materials and the development of military and nonmilitary applications of atomic energy. Medical and biological research, including health physics, is covered in a separate section of the report.

PROGRAMMATIC RESEARCH

This research report covers the principal areas of research operations in both programmatic (or applied) research and basic research. Under the former is included a discussion of new reactors and of the outlook for useful power from nuclear energy.

Raw materials

A raw-materials research program was designed to assist in the exploration for ore deposits by the most modern methods, improve the efficiency of recovery methods for treating ores, and develop methods capable of beneficiating very low-grade ores. In this work, the Commission has the active assistance of the United States Geological Survey and other Government agencies, private contractors, and educational institutions. Exploration research includes geological investigations to determine the origin of various ore deposits and radiometric experimental work to develop improved methods and instruments for exploration and laboratory analytical procedures. The development work includes the operation of plants adjacent to the ore sources, one of which is now working in the Colorado Plateau region on the extraction of uranium from the low-grade carnotite ores there available.

Feed materials

Intensive research continues in the field of processing of source materials. Changing and tightening of specifications for the feed materials used in reactors requires unceasing study of the properties of the materials involved, the methods and efficiencies of refinement and processing, and the means of improving quality of the final fuel product.

Fissionable material separation

One of the largest and most important phases of research in chemistry and chemical engineering is that directed toward the development

of improved methods for fissionable material separation and purification. Current emphasis is on the development of improved methods of plutonium separation, and on a system for the recovery of fuel materials from reactors now in the design stage.

Weapons research

Problems relating to atomic weapons research and development are dealt with mainly at the Commission's laboratory at Los Alamos.

The Commission's principal goal in this field is the scientific and engineering perfection of improved designs. The past year has seen definite progress toward this goal.

During 1946, a year in which the country abruptly reoriented itself following the end of the war, it was inevitable that much of the technical talent assembled during the war should depart from weapons work. Some of this talent again became available for the work in 1947.

An over-all long-range weapons research program has now been rounded out. Specific projects that had been interrupted are again directed toward tangible ends, and new projects have been instituted. The Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory has been restabilized and has regained an effective scientific "tone." It is the Commission's intention that this laboratory shall be operated in the spirit of a permanent research center. Building construction is now under way to that end.

Proving ground.—Thorough testing of weapons and components under simulated operation conditions is necessary to improved design.

The procurement of materials and the installation of facilities, instrumentation, and other equipment are well under way at Eniwetok Atoll, site of the proving ground mentioned in the Commission's second report to Congress. The purpose of this proving ground will be the testing of atomic weapons from time to time as part of the program of improvement. The scientific and technical operations of the proving ground will provide new fundamental data and a broader understanding of the phenomena of nuclear fission, for peaceful as well as military application of atomic energy.

The major part of the construction program has been undertaken for the Commission by the armed forces. Full security restrictions of the act are in force, and only participating official observers are permitted. Public warning has recently been issued against the entry by nonparticipating individuals into a specified area surrounding the test location. The Security Council of the United Nations has been informed by the United States Department of State, which also officially notified representatives of other nations.

Reactors

1. *General.*—The research and development on nuclear chain reactors is shaped by three primary considerations:

(*a*) Requirements of the Military Establishment.
(*b*) Reactors for research and development purposes.
(*c*) Special and large scale industrial applications.

The work aimed at providing reactors for these purposes does not separate, nor will operation necessarily be independent, even though the reasons for and principal objective of each may be quite distinct.

The requirements of the Military Establishment involve reactors to provide fissionable materials and reactors for military power requirements.

Industrial applications of reactors may be for the large-scale generation of electrical power, for the production of high-temperature-process heat, and for special purposes such as remote stationary power installations or for the irradiation of materials.

At present, reactors under development may combine purposes serving several of the ultimate objectives outlined above. This report on reactor research covers for the most part work on problems common to all reactors, regardless of purpose or, if not common to all reactors, problems which must be answered before specialized applications may be realized.

2. *Working materials.*—The working materials in the construction of reactors fall into six principal categories:

1. Fuel elements.
2. Moderators required to slow the neutrons in reactors utilizing neutrons of low energy.
3. Coolants, required to remove the heat generated by fission within the pile.
4. Structural materials, which form the supporting framework of the reactor, or pile.
5. Shielding, required to confine the intense radiation.
6. Auxiliaries, such as pipes, valves, blowers, pumps, instruments and controls, feeding and removal mechanisms, protective casings for feed materials, and others.

These items cover the engineering problems in the design and construction of piles. The specifications for all of the materials to be used cover: Neutron absorption characteristics; resistance to corrosion; chemical and physical stability under high temperature and intense radiation; and workability into shapes which will withstand high internal and external pressures of liquids or gases, and other stresses.

Sufficient research progress has been made on a number of these problems to permit the design of medium high-temperature reactors using various coolants and with several variations in the moderator. These reactors may be operated at temperatures high enough to produce power on an experimental basis. One of such should be in operation by the end of 1950, and perhaps earlier.

3. *Reactors for military use.*—Studies of reactors for military power requirements are presently carried out by the Department of the Air Forces and by the Department of the Navy. The Commission is cooperating with these programs.

4. *Research and development reactors.*—Many of the problems encountered in finding the working materials for the construction of reactors involve the use of reactors themselves in testing and developing such working materials and auxiliary equipment. In addition to the reactors at Hanford, the Commission has available two reactors at Los Alamos, two at Argonne National Laboratory, and one at Oak Ridge.

These reactors are excellent for the various purposes for which they are used: To produce plutonium, to produce isotopes, and for research. No one of them produces usable power and no one of them operates at a high temperature. The "fast" reactor at Los Alamos uses plutonium as its nuclear fuel. The others are uranium reactors, operating at relatively low temperature.

Construction was started this year on a uranium, graphite-moderated, air-cooled reactor for research purposes at Brookhaven National Laboratory. This will provide much-needed research facilities in the Northeastern United States. Basically similar to the existing reactor at Clinton National Laboratory, the new Brookhaven reactor will be somewhat more powerful. It should be in operation within a year.

Argonne National Laboratory has completed the design and is nearly ready to start construction of an important new type of reactor. It may be operated at temperatures sufficiently high to make possible production of useful power.

A special type of reactor is under design at the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory operated for the Commission by the General Electric Co. at Schenectady. This reactor will be similar in purpose to the new Argonne reactor but will be of different design. The new Knolls reactor will provide further information on coolants and will permit special studies of both components and power production.

Clinton National Laboratory at Oak Ridge has carried to an advanced stage the design of a high-flux reactor for general research and development purposes. The specification calls for a neutron intensity far greater than those now available and will include provisions for testing reactor components at high temperatures. It will be a most important research and development tool for the entire reactor program, and will be constructed at Argonne National Laboratory.

General power reactors have been studied at Clinton National Laboratory for many months. The primary objectives of this work is to survey the possible usefulness of a wide range of reactors and components. The studies completed thus far constitute an important store of knowledge of the power problem, and particularly of components and auxiliaries.

5. *"Breeding"*.—Underlying the entire field of atomic energy today, or, more specifically, the utilization of nuclear energy through the chain reaction process, is the problem of the availability of fissionable materials. This availability depends not only on the actual stores in the earth's surface, but on the time and energy consumed in obtaining them in quantities sufficient to permit full-scale development of atomic energy. These are limiting factors which it is believed can be removed only by an intensive long-range scientific and engineering effort.

In this discussion of research on the reactor program, it should be kept in mind that intensive research is going on in the field of reduction and processing of ores for the feed materials upon which reactors depend. Solution to the problem of assuring adequate supplies of fissionable materials may lie in one or more of several directions: (1) Discovery of new deposits of ores; (2) improvement in the recovery processes; (3) development of new recovery processes for different types of source material, and (4) development of the nuclear reactor for more efficient utilization of the available fissionable material.

Research is under way in each of these fields. One important line of work in the direction of improved reactors is aimed at development of a "breeder" type of reactor. This is a nuclear chain reactor which over a period of time will actually create more fissionable material than is put into the reactor as fuel to sustain the reaction.

The word "fuel," when used in this connection, denotes the fissionable material put into the reactor as a source of energy and the source of neutrons on which the fission process depends. The material which is put into the reactor for conversion or transmutation into fissionable material is known as fertile material. The fuel is consumed through fission, which at the same time may create new fissionable material from the fertile material, as a result of the absorption of neutrons by the fertile material. If more fissionable material is thus produced than is consumed, there would be a net gain of fissionable material, or a "breeding" of the fuel.

The significance of the breeder type of reactor is directly related to questions of the stores of uranium and thorium in the earth's surface and the problems of their recovery and use, whether economic, political, or technological. Both the military and industrial potential of atomic energy justify the effort to solve the problems of "breeding."

The process of the accumulation of fuel through operation of a breeder-type reactor may be likened to the compounding of interest on money. In this analogy, the reactor is a bank. The initial stock of fuel can be compared to the capital which the depositor puts into a savings account. That capital—in this case fissionable material—is put to work producing power. But at the same time, additional fissionable material (interest on the capital) is accumulating and therefore increasing the original capital, just as compound interest increases the depositor's capital in savings account.

6. *Power.*—Because of the relationship between the rate of reproduction of fuel in a breeder and the power of the reactor, the development of breeders and of reactors for power will go hand in hand. There is, in effect, a complete interlocking of the scientific and engineering problems of the breeder and the power reactor, with both heavily influenced by our ability at any given time to procure, recover, and process efficiently and with reasonable economy the required fuels.

The generation of significant amounts of useful power from nuclear energy depends upon no single factor of availability or utilization of fissionable materials, but upon a complex pattern of developments in the fields of exploration and processing of raw materials, reactor working materials, chemical separation systems, and reactor design and operating techniques. The development work to be done in these fields and the periods of time required to produce usable amounts of new fuel through "breeding," introduce a time factor measured in years into any discussion as to when nuclear energy can make a significant contribution to the supply of power now available from other sources.

It was with these facts in mind that the Chairman of the Commission expressed the Commission's views on these prospects in an address before the Detroit Economic Club on October 6, stating that "the first commercially practical atomic power plant is not just around the corner, not around two corners," and that a common estimate of the time schedule for the development of nuclear power "is from 8 to 10 years to overcome the technical difficulties and have a useful, practical demonstration plant in operation."

A reasoned view of the prospects for significant amounts of useful power from nuclear energy—at least for limited practical applica-

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tions—is an encouraging one. But the timetable extends through two decades.

In a recent paper discussing the scientific and engineering problems of power, the General Advisory Committee said:

> Assuming even a most favorable and rapid technical development along these lines a word of caution is needed as to time scale. We do not see how it would be possible under the most favorable circumstances to have any considerable portion of the present power supply of the world derived from nuclear fuel before the expiration of 20 years.

BASIC RESEARCH

Future developments in atomic energy will depend on new knowledge—not only new knowledge of nuclear forces and general nuclear behavior, but new knowledge in all of the supporting sciences: Chemistry, metallurgy, physics, health physics, biology, etc. This knowledge will be the product of basic research, which at the same time will provide opportunities for the training of scientists and technicians.

Basic research is carried on in AEC facilities as well as in other Government and university laboratories. AEC laboratories conduct all basic research involving reactors and other fundamental studies required to give balance to the program.

Arrangements are being made with the Office of Naval Research for joint sponsorship of a wide range of basic research in a program which will insure efficient utilization of facilities, personnel, and results.

Basic research was expanded during 1947 in the fields of physics, chemistry, and metallurgy. Much of this work is being done in Commission facilities where reactors are available, and includes studies of nuclear properties of elements important to reactor, weapon, and other work; the chemistry of the transuranic elements and of radioactive materials; and the metallurgy of both fuel elements and reactor working materials.

Basic studies of the interaction of elementary particles are being done chiefly through the use of particle accelerators.

The principal facilities where basic work is under way are:

Argonne National Laboratory, Chicago, Ill.
Batelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio.
Brookhaven National Laboratory, Patchogue, Long Island, N. Y.
Clinton National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tenn.
Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
Radiation laboratory, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
United States Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.

Nuclear reactions investigated in cyclotrons

The operation under contract with the Commission of the 184-inch cyclotron at the radiation laboratory, University of California, has provided a source of alpha particles and deuterons with which to investigate nuclear structure. So-called "spallation" or splintering reactions, have been observed, in which as many as 15 primary particles have been ejected from the nucleus of a single heavy element subjected to bombardment.

Fission can also be induced in certain heavy nuclei by high energy alpha particles and deuterons, and has been observed in bismuth, lead, thallium, platinum, and tantalum.

The cyclotron has indicated the existence of the so-called "exchange forces" operating between protons and neutrons in the atomic nucleus and has thus made a step toward answering the question of what holds the nuclear particles together.

Linear accelerator

A new linear accelerator designed for accelerating protons, was built at the University of California and operated to produce protons with an energy of 32,000,000 electron volts.

Research reactors

New radioactive substances and concentrated beams of neutrons are produced in the Commission's experimental nuclear reactors now available to the research workers at Oak Ridge, Los Alamos, and Chicago. Such reactor products are now indispensable to the fundamental investigation of materials. Other new experimental reactors—especially, the one now under construction at the AEC Brookhaven Laboratory—will still further expand the area of basic research which can be carried out with neutron beams.

Trans-uranic elements

While physicists explore the interior of the atom, chemists in many of the Commission's laboratories are studying its behavior as a whole—how the newly created elements combine with, and react upon, the materials that are already understood. To utilize new materials, or to make new use of familiar materials, understanding of their chemical behavior is essential. All of the "trans-uranic elements," such as neptunium, plutonium, americium, and curium hitherto nonexistent upon earth, are still largely mysteries.

Rare earths

The rare earth elements, a group comprising those from atomic No. 57 (lanthanum) through atomic No. 71 (lutecium), have long been practically unavailable for physical and chemical research except as mixtures of the group. Separation of individual rare earth elements is extremely difficult because of their chemical similarity.

The development of special methods for chemical separations of radioactive isotopes has led to the successful application of these methods to the problem of rare-earth separation, and as a result, the individual differences in these elements can now be systematically explored and both their physical and chemical properties determined.

Synthesis of organic compounds labeled with carbon–14

Radioactive carbon-14 has been available for the last year to laboratories in this country through the Isotopes Division of the Commission. It is now available also for foreign distribution. Since carbon is an element contained in all organic compounds, its chemical behavior plays an exceedingly important role in all plant and animal processes and in all synthetic organic chemical researches.

To be useful, however, the carbon atom must be incorporated, or synthesized, into a molecule so constituted that it will undergo the organic reactions under study. To aid research in the application of carbon-14 to such problems, many organic "intermediates" or basic compounds more suitable as starting materials have been synthesized in Commission laboratories, and these compounds are being used to

study many biological problems and to investigate the exceedingly important plant process of photosynthesis. It is expected that several such compounds will be available soon for distribution. One, methanol, is currently being distributed.

Publications

One measure of the contribution to basic research during the past year in laboratories working under the auspices of the Commission is the volume of publications and reports which have been issued. The subjects covered embrace many of the fields of interest in the Nation's atomic energy program excepting only those aspects of atomic energy research that cannot be discussed publicly at the present time.

Current work is covered for the most part in nearly 3,000 reports in the fields of chemistry, physics, metallurgy, biology and health, and others.

Section V—Biology and Medicine

During its first year of operation, the Commission—while encouraging and assisting wherever possible the research work already in progress and undertaking such work in its own laboratories—laid the groundwork for a Nation-wide program of biological and medical research and education. The major steps taken were:

1. *Appointment of a Medical Board of Review, composed of seven experienced scientists in the field of biological and medical research.*

In June 1947 the Commission requested the President of the National Academy of Sciences to nominate a panel of qualified advisers to review the medical and biological aspects of the program. This Medical Board of Review recommended the continuance and expansion of research and training in the various fields, appointment of a permanent advisory group, and establishment of a broad training program.

2. *Appointment of a permanent Advisory Committee for Biology and Medicine.*

This committee, appointed in September 1947 is composed of seven distinguished scientists in the various medical and biological fields and convenes at monthly intervals at the various installations in an unusually active advisory capacity. The committee is composed of the following members:

Dr. Alan Gregg, director for medical sciences, Rockefeller Foundation, New York City; chairman.

Dr. G. W. Beadle, division of biology, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif.

Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, director of the Johnson Research Foundation, University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Ernest W. Goodpasture, dean of the school of medicine and professor of pathology, Vanderbilt University.

Dr. Baird Hastings, professor of biochemistry, Harvard Medical School.

Dr. E. C. Stakman, chief, division of plant pathology and botany, University of Minnesota.

Dr. Joseph T. Wearn, dean of the school of medicine, Western Reserve University.

3. *Establishment within the Commission's Washington headquarters of a Division of Biology and Medicine.*

The Division will correlate the medical and biological research programs related to atomic energy in the Commission's, in other Government, and in private laboratories; initiate needed investigations and review all contracts entered into and allocations of funds for research; and direct for the Commission its health physics work and industrial hygiene activities.

4. *Arrangement with the National Research Council for joint sponsorship of the Council's Committee on Atomic Casualties, which will make a long-range study of the effects of atomic bombing on Japanese survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.*

The study of the actual effects—immediate and long-term—of exposure of human beings to an atomic bomb is one of our most important sources of information for the future. Besides the effects on general physiological functions, the relations of genetics and cancer are primary concerns. The president directed the National Research Council to undertake this study and authorized the cooperation of Government agencies.

5. *Maximum development of the production and distribution of isotopes for medical and biological investigations and the appointment of a Committee on Isotopes Distribution composed of experts in the field.*

Radioactive isotopes continued to hold the center stage in medical and biological research. With these tools, for example, new methods of treating heart dropsy were developed and encouraging results were obtained in various disorders of the blood. (See sec. III, Production.)

6. *Support of research through the administrative organization of the Office of Naval Research.*

7. *Planning of a fellowship program for the training of personnel for atomic energy work in medical and biological fields.* (See sec. VII, Training and Information.)

8. *Formulation of a cancer program, in accordance with the policy of assisting established medical research to explore the application of atomic energy to the various aspects of cancer treatment.*

The Commission's cancer program, developed in 1947, includes special assistance for cancer research at such institutions as the New York Memorial Hospital, Harvard University, and the University of California; the development in the Commission's laboratories of radioactive materials for cancer treatment; and the provision of beds for selected cancer patients in hospitals at the Clinton, Brookhaven, and Los Alamos Laboratories, and elsewhere.

9. *Authorization of funds for building and equipping a medical and biological training and research center at the University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.*

These new facilities will permit the extension of the medical and biological research program conducted for the Government at this institution and particularly of the work now being done under contract with the Commission, centering around the medical and biochemical aspects of radioactive substances and processes.

THE MEDICAL AND BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

The Commission through 1947 had research contracts with the University of California, Columbia University, Harvard University,

the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Rochester, providing for research not only on the biological effects of radiations and radioactive materials but also in the utilization of isotopes for the investigation of life processes in plants and animals. A great many other institutions in all parts of the country conducted similar work.

At various of the Commission's own installations, intensive work was carried out in these fields—at the Clinton National Laboratory, studies on the effects of atomic energy on hereditary traits and other biological phenomena, and at the Argonne National Laboratory, extensive toxicologic studies on the various products of fission of the nucleus. This latter study revealed new methods of producing tumors experimentally and thereby provided new avenues in cancer research. At Los Alamos, N. Mex., several drugs and vitamins were made radioactive and studied in the human body, and methods of treatment of radiation sickness were evaluated. The Brookhaven National Laboratory started to investigate the relation of atomic energy to cancer and to carry out basic research.

The initial task of the Commission in 1947, and specifically of its Division of Biology and Medicine and the Advisory Committee, was to inventory the research and educational work now going on in this field, select the areas where the effort should be stimulated, and take positive action—by assistance through contracts, participation in the work of other institutions, the construction of facilities, and the establishment of laboratories—to enlarge and coordinate the national program. This work continues.

INDUSTRIAL HEALTH

Unprecedented safety measures have been developed to meet the equally unprecedented hazards to health involved in the atomic energy production process—from the novel respirators used for uranium work to the remote control "fingers" used by the Los Alamos operator who views his work through television.

Many of the materials that must be handled are organically poisonous, aside from any danger of radiation. Protective measures must be based upon an understanding of why the materials are toxic and a determination of tolerance standards. These investigations were carried out during 1947 at a score of universities and medical institutions and Government and industrial laboratories, and have resulted in more effective utilization of protective clothing, respirators, dust-removing systems, cleaning methods, and analytical techniques for the continuous testing for danger.

Investigations of the effects of radiations on living things are still so new and tentative that they have the character of a search after fundamental knowledge. But the application of health physics cannot wait the results of this search; therefore, the safety measures adopted against radiation are now largely of the kind that can be instituted without the guidance of well-established standards. The policy has been to take no chances. A small fraction of what is calculated to be the minimum safe tolerance dose has been the limit for workers. Shielding—of reactors, particle accelerators, and radioactive materials—has been designed with ample safety factors.

The Commission's Offices of Directed Operations maintain medical divisions to coordinate safety operations in contractor's plants. A

remarkable safety record has been achieved in 1947 throughout the Commission's organization. (See sec. IX, Organization and Administration.)

Section VI—Engineering and Construction

The construction and engineering work required during the early years of the peacetime development of atomic energy represents a very large proportion of the total development expenditure in the current phase of the program. The work has accelerated rapidly. In early 1947 there were broad program determinations and detailed planning. Actual new construction got under way in the summer of 1947.

Production plants and facilities are taking by far the largest share of construction effort in this stage. Indirectly, production requirements are the occasion for a substantial share of the extensive construction of housing and community facilities.

CONSTRUCTION NOW UNDER WAY

Production facilities

A large share of all construction undertaken in 1947 was at Hanford in preparation for the building of production facilities in the period immediately ahead. A construction camp to accommodate 15,000 men was nearly complete by the year's end. Progress of this project was greatly accelerated by the acquisition, through the War Assets Administration, of a completely equipped Navy hospital with 65 buildings, barracks, and various types of service equipment, which was moved to the camp site in North Richland.

Also at Hanford, new storage facilities for process materials were completed in 1947, and additional facilities went into an advanced design stage. A great variety of preparatory alteration and construction of operating and maintenance facilities—office buildings, machine and carpenter shops, warehouses, and other service structures—was continually in progress through the year.

Construction of research facilities

Nearest to completion of major research facilities is the new metallurgy building on the campus of Iowa State College at Ames, one of the Commission's most important research and development centers for metallurgy. The laboratory, fully equipped to apply the new techniques in this field, and for the study of production processes of uranium and thorium, was started during the year and is now about half complete. The property on which it stands has been leased by the State of Iowa to the Federal Government for 99 years. Another project brought close to completion during 1947 was a developmental laboratory at Miamisburg, Ohio.

In the radiation laboratory of the University of California at Berkeley, a new synchrotron is under construction in a recently completed special building.

At the Commission's Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory at Schenectady, a $15,000,000 construction program, begun in August 1947, is 10 percent complete. A 70,000-square-foot building in Schenectady, acquired from the War Department, was converted to the use of laboratories, shops, and offices previously crowded into inadequate space in the General Electric plant.

Construction of housing and community facilities

The Government community at Los Alamos, which now has a permanent population of nearly 8,000, was built during the war in an isolated and physically confined area, a piece at a time, as needed to meet the urgent and secret demands of the weapon program. Living conditions, as a result, are far below the standard acceptable, on a long-term basis, to the scientists and other workers and their families who must now make their homes at the critically important project; and furthermore, maintenance costs of the hastily constructed community are abnormally high. During 1947, therefore, an emergency program of community renovation was pushed with all possible speed. A generating plant, sewage-disposal system, and several markets, shops, and warehouses were completed, and roads and street additions are well under way. Other town buildings and stores were about half completed. About 550 permanent houses were finished, and another group of 113 living units in houses and apartments was about one-quarter done. Installation of an improved water system was undertaken. Additionally, a great deal of remodeling and renovating of existing facilities was accomplished during 1947.

At Oak Ridge, population 35,000, a construction program to provide immediately needed public works, safety installations, and school facilities was about 60 percent complete at the close of the year.

At Hanford, a $14,000,000 permanent housing project was about one-fifth completed.

ENGINEERING AND PLANNING

Engineering and design of facilities to be constructed in the expanding program of 1948 went ahead in 1947 under more than a score of major contracts. Most of these plans were developed to the stage where actual construction would soon begin.

Planning of production facilities

Engineering work at Hanford involves every kind of planning required in the preparation for a construction project that is big by any peacetime—or wartime—standards, and expansion of the town into a good-sized city. Contracts were let for the enlargement of electric power and telephone facilities; plans were completed on projected railroad and highway connections, both of which will bridge the Yakima River to reach the project. Heavy construction equipment sufficient to meet 80 percent of future needs was obtained from other Government agencies. About $5,000,000 worth of building materials and equipment was obtained from the War Assets Administration and about $11,000,000 worth from the Army, Navy, and Department of the Interior. The Pasco Army Depot was obtained by transfer from the War Department to provide space for receiving and storage of construction materials.

Los Alamos is the center of an expanded production program, which will require the expenditure of more than $23,000,000 during the next fiscal year.

Planning of research facilities

Plans were well advanced in 1947 for full-scale construction—to get under way in 1948—on the two new National Laboratory establishments that the Commission will build: Argonne, in Du Page County

outside Chicago; Brookhaven, on the site of the former Camp Upton at Patchogue, Long Island. Contracts for the construction of both laboratories were let, and design was carried to an advanced stage.

At Brookhaven, ground was broken in August 1947 for the construction of the experimental reactor that will make the laboratory a center of nuclear physics research in the Northeast. Design of the reactor was completed, and construction begun. Design of laboratory buildings was completed.

The contract for the design and construction of the Argonne National Laboratory, was let in May 1947 to the University of Chicago, which in turn entered into subcontracts for architectural, engineering, construction, and management services. Actual construction is scheduled to begin in the spring of 1948, and the entire installation is scheduled for completion in 1950.

Planning of housing and community facilities

Community development at the Government atomic energy production and research center at Oak Ridge involves long-term planning for an efficient and livable city of 35,000 people or more. The Commission in 1947 started the preparation of a master plan to provide for city development on a sound and economical basis. The plan has four phases: The preparation of maps showing geographical and environmental features of the area and present utilization; analysis of present utilization; development of plans for improved utilization, prepared with full attention to the functional relationships of each land-use area to the others and the most advantageous location of housing, community, school, and all other permanent facilities; and finally, the development with Government authorities of definitive plans covering zoning, transport, utilities, recreational features, and other necessities of city government.

Similar long-range studies were started at Hanford and Los Alamos. A 114-bed community hospital, for Los Alamos, was approved by the Federal Bureau of Hospitalization; plans and specifications will be entirely completed by May 1948. The hospital will have a wing set aside for medical research, where selected cancer patients will be provided with care and treatment without charge, as part of one of the Commission's cancer research programs.

Section VII—Training and Information

TRAINING

An inseparable part of the Commission's responsibility for the development of atomic energy relates to the training of men who will do the work. During 1947 a fellowship program was developed in the Division of Biology and Medicine, designed to train qualified persons for careers in the medical and biological aspects of atomic energy. The Commission will finance the program and establish the operating policies and training goals to be met. Actual administration, including selection of candidates, will be undertaken by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, which has had broad experience in the administration of fellowship programs. The AEC has budgeted approximately $1,000,000 for the first year.

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Fellowships

The initial fellowships will be distributed among three broad classes of candidates:

Doctors of medicine.

Doctors of philosophy in the biological sciences.

Bachelors of science and of arts, who will receive training in health physics and related subjects.

Post-doctoral fellowships will extend for a period of 2 years, with annual stipends, depending upon marital status, commensurate with other fellowship programs. Graduate training in health physics will extend for a period of 1 year or longer depending upon the qualifications of the candidate and his need or desire for additional training.

It is anticipated that fellows trained under the program will become leaders in future development of medical and biological education in the atomic energy field. An opportunity to utilize their training at AEC research and production centers will be offered, although the fellows will not be committed to such work. Insofar as possible, they will be afforded an opportunity to elect the type of training desired and the means by which it will be obtained, and will have a certain amount of latitude in selecting the universities or laboratories at which their studies will be pursued.

Selection of institutions will depend in part upon geographical location and in part upon availability of adequate educational and physical facilities. Special consideration will be given institutions in which it is possible to integrate medical and biological training with physics, chemistry, and mathematics. Since conditions allowing this combination are limited, special facilities are being provided at the Commission's regional laboratories and at certain universities. However, fellowship training will not be limited to these institutions. Fellows may receive all or part of their training at other laboratories, universities, hospitals, or foundations having necessary facilities.

Results of work carried out by a fellow will be available to the public through approved scientific channels, without restriction, except as may be required for reasons of security.

A similar plan for research fellowships in the physical sciences is under development.

Other training

The three national laboratories at Chicago, Oak Ridge, and Patchogue, Long Island, with their total of 52 associated universities are important training as well as research centers. The broad base of participation in atomic energy research by academic institutions is in itself important from an educational standpoint. All of the research programs at educational institutions are training programs as well.

THE NATIONAL LABORATORIES

The Commission has three national laboratories, established to provide a common ground for teamwork in research and training between the Nation's private educational institutions and the Government.

In section 1, under the title of "Purpose," the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 makes the Commission responsible for:

> A program of assisting and fostering private research and development to encourage maximum scientific progress; and * * *

A program of federally conducted research and development to assure the Government of adequate scientific and technical accomplishment. * * *

To some extent this objective, of scientific and technical advancement, is being pursued individually by the universities and the Government, but there is an unmistakable need also for large-scale continuance of the cooperative effort that proved so enormously fruitful in wartime. The universities have—and must have—the major share of scarce scientific manpower today; the students essential to tomorrow's progress; and the tradition of effective fundamental research and education. The Commission has a Nation-wide program directed toward the ends specified in the act, and the facilities and the tremendously expensive equipment—reactors and particle accelerators, for instance—that must be used. Obviously, both groups of resources must be used if the program is to produce the greatest results.

The National Laboratory program was developed during 1947 to combine these sources of strength; at the three laboratories, at Chicago, Oak Ridge, and Patchogue, Long Island, a total of 52 universities and institutions are cooperating in scientific research and education. (See appendix 3 for names of cooperating institutions.)

Argonne National Laboratory is successor to the Metallurgical Laboratory established early in the war for atomic energy development at the University of Chicago, where the first operating nuclear reactor was built. It is still operated for the Commission by the university; and 29 participating Midwest institutions are represented on the Council. Argonne is today the center for the Commission's reactor development program and all the research and development accessory to it—reactor theory and design, study, and development of necessary materials and components, and general coordination of the Nationwide effort. It has two operating reactors and extensive facilities for the use of its 10 divisions: Biology, chemistry, health physics, instrument research and development, mass spectroscopy and crystal structure, medical, metallurgy, experimental physics, theoretical physics, and reactor research and development. A good deal of fundamental research is conducted in most of these divisions. The laboratory, now scattered over the campus of the University of Chicago, is to be consolidated at a single Government site. Land is being acquired in Du Page County, and designs are under way.

The *Clinton National Laboratory* at Oak Ridge is an outgrowth of the huge wartime development of the production of fissionable materials at this location. Laboratory facilities include more than a hundred buildings equipped with a great variety of specialized equipment and an experimental reactor. In addition to much work in physics, metallurgy, and biology, the laboratory serves as a center for the Commission's Nation-wide program of chemical and chemical engineering research, both basic and programmatic, with emphasis upon industrial applications. From this laboratory, the Commission's Isotopes Division distributes to all parts of the country and abroad the experimental isotopes produced in its reactor and in the electromagnetic separation plant located at Oak Ridge.

Cooperating with the Clinton National Laboratory are 14 southern universities, combined, under charter from the State of Tennessee, into the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies, under contract to the Commission for extensive research and training. The institute has developed several programs. The graduate training program

permits selected graduate students from various universities to complete their thesis research by work done at Oak Ridge; during the 1947 fall semester 198 students registered for courses in chemistry, chemical engineering, mathematics, physics, and zoology. A supplementary graduate training program enables regular employees of the local operating contractors to continue work while studying subjects required for their theses at Oak Ridge instead of going elsewhere. The school of nuclear science of the institute provides advanced study at the post-doctorate level in special problems related to nuclear reactor development. The research participation program will make it possible for scientific staff members of educational institutions to take part in the research programs of the operating contractors. Also, the institute will conduct a special school in radioactive tracer techniques, beginning in the summer of 1948.

Brookhaven National Laboratory at Patchogue, Long Island, was established to enlist the scientific cooperation of the great educational institutions of the Northeast. It is operated by Associated Universities, Inc., a corporation formed by nine universities of the region, and is being provided with a full range of laboratory equipment, sufficient to supply the needs of advanced work in the atomic energy aspects of physics, chemistry, biology, and medicine, including a nuclear reactor and a number of particle accelerators. A staff of about 140 scientists from universities, industrial research laboratories, and other institutions was appointed to the laboratory; and in addition about 180 consultants agreed to assist the work. Conferences on subjects connected with the research are regularly held and were attended during 1947 by close to 1,000 scientists.

A major purpose of the laboratory is to provide exceptional facilities to young scientists for training in nuclear research. Although Brookhaven neither awards degrees nor grants academic credit, selected graduate students are permitted to carry out their doctorate investigations, using its special facilities.

PUBLIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION

Directly supporting not only the research and training activities of the Commission's facilities, but also the work of educational and industrial institutions throughout the country, is the provision of technical information on work done in the atomic energy program.

The Commission established late in 1947 a unified Public and Technical Information Service to insure, in accordance with the Atomic Energy Act, adequate control and dissemination of the information that is the lifeblood of scientific and engineering progress—and of public understanding of that progress and its implications. The Public and Technical Information Service combines five interdependent functions relating to the control and dissemination of information:

1. Preparation, reproduction, and controlled distribution within the project of classified reports to personnel requiring such information.
2. Declassification through analysis by qualified scientific reviewers of material which then becomes available for public use.
3. Editing, preparation, and reproduction of technical information materials, including indices, abstracts, project reports, and declassified papers.

4. Security guidance service—aid to publishers, editors, reporters, broadcasters, leaders of citizen groups, or others issuing material relating to atomic energy—in order to prevent compromise of restricted data; and assistance to contractors of the Commission and other agencies of Government to safeguard restricted data.

5. Public information service—assisting representatives of the press, radio, picture services, citizen and trade organizations, and educational agencies, in obtaining the full range of declassified and unclassified data currently available from the national atomic energy program.

Declassification of information

The declassification system developed under the Manhattan District and continued under the Atomic Energy Commission during 1947 received some 1,200 documents for declassification. Of those, the 120 scientists and engineers serving as reviewers recommended declassification and general release of over 1,000, after the making of necessary changes and deletions. A number of these declassified documents have been published in scientific and technical journals and have also been made available to the public through the Office of Technical Services of the United States Department of Commerce.

In order to insure uniform application of declassification policies with respect to information shared by the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, as a result of their combined wartime efforts, and in the interests of maintaining maximum security of information, the Commission arranged a 3-day conference between representatives of the atomic energy agencies of the three nations in November 1947. The conference was concerned with the application of uniform declassification policies for atomic energy information. Discussions were limited to technical data held jointly by the participating nations as a result of their cooperation during the war. Canada and the United Kingdom now use the Declassification Guide developed in the United States and made available to them in April of 1946.

Technical information

Congress in the Atomic Energy Act recognized that—

> the dissemination of scientific and technical information relating to atomic energy should be permitted and encouraged so as to provide that free exchange of ideas and criticisms which is essential to scientific progress.

The system for providing information to the scientific and technical community, both inside and outside the Commission and its contractors' organizations, developed extensively during the year.

Of prime importance in this program is the distribution of restricted data originating within the atomic energy project to those within the project who have need of such information and are authorized to receive it. In 1947, an average of 50 copies each of 3,000 such classified reports were distributed in accordance with distribution lists carefully compiled. Each laboratory received those categories of information it needed for the successful accomplishment of its program. In addition to this routine distribution, 34,000 individual copies of such reports were distributed to laboratories requiring them, after careful screening to insure that no unnecessary distribution of restricted information resulted.

To insure that project laboratories have access to all information in the field of atomic energy which originates outside the atomic energy project, a continuing Guide to Published Research on Atomic Energy and allied fields was prepared in the Technical Information Service by assembling abstracts in this field from all of the published abstract journals. During the year, 2,223 such abstracts were assembled and circulated throughout the Commission's contractor groups.

In order to make certain that all project scientists have access to the information contained in the Research and Development Reports prepared at each laboratory, the Technical Information Service prepares abstracts of each of these reports that can be circulated to all project laboratories; 507 such abstracts were prepared and incorporated in the Abstracts of Research and Development Reports which was issued monthly during the year. This publication is classified Secret.

To furnish adequate reference service for the mass of information contained in the 18,000 individual classified research and development reports deposited in the Commission's libraries, an extensive card index system was developed by the Technical Information Branch; 906,000 index cards were prepared and distributed in the past year.

Over the past year also, nearly 1,700 individual declassified documents were distributed, including those declassified prior to January 1947. So that the information contained in these documents would be of maximum usefulness to the scientific community, the documents were reproduced and distributed to project laboratories, Government agencies, and 150 depositories of the Library of Congress, and were made available to the public through the Office of Technical Services of the Department of Commerce. Nearly 162,000 copies of these documents were distributed.

A program was instituted to make the information in these declassified documents more readily accessible through abstracts, 700 of which have now been prepared for the same distribution as the documents themselves.

Much progress was made toward completion of the National Nuclear Energy Series, a 110-volume compilation of scientific treatises based primarily on research in the field of atomic energy conducted under Government auspices. By the year's end, material for six volumes had been declassified and prepared for reproduction and public sale. An additional 20 classified volumes are ready for reproduction and distribution within the project. The Commission entered into a contract with Columbia University to handle the publication of the series, and it is expected that a publisher will be announced shortly. The first issuance of the National Nuclear Energy Series will be known as the Manhattan Project Technical Section, covering work done under the Manhattan project. Approximately half of the total number of volumes are expected to be declassifiable and available for public use and will aggregate approximately 25,000 pages.

Public information

In response to the very great public interest in and concern with the progress of the Nation's atomic energy development program, the media of public communication and information during 1947 continually devoted large amounts of space and time to reporting all that could be reported on the program, explaining the basic nature of atomic

energy, and counseling readers and listeners on public policy toward control and use of this new force. At the Commission's offices in Washington and the five Offices of Directed Operations, there was a mounting volume of demand by reporters, editors, broadcasters, picture men, and leaders of citizen groups, for information from the Commission and for guidance on the security aspects of information on atomic energy obtained elsewhere.

To meet this demand the Commission authorized a small public information staff—four professional employees in Washington and one at each of the five Offices of Directed Operations. Through the declassification system this staff obtained for all who asked such service—writers, publishers, periodicals, newspapers, broadcasters, citizen groups—judgment on whether copy proposed for publication contained restricted data. The volume of requests for such service grew steadily. It was—and is—evident that the public communications media of the Nation desire overwhelmingly to avoid harm to the national defense and security through publication of restricted data. There is a heavy continuing demand for security guidance service in Washington and at the Offices of Directed Operations.

Security guidance service constituted only a part of the public information requests handled by the Commission's offices. An even larger volume of requests called for positive information, declassified or unclassified, to be used as news, in radio broadcasts, in books, pamphlets, periodicals, or talks by a great range of people. Additionally, the Commission issued at its Washington office 75 statements for press and radio giving the facts about new developments in the national atomic energy development program. Through such public releases the Commission is able to discharge to some small extent the public accountability which rests upon all Government agencies and which is especially important in the case of an agency under heavy security restrictions.

The public demand for information direct from Commissioners and staff members through talks upon numerous occasions was far greater than could be satisfied, and only a small fraction of the requests could be filled.

It is the Commission's hope that the contractor organizations and the associated universities and colleges will redouble their efforts to provide speakers, visual materials, etc., to help satisfy this intense and extensive public demand for basic information on atomic energy and the progress of the national program for its development. The Commission's own activities in this field were small in 1947 and will be on a limited scale in the future. This educational need can and should be met by the press, the radio, the schools and colleges, and the organized groups of the country.

The extent and the urgency of the demand for both security guidance and positive information service from the publishing group in the United States was indicated by three developments of the last quarter of the year: (1) The appointment by the American Society of Newspaper Editors of a special committee on atomic energy to develop recommendations for editors and for the Commission on how to give fullest service to readers on atomic energy development and at the same time to avoid breaches of security; (2) the appointment of a special committee on atomic energy by the American Textbook Publishers' Institute to speed the development of textbooks dealing

with this field; (3) the appointment of a special committee by the Association of Secondary School Principals to develop a broad program for school and community education in the fundamentals of atomic energy development and control through a project called "Operation atomic vision."

The membership of these three groups is as follows:

American Society of Newspaper Editors Committee on Atomic Energy Information

Gideon Seymour. executive editor, Minneapolis Star-Journal and Tribune, chairman.
W. S. Gilmore, editor in chief, Detroit News.
B. M. McKelway, editor, Washington Star.
Paul C. Smith, editor-manager, San Francisco Chronicle.
C. G. Wellington, managing editor, Kansas City Star.
Laurence L. Winship, managing editor, Boston Globe.

American Textbook Publishers Institute Special Committee on Atomic Energy

Lee Eighton, Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc.
Charles Griffith, Silver Burdette Co.
Henry McCurdy, Macmillan.
Lloyd W. King, American Textbook Publishers Institute, executive secretary.

Association of Secondary-School Principals Advisory Committee on "Operation Atomic Vision"

Kenneth Benne, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; member of the department of adult education of the National Education Association.
Claude V. Courter, superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, Ohio; member of the American Association of School Administrators.
Stanley E. Dimond, director, Citizenship Education Study, Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Mich.; member of the National Council for Social Studies.
Paul E. Elicker, executive secretary, National Association of Secondary-School Principals, Washington, D. C.
Will French, professor of education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; chairman, committee on curriculum planning and development, National Association of Secondary-School Principals.
George L. Glasheen, executive director, National Committee on Atomic Information, Washington, D. C.
Harold C. Hand, professor of education, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.; member of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
J. Dan Hull, Chief, Secondary School Instructional Problems, Division of Secondary Education, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.; member, committee on curriculum planning and development, National Association of Secondary-School Principals.

Philip Johnson, specialist in science, Division of Secondary Education United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Morris Meister, principal, Bronx High School of Science, New York, N. Y.; member of the National Science Teachers Association.

Morse Salisbury, Director, Public and Technical Information Service, United States Atomic Energy Commission, Washington, D. C.

The Commission or members of its staff have met with each of the three groups and have started to develop programs of service to reporters and editors, writers and publishers, schools, and—through them—to pupils and the public. Specific requests for service in the way of security guidance and information will be forthcoming shortly from these groups. These are organized manifestations of the public desire for facts and for aid in reporting what may be reported about the goals and the progress of the Nation's atomic energy development program.

Section VIII—Security

Soon after taking office, the Commission enlisted the services of Rear Adm. Sidney W. Souers, USNR, former Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence and first head of the United States Central Intelligence Group, and of Frank J. Wilson, former Chief of the United States Secret Service, as special consultants to assist in a survey of the long-term security problem. Meanwhile, the security system of the Manhattan project remained in effect.

As a result of the study, the Commission established in its staff headquarters an Office of Security and Intelligence to direct all of the security activities of its program. The Office maintains close liaison with the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other security and intelligence agencies of the Government, as well as with the staff of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Following its establishment, the new Office took many significant measures to insure the security control of plant, personnel, documents, and information in addition to the establishment of standards, policies, and procedures.

The policy and procedures with respect to administrative review of personnel clearance decisions were developed to a point where by the year's end a five-member Personnel Security Review Board, composed of prominent citizens, was being established, to make recommendations to the Commission for further definition and codification of standards and criteria used in determining ineligibility for employment by the Commission and its contractors and to provide for administrative review.

Members of the Board are:

Owen J. Roberts, former Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Chairman.

Dr. Karl T. Compton, president, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Hon. Joseph C. Grew, diplomat and former Under Secretary of State.

George M. Humphrey, president, M. A. Hanna Co.

H. W. Prentis, Jr., president, Armstrong Cork Co.

Security staffs of the Managers of Directed Operations made 844 detailed inspections and surveys during 1947. The scope of this

report does not permit a detailed presentation of physical security improvement resulting from these surveys. However, all major and many lesser facilities were improved in this respect. Protective devices to provide adequate mechanical safeguards were installed and, pending the completion of the construction program, an expanded guard force was created to maintain optimum levels of plant protection.

In building a guard force of 3,100 men, a high level of personnel standards and indoctrination was set and is being maintained; as an example, at Los Alamos, out of 14,000 applicants for guard duty, only 1,000 were able to qualify. Further, in connection with the development of guard forces, emergency defense plans were made for all major facilities. For this purpose close liaison was maintained with the National Military Establishment.

An integrated survey system was established to provide a regular coverage of facility surveys. A Headquarters Inspection and Survey Unit was formed to advise the Commission in achieving an effective and consistent security policy and to assist the Managers of Directed Operations in the accomplishment of that end. The unit operates independently in checking the status of security in the field, consulting with the Offices of Directed Operations and recommending to the Commission revisions and supplementations in security policies, standards, and procedures.

Preparation of a set of maps, for all key Atomic Energy Commission installations, was begun. These maps show all standard natural and cultural features and graphically stress physical security aspects.

All Commission employees are given full background investigation.

In order to protect restricted data and at the same time allow maximum progress in construction at the Commission's installations, access to restricted work is allowed to as few cleared construction workers as possible, the security and construction plans being so integrated as to provide for classified work being started only after the nonclassified construction has been completed. Considerable progress was made in 1947 in reducing the number of construction workers who have access to restricted work.

In connection with the information control and security education program, a Classification and Document Control Board was set up to establish criteria for the classification of restricted data, to supervise procedures involved in the accounting for classified documents, and to define such areas of Commission information and activity as should be free from security restrictions. Field units were set up by the Managers to work closely with the Board.

There was no complete inventory of classified documents available when the atomic energy program was transferred to Commission management. The task of inventorying such documents was begun in July 1947. The magnitude of the inventory may be illustrated by an operational and statistical outline. In the highest category of classified data over 25,000 documents were identified and are in the process of inventory. Technical and scientific reports totaling over 450,000 are also in the process of a detailed inventory and were about 75 percent complete by the end of the year. Part of the problem involved in inventorying documents is the several million less highly classified papers, which must be scanned in various repositories, to separate the two named groups of material from other less highly classified documents being studied, and to set up an improved system

for handling and accounting for documents. One location has more than 25,000 linear feet of files in which 20 percent of the material is estimated to be classified.

In the security education activities, vigorous efforts were made to indoctrinate all personnel having access to restricted data with a full knowledge of their duties and responsibilities. At regular meetings, local security officers achieved, through personal contact, the cooperation of plant and laboratory personnel in understanding and executing the requirements of security. Security kits containing training material and copies of Security Education Outline, a guide to the procedures involved in security, were distributed to all Managers of Directed Operations.

Ten thousand copies of a general manager's instruction, "Responsibility for Security," were also distributed. This document describes precisely the personal obligations of all Commission and contractor personnel for security obligations. It defines the responsibilities of administrative officers—the Director of the Office of Security and Intelligence, the Managers of Directed Operations, and the heads of Washington divisions and offices.

Section IX—Organization and Administration

By Executive order, the AEC assumed responsibility from the Manhattan Engineer District of the War Department for the organization and administration of the atomic energy program on January 1, 1947. During the past year a large amount of Commission and staff time has been devoted to the establishment of the basic structure of the organization, to the recruitment and selection of principal members of the staff, and to the necessary assignments of responsibility and essential procedures for effective administration. The military authorities were extremely helpful in facilitating the administrative transition to civilian operations provided for by the Atomic Energy Act. This work is now essentially complete.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION

Policy review and formulation

The five-man Commission established under the Atomic Energy Act acts as a policy formulation body. The five Commissioners meet with the several bodies established by the act—namely the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the General Advisory Committee and the Military Liaison Committee. In addition, the Commission and the General Manager have sought the advice of several other groups on specific policy and administrative problems.

General Advisory Committee.—The members of the General Advisory Committee have made themselves continuously available to the Commission and staff in handling a wide range of scientific and technical matters. In addition to many meetings of subcommittees and special surveys by individual members, the full committee met formally eight times during the year for a total of 20 days.

The members are:

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J., chairman.

Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University.

Dr. Lee A DuBridge, president of California Institute of Technology.
Dr. Enrico Fermi, professor of physics at the Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago.
Dr. I. I. Rabi, chairman of the department of physics, Columbia University.
Hartley Rowe, vice president and chief engineer of the United Fruit Co.
Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, professor of chemistry at the University of California.
Dr. Cyril S. Smith, director of the Institute for the Study of Metals, University of Chicago.
Hood Worthington, Carothers Research Laboratory, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Inc.

The value of an advisory group of this type cannot be overemphasized in the management of an enterprise which frequently is operating in almost unexplored areas of science and industrial technology. Not only has the General Advisory Committee assisted in the solution of specific problems, it has provided a most helpful evaluation service in the reorientation of research and development programs. As a result of its own surveys and studies, the Committee has recommended specific projects and made suggestions to strengthen the program at several points. The membership of the Committee, of course, insures the most competent appraisal of those phases of the United States atomic-energy program which, under the act, are reviewed by the General Advisory Committee.

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.—The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is the medium established by law whereby the Commission reports fully on its activities on a current and continuing basis, including the reporting of secret matters. The joint committee, working closely with the Commission, has assisted materially in making progress toward reconciling the requirements of maintaining the secrecy of information and at the same time assuring the necessary accountability of the Commission to the Congress.

Members of the joint committee and the Commission have discussed many matters relating to the Commission's activities in both formal and informal meetings. Representatives of other agencies of the Government such as the State Department and the National Military Establishment have also participated in some of these meetings.

The Commission has also informed the joint committee of its activities by means of many letters, memoranda, and written reports. Furthermore, the Commission's staff is in almost daily contact with the staff of the joint committee, and members of the joint committee and of the committee staff have visited the major installations of the Commission throughout the country.

Members of the committee are:

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), chairman.
Representative W. Sterling Cole (New York), vice chairman.
Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (Michigan).
Senator Eugene D. Millikin (Colorado).
Senator William F. Knowland (California).
Senator John W. Bricker (Ohio).
Senator Brien McMahon (Connecticut).
Senator Richard B. Russell (Georgia).

Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Colorado).
Senator Tom Connally (Texas).
Representative Charles H. Elston (Ohio).
Representative Carl Hinshaw (California).
Representative James E. Van Zandt (Pennsylvania).
Representative James T. Patterson (Connecticut).
Representative Lyndon Johnson (Texas).
Representative Carl T. Durham (North Carolina).
Representative Chet Holifield (California).
Representative Melvin Price (Illinois).

Military Liaison Committee.—The Commission meets regularly with the Military Liaison Committee on alternate Wednesdays and oftener when required, and the staffs of both work closely together. The Committee is housed in the Commission's headquarters. Twenty-two formal joint conferences were held during the year, 14 of these since July 1, 1947, and there were numerous staff and informal conferences. Working relationships were maintained with the armed services at various levels in Washington and in the field and were much broader than the activities involved in establishing and meeting military requirements.

The mutual interests of the Commission and the services extend throughout the broadest range of subjects: Security of information and facilities, production, procurement, construction of facilities, biology and medicine, certain field operations, intelligence, support of basic research, appropriations and other fiscal matters, export controls, mobilization planning, and participation of industry in the atomic energy program. Organizing for effective relations with the Military Establishment in these many fields—relations which recognized the responsibilities, explicit and implied, of the Commission and the services—was a major objective of the Commission during 1947, and progress toward this objective has been substantial, in a year which was a formative period for the Commission and a period of reorganization for the services.

Differences arising in initial presentation of matters considered jointly have thus far been resolved by discussion and thorough analysis by the members and staffs of the Military Liaison Committee and the Commission. Of the wide range of matters relating to the entire atomic energy program that have been discussed with the Military Liaison Committee, no case has yet arisen where it has been necessary to refer any disagreement to the President for decision as provided for in section 2 (c) of the Atomic Energy Act.

Members of the Committee are:

Lt. Gen. Lewis H. Brereton, United States Air Force, Chairman.
Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, United States Army.
Col. John H. Hinds, United States Army.
Rear Adm. Thorvald A. Solberg, United States Navy.
Rear Adm. Ralph A. Ofstie, United States Navy.
Rear Adm. William S. Parsons, United States Navy.

Organization

The General Manager is responsible to the Commission for the effective functioning of the organization. The small Washington office is essentially a staff organization concerned largely with the development and evaluation of programs and policies. The opera-

tions of the Commission are carried on by private and governmental research, construction, and production contractors under the direction of five decentralized Offices of Directed Operations headed by managers.

The Washington organization includes the four statutory program divisions: Engineering, Military Application, Production, and Research. To round out the organization necessary to cover the extensive spread of program responsibility and to assure the Commission of highly skilled specialized talents, two divisions have been added and partially staffed during the past 6 months: The Division of Biology and Medicine and the Division of Raw Materials. Directors of the six divisions function as the technical program staff and are empowered to advise managers and contractors on the technical phases of their operations directly on behalf of the General Manager and the Commission. A program Council, made up of the General Manager, the directors of the six divisions, and the Assistant General Manager, assures full consideration of all aspects of the highly complex technical problems which require joint judgment of the Commission and staff.

Responsibility for the development of managerial policies, standards, and service rests with seven offices established by the Commission: Administrative Operations, Budgets, Comptroller, General Counsel, Organization and Personnel, Public and Technical Information Service, and Security and Intelligence.

Operating responsibility except in the field of raw materials is decentralized to the five Offices of Directed Operations established at Chicago, Hanford, New York, Oak Ridge, and Santa Fe (Los Alamos). Three of these Offices of Directed Operations were established, and managers appointed, during the past 6 months.

The positions of directors of the divisions and offices and the managers of the five operating establishments, as well as most other principal positions, are currently filled with experienced personnel.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAM AND ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY

The scope of governmental direction of the atomic energy program and the new problems associated with its administration in times of peace demand creation of sound base-line policies in a number of complex fields. During the past year, and more particularly during the past 6 months, the Commission and the General Manager have established a variety of temporary or permanent advisory bodies of unusually competent experts to examine operations and needs of the program. These advisory bodies have made reports of their findings and recommendations, all of which are currently under consideration or have been acted upon by the Commission.

Advisory Committee for Biology and Medicine

The Commission established a permanent Advisory Committee for Biology and Medicine on September 12, 1947, after its program and needs had been examined by a temporary Medical Board of Review. The permanent Committee is charged with the continuing study of the basic policies of the Commission in the medical, biological, and health physics aspects of the atomic energy program. The members of the committee are among the leading medical and biological scientists of the country. (Their names are listed in sec. V, Biology and Medicine.)

Advisory Committee for Exploration and Mining

The importance of the discovery, development, and procurement of raw materials required in the Commission's program led to the appointment of an Advisory Committee for Exploration and Mining to assist the newly established Division of Raw Materials in this work. The committee was charged with the responsibility of studying the Commission's present program and advising on questions of exploration and development with a view toward integrating and coordinating present programs and policies. (Membership is listed in sec. II, Raw Materials.)

Patent Administration and Patent Advisory Panel

The Atomic Energy Act contains provisions relating to inventions and discoveries which were adopted by the Congress in view of the special patent problems in the atomic energy field. Thus, under the act, patent rights to inventions will not be conferred to the extent that the inventions are used in the production of fissionable material or in the utilization of fissionable material or atomic energy for a military weapon; at the same time the Commission is authorized to make awards to such inventors. In addition, the Commission is authorized under certain circumstances to declare a patent to be affected with the public interest and to license its use in the atomic energy program subject to the payment of a reasonable royalty fee.

To assure that the administration of the patent provisions of the act does not restrict free operation of business or interfere with incentive, the Commission during the first month of its operation appointed a Patent Advisory Panel to study and report on these phases of its activities. The panel now has five members:

William H. Davis, chairman of the Patent Survey Committee, Department of Commerce.

John A. Dienner, former president of the American Patent Law Association.

Casper W. Ooms, until recently United States Commissioner of Patents.

Hector M. Holmes, of Boston, Mass.

H. Thomas Austern, of Washington, D. C.

The initial report of the Patent Panel was submitted to the Commission in September 1947. The panel concluded that the impact of the patent provisions of the act upon the patent system and upon the normal process of industry had been made as small as possible consistent with the needs of common defense and security and the other purposes of the Atomic Energy Act. The panel also concluded that the practice of the Commission in this field is to avoid any unnecessary interference with the normal functioning of the patent system. The panel found evidence of general satisfaction on the part of the Commission's contractors with the fairness with which the patent provisions in contracts had been negotiated and administered, and was of the opinion that the types of patent clauses employed appeared to be generally satisfactory.

The panel is continuing to serve as an advisory board to the Commission on patent matters. Following the submission of its initial report, it undertook to consider proposed regulations to govern proceedings which will be heard before the Patent Compensation Board to be established under section 11 (e) of the Atomic Energy

Act. Such regulations are expected to be ready for publication in the near future.

By the end of 1947, there had been docketed by the Patents Branch of the Commission's Office of General Counsel (and by its predecessor in the Manhattan District) more than 6,500 records of inventions covering scores of different technical classes. Filing of a patent application was recommended in 2,375 cases, and most of these already have been filed. Over 11,500 project technical reports and 6,600 notebooks have been examined for evidences of inventions.

Industrial Advisory Group

More than 3,000 contractors, subcontractors, and suppliers are already taking part in the atomic energy program. Many more must be induced to participate—for unless the initiative, technical skill, and managerial ability of American business are brought to bear with maximum effect on the problems of atomic energy development, the people of the United States will not realize full benefits from this new field of endeavor. It is the policy of the Commission, subject to congressional supervision as provided by the act, to move away from the present Government monopoly provided by law as rapidly as feasible, having in mind the paramount consideration of the national security. The Industrial Advisory Group will explore opportunities for increased individual participation for profit and methods of developing incentives for industry to get into the field. The objectives are to:

1. Utilize fully the Nation's industrial research and development capacity.
2. Keep the industries directly concerned fully informed as to the developments in their fields within security limitations.
3. Insure the opportunity for technical training in atomic energy of as large a part of American industry as possible in order to prepare the industrial community for the job it must do if America is to continue to be strong in atomic energy development.

An interim Industrial Advisory Group was appointed and began its task of getting the necessary background acquaintance with the project in October 1947. In the following 3 months the members, fully cleared for access to secret data necessary for their deliberations and recommendations, visited all major Commission installations involving potential industrial applications, consulted with present and potential AEC contractors, and started preparing their first report to the Commission. This report will offer recommendations as to the permanent advisory groups needed in the field of industrial participation in the atomic energy program.

The members are:

James W. Parker, president and general manager, Detroit Edison Co., Detroit, Mich.

Oliver E. Buckley, president, Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York City.

Donald F. Carpenter, vice president, Remington Arms Co., Bridgeport, Conn.

Bruce K. Brown, vice president, Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, Chicago, Ill.

Gustav Egloff, director of research, Universal Oil Products Co., Chicago, Ill.
Paul D. Foote, executive vice president, Gulf Research & Development Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gabriel O. Wessenauer, manager of power, Tennessee Valley Authority, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Robert E. Wilson, chairman of board, Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, Chicago, Ill.
Isaac Harter, executive vice president and director, the Babcock & Wilcox Tube Co., Barberton, Ohio.
Jerome C. Hunsaker, chairman, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

Safety and Industrial Health Advisory Board

The safety and health protection record of the Manhattan Engineer District and the Commission has been excellent, as measured by the standard indices in this field. During the first 10 months of 1947, the frequency of accidents among Commission and contractor personnel was 4.91 persons injured for each million man-hours worked, a rate more than 50 percent below the 1946 national average for all industries. The fire loss record was even better by comparison. In all of the plants operating in the refinement and processing of source materials for the Commission, the accident frequency rate was only half that of the nonferrous metals industry as a whole.

But the deterioration of wartime structures, equipment, and facilities; the problems arising from expanded operation; and the difficulty of fitting the work of the Commission into a normal peacetime economy have led the Commission to seek the independent judgment and recommendations of competent and experienced analysts in these vitally important aspects of its operations. Accordingly, the Commission, in consultation with the National Safety Council, secured the services of such a group to constitute its Safety and Industrial Health Advisory Board. The Board made an extensive survey of AEC and contractor practices and problems of safety and industrial health. Members are:

Sidney J. Williams, assistant to the president, National Safety Council, Chicago, Ill., chairman.
Horatio Bond, chief engineer, National Fire Protection Association, Boston, Mass.
Dr. Philip Drinker, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston, Mass.
Robert H. Albisser, safety director, Merck & Co., Inc., Rahway, N. J.
William F. Brown, safety director, Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, New York City.
Bernard R. Caldwell, deputy chief of police, Los Angeles, Calif.
Dr. Abel Wolman, head, department of sanitary engineering, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Arthur E. Gorman, sanitary engineer, Office of the Housing Expediter, Washington, D. C.
Herbert M. Parker, assistant superintendent, medical department, General Electric Co., Hanford, Wash.
Dr. Hymer L. Friedell, director, department of radiology, University Hospitals of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio.

Richard Fondiller, president, Woodward & Fondiller, New York, N. Y.

Jack J. Smick, associate actuary, Woodward & Fondiller, New York, N. Y.

Advisory Board on Relationships of the Atomic Energy Commission with its contractors

This temporary five-man board was established in February 1947. It conducted a thorough investigation of Commission-contractor relationships, particularly in the field of research, and made numerous valuable suggestions for establishing more effective working relationships with the contractors. Members were:

Dr. John R. Loofbourow, professor of biology of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; chairman.

Dr. John W. Hinckley, director of the patent management division of the Research Corp., New York, N. Y.

Dr. Ronald H. Robnett, professor of business administration of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Alfonso Tammaro, Atomic Energy Commission.

Committee on Scientific Personnel

The full support and active participation of scientists and workers in scientific laboratories now engaged, or potentially equipped to engage, in atomic energy work is of vital importance to the Commission. Recognizing certain handicaps including those which derive from the necessity for security practices, which are new to the pursuit of scientific inquiry in peacetime, the Commission felt the need for a fresh consideration of the special problems of this very important group. A Committee on Scientific Personnel was therefore established in May 1947 to examine the problem. The committee after a canvass of practices, standards, and attitudes of scientists and administrators of scientific laboratories completed its work and reported to the Commission in October 1947. Valuable recommendations for guide-line policies were made with respect to: Classification of employees; salaries; promotion and salary control; interchange of employees between institutions; tenure and retirement; consultant policies; vacations and sick leave; hazard pay and insurance; organization.

These recommendations, combined with staff appraisal and recommendations for putting them into practice, are now before the Commission. (Membership was listed in the second report to the Congress, and is repeated in this report in appendix 2.)

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS

Accounting and finance

Two significant steps have been taken during the past 6 months to provide the Commission with essential facts necessary for the creation of financial policy and the development of more effective accounting procedures, for its industrial and scientific—rather than typical governmental—operations.

An analysis of obligations and expenditures for production, research, construction, town management, and administrative functions for the fiscal year 1947 and through November of 1947 has been completed

and will provide the basis for the development of a system of accounts on accepted industrial and cost-accounting principles.

Five of the Nation's leading public-accounting firms were employed to review the accounting for five prime contracts, covering a cross section of Commission operations. Their reports, which are now being submitted, will assist the Commission in clarifying certain aspects of its relationships with industrial contractors.

Personnel

The Commission's dual policy of working through contractors for construction, production, research, and other operations, and of decentralizing all supervision of contract operations to the five Offices of Directed Operations, is reflected in the distribution of personnel associated with the project. There are approximately 500 employees in the Washington office, including the military personnel in the Division of Military Applications. Almost 10 times this number, or approximately 4,800 employees, are located in the operational centers. Approximately 10 times the total number of Government employees—about 55,000 persons—are employed by contractors at AEC installations.

During the Commission's first year of operation, Government employees were decreased by approximately 1,100 while contractor employees increased by about 14,000. The increase in contractor employment reflects increased scope of operations and would have been greater if not offset by considerable savings in manpower from increased efficiency in certain operations, particularly at Oak Ridge.

Labor relations

Continuing efforts have been made to evolve a labor-relations policy which would provide an essential framework within which contractor-employee relations may operate. At present the wartime arrangement with the National Labor Relations Board, whereby the Board will not certify labor organizations as representatives of employees of processing and research contractors other than at Oak Ridge, continues.

Requests for recognition were renewed during the period, however, by the International Association of Machinists (independent) at Argonne National Laboratory and by the Metal Trades Department of the AFL at Hanford. New requests for recognition were made of the contractors by Building Service Employees International Union, AFL, and International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffers, Warehousemen and Helpers, AFL, at Argonne National Laboratory. Action on all of these requests was deferred. But a new agreement was entered into at Hanford between the principal construction contractor and the Building Trades Department of the AFL for construction work at that location.

At Oak Ridge, another NLRB election was held at the gaseous diffusion plant which was again won by the United Chemical Workers, CIO. Following the election, successful collective bargaining negotiations between the Carbide & Carbon Chemicals Corp. and the UCW resulted in a new 18-month contract effective December 10, 1947, the date of expiration of the previous contract. A vote of the local union membership authorizing the union officers to call a strike in the event negotiations were unsuccessful was taken the day after

demands were presented to the contractor, but in view of agreement and the signing of a new contract 7 days later no strike resulted.

The Commission is working closely with the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in considering how best to assure that work stoppages will not occur at AEC installations.

Regulation of special materials and facilities

In November the Commission issued a regulation governing the export of facilities and equipment for the production of fissionable materials. In preparing for this action, the Commission solicited the advice of the manufacturers of the equipment to be controlled in a series of industry meetings and invited a representative group to sit with the Commission's staff as an interim Equipment Advisory Board transmitting the industry's views on regulation and related matters. The Commission made it clear that in the administration of the regulation it will be the policy to interfere as little as possible in the conduct of normal business activities and, so far as is practical, to design licenses to fit the normal business requirements of the licensee.

The new regulation strengthened existing controls on the export of equipment adapted for use in atomic energy research and production work. Other controls, including the use of the powers of the Department of Commerce under the Export Control Act of 1940, continued. The regulation provided effective control over the export of two specific classes of equipment:

Class I includes any facility capable of producing any fissionable material; e. g., nuclear reactors, cyclotrons, or other particle accelerators.

Class II includes component parts or equipment suitable for service as component parts of a class I facility; e. g., radiation detection equipment, mass spectrometers and component parts, high vacuum equipment.

Other equipment may be added to this list from time to time as the need arises.

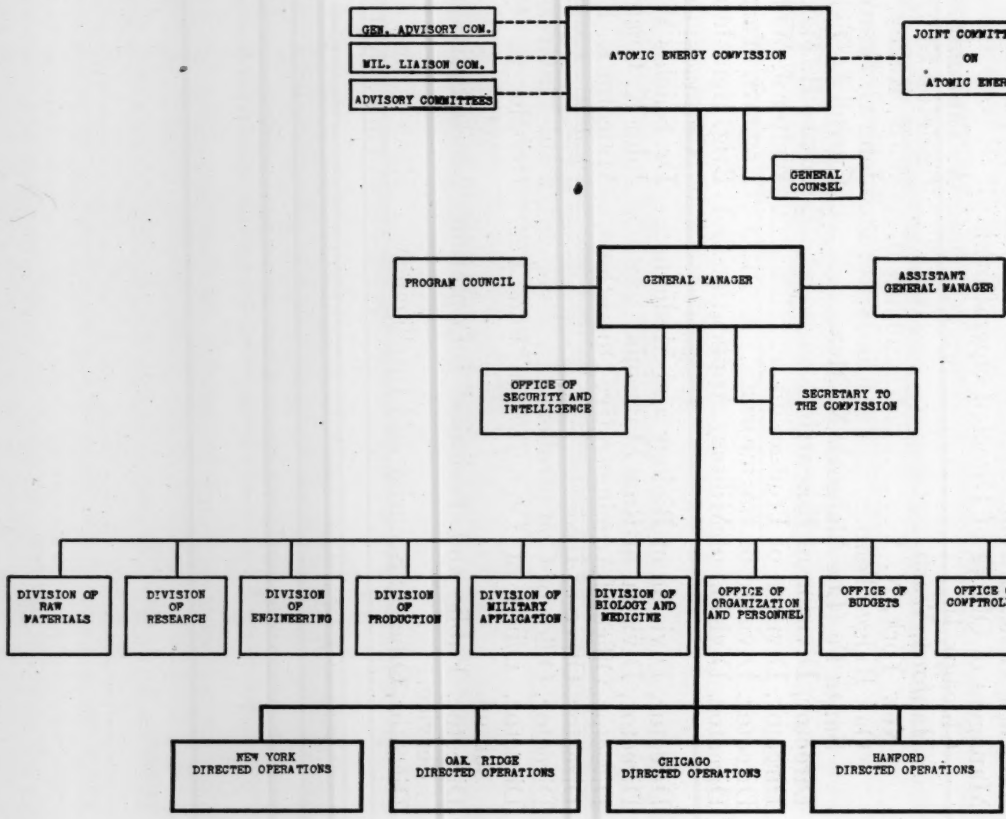
Under the new regulation a specific license issued by the Commission is required of persons intending to manufacture or produce for export any facilities for the production of fissionable material, to transfer or acquire such facilities for export, and to export such facilities from the United States. Also incorporated in the regulation is a general license issued for manufacture, production, transfer, and acquisition of such equipment within the United States.

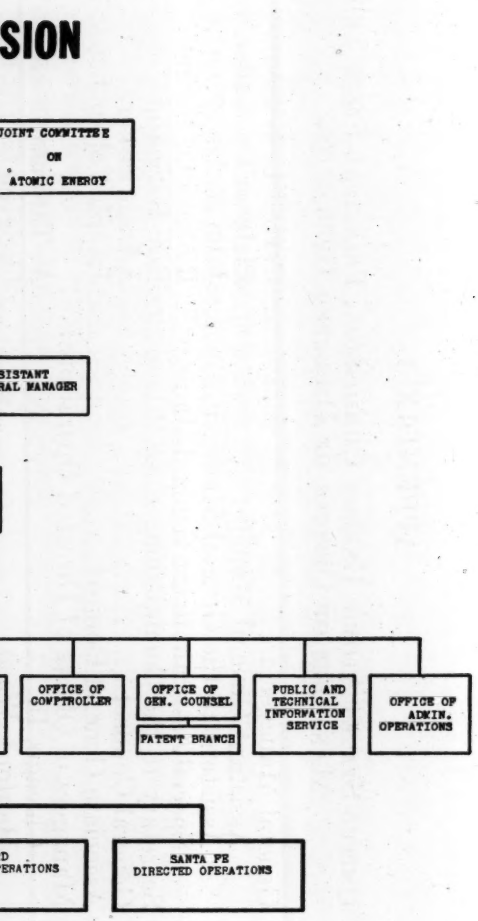
Administration of the Commission's earlier regulation, issued in May 1947 for the control of source materials, has been assisted by the wholehearted cooperation of industry. All essential industrial uses of uranium and thorium are being provided for.

Services

Engineering plans were completed for new telephone facilities between the five Offices of Directed Operations and the Washington office to meet increased needs of speedy communication and to effect savings in staff time devoted to coordination of the whole program. A new crypto-teletype system was installed between Washington and field installations to provide the highest obtainable degree of security for the automatic encoding and decoding of messages. Radio facilities were also installed for emergency communication with aircraft in the vicinity of the Commission's restricted areas and with guard and patrol motor vehicles.

U. S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION




SION
JOINT COMMITTEE
ON
ATOMIC ENERGY
SISTANT
RAL MANAGER
OFFICE OF
COMPTROLLER
OFFICE OF
GEN. COUNSEL
PATENT BRANCH
PUBLIC AND
TECHNICAL
INFORMATION
SERVICE
OFFICE OF
ADMIN.
OPERATIONS
D
ERATIONS
SANTA FE
DIRECTED OPERATIONS

APPENDIX 1

United States Atomic Energy Commission, Principal Staff and Managers of Offices of Directed Operations

General Manager	Carroll L. Wilson.
Assistant General Manager	Fletcher C. Waller.
Assistant to the General Manager	John A. Derry.
Special Assistant to the General Manager	Richard O. Niehoff.
Secretary to the Commission	Roy B. Snapp.
General Counsel	Adrian Fisher.
Associate General Counsel	Joseph Volpe, Jr.
Managers of Offices of Directed Operations:	
Chicago, Ill	A. Tammaro.
Hanford, Wash	Carleton Shugg.
New York, N. Y	W. E. Kelley.
Oak Ridge, Tenn	John C. Franklin.
Santa Fe (Los Alamos), N. Mex	Carroll L. Tyler.
Director, Division of Research	James B. Fisk.
Director, Division of Production	Walter J. Williams.
Director, Division of Engineering	Roger S. Warner, Jr.
Director, Division of Military Application	Brig. Gen. James McCormack, Jr.
Director, Division of Biology and Medicine	Dr. Shields Warren.
Director, Division of Raw Materials	John K. Gustafson.
Director, Office of Administrative Operations	Malcolm E. Pitts.
Director, Office of Budgets	Paul W. Ager.
Director, Office of Comptroller	Paul M. Green.
Director, Office of Organization and Personnel.	Donald E. Bostock, Acting.
Director, Public and Technical Information Service.	Morse Salisbury.
Director, Office of Security and Intelligence	Rear Adm. John E. Gingrich, USN.

APPENDIX 2

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMITTEES—STATUTORY COMMITTEES

Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), chairman.
Representative W. Sterling Cole (New York), vice chairman.
Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (Michigan).
Senator Eugene D. Millikin (Colorado).
Senator William F. Knowland (California).
Senator John W. Bricker (Ohio).
Senator Brien McMahon (Connecticut).
Senator Richard B. Russell (Georgia).
Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Colorado).
Senator Tom Connally (Texas)
Representative Charles H. Elston (Ohio).
Representative Carl Hinshaw (California).
Representative James E. Van Zandt (Pennsylvania).
Representative James T. Patterson (Connecticut).
Representative Lyndon A. Johnson (Texas).
Representative Carl T. Durham (North Carolina).
Representative Chet Holifield (California).
Representative Melvin Price (Illinois).

Military Liaison Committee

Lt. Gen. Lewis H. Brereton, United States Air Force, chairman.
Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, United States Army.
Col. John H. Hinds, United States Army.
Rear Adm. Thorvald A. Solberg, United States Navy.
Rear Adm. Ralph A. Ofstie, United States Navy.
Rear Adm. William S. Parsons, United States Navy.

General Advisory Committee

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.; chairman.
Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University.
Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, president of California Institute of Technology.
Dr. Enrico Fermi, professor of physics at the Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago.
Dr. I. I. Rabi, chairman of the department of physics, Columbia University.
Hartley Rowe, vice president and chief engineer of the United Fruit Co.
Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, professor of chemistry at the University of California.
Dr. Cyril S. Smith, director of the Institute for the Study of Metals, University of Chicago.
Hood Worthington, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Inc.

PERMANENT ADVISORY BODIES APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION

Advisory Committee on Biology and Medicine

Dr. Alan Gregg, director for medical sciences, Rockefeller Foundation; chairman.
Dr. G. W. Beadle, division of biology, California Institute of Technology.
Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, director of the Johnson Research Foundation, University of Pennsylvania.
Dr. Ernest W. Goodpasture, dean of the school of medicine and professor of pathology, Vanderbilt University.
Dr. Baird Hastings, professor of biochemistry, Harvard Medical School.
Dr. E. C. Stakman, chief, division of plant pathology and botany, University of Minnesota.
Dr. Joseph T. Wearn, dean of the school of medicine, Western Reserve University.

Advisory Committee for Exploration and Mining

Dr. Donald H. McLaughlin, president Homestake Mining Co., Lead, S. Dak.; chairman.
G. Temple Bridgman, consulting engineer, San Francisco, Calif.
Everette L. DeGolyer, petroleum geologist, DeGolyer & McNaughton, Dallas, Tex.
Dr. Anton Gray, geologist, Kennecott Copper Co., New York, N. Y.
Wilbur Judson, vice president and director, Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., New York, N. Y.
Robert E. McConnell, McConnell Foundation, New York, N. Y.
Fred Searls, Jr., president, Newmont Mining Corp., New York, N. Y.
Clyde Williams, director, Battelle Memorial Institute, Columbus, Ohio.

Advisory Committee on Isotope Distribution

Dr. G. Failla, of the Columbia University Medical School; chairman.
Dr. H. A. Barker, plant nutrition, University of California, Berkeley.
Dr. Henry Borsook, department of biochemistry, California Institute of Technology.
Dr. Robley D. Evans, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Dr. Hymer L. Friedell, Lakeside Hospital, Western Reserve University.
Dr. J. G. Hamilton, University of California.
Dr. Joseph W. Kennedy, Washington University (St. Louis).
Dr. Robert F. Mehl, Carnegie Institute of Technology.
Dr. Paul C. Aebersold, Chief, Isotopes Division, AEC, Oak Ridge.
Dr. Austin M. Brues, Argonne National Laboratory, AEC, Chicago.
Dr. A. H. Holland, Jr., medical adviser, AEC, Oak Ridge.
Dr. L. N. Nims, acting head of department of biology, Brookhaven National Laboratory, AEC, Patchogue, Long Island.

Patent Advisory Panel

William H. Davis, chairman of the Patent Survey Committee, United States Department of Commerce.

John A. Dienner, former president of the American Patent Law Association.
Hector M. Holmes, Boston, Mass.
Casper W. Ooms, until recently United States Commissioner of Patents.
H. Thomas Austern, Washington, D. C.

TEMPORARY ADVISORY BODIES APPOINTED BY THE COMMISSION

Advisory Board on Contractual Relationships (reported finally to the Commission in December 1947)

Dr. John R. Loofbourow, professor of biology of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; chairman.
Dr. John W. Hinckley, director of the patent management division of the Research Corp., New York, N. Y.
Dr. Ronald H. Robnett, professor of business administration of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Alfonso Tammaro, Atomic Energy Commission.

Industrial Advisory Group

James W. Parker, president and general manager, Detroit Edison Co., Detroit, Mich.
Oliver E. Buckley, president, Bell Telephone Laboratories, New York, N. Y.
Donald F. Carpenter, vice president, Remington Arms Co., Bridgeport, Conn.
Bruce K. Brown, vice president, Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, Chicago, Ill.
Gustav Egloff, director of research, Universal Oil Products Co., Chicago, Ill.
Paul D. Foote, executive vice president, Gulf Research & Development Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Gabriel O. Wessenauer, manager of power, Tennessee Valley Authority, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Robert E. Wilson, chairman of board, Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, Chicago, Ill.
Isaac Harter, executive vice president and director, the Babcock & Wilcox Tube Co., Barberton, Ohio.
Jerome C. Hunsaker, Chairman, National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

Medical Board of Review (reported to the Commission in July 1947)

Dr. Robert F. Loeb, Lambert professor of medicine, Columbia University; chairman.
Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, director, Johnson Research Foundation, University of Pennsylvania, and Chairman, National Research Council.
Dr. Wallace O. Fenn, professor of physiology, University of Rochester School of Medicine and Dentistry.
Dr. Herbert S. Gasser, director, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

Dr. Ernest W. Goodpasture, dean of the school of medicine and professor of pathology, Vanderbilt University.
Dr. Alan Gregg, director for medical sciences, Rockefeller Foundation.
Dr. A. Baird Hastings, professor of biological chemistry, Harvard Medical School.

Safety and Industrial Health Advisory Board

Sidney J. Williams, assistant to the president, National Safety Council; chairman.
Horatio Bond, chief engineer, National Fire Protection Association.
Dr. Philip Drinker, Harvard School of Public Health.
Robert H. Albisser, safety director, Merck & Co., Inc., Rahway, N. J.
William F. Brown, Safety director, Consolidated Edison Co. of New York.
Bernard R. Caldwell, deputy chief of police, Los Angeles, Calif.
Dr. Abel Wolman, head, department of sanitary engineering, Johns Hopkins University.
Arthur E. Gorman, sanitary engineer, Office of the Housing Expediter, Washington, D. C.
Herbert M. Parker, assistant superintendent, medical department, General Electric Co., Hanford, Wash.
Dr. Hymer L. Friedell, director, department of radiology, University Hospitals of Cleveland, Ohio.
Richard Fondiller, president, Woodward & Fondiller, New York, N. Y.
Jack J. Smick, associate actuary, Woodward & Fondiller, New York, N. Y.

Committee on Scientific Personnel (reported to the Commission in October 1947)

Dr. F. W. Loomis, professor of physics at the University of Illinois, chairman.
M. P. Carpenter, executive manager of the Whiting Laboratories of the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana.
Dr. Farrington Daniels, chairman of the board of governors of the Argonne National Laboratory, AEC.
L. D. Geiger, Iowa area manager of the Atomic Energy Commission.
W. A. Hamor, associate director of the Mellon Institute.
W. B. Harrell, business manager of the University of Chicago.

APPENDIX 3

United States Atomic Energy Commission, National Laboratories

ARGONNE NATIONAL LABORATORY

Chicago, Ill.

Contractor operator: The University of Chicago. Participating institutions—members of the Council:

Battelle Memorial Institute
Carnegie Institute of Technology
Case School of Applied Science
Illinois Institute of Technology
Indiana University
Iowa State College
Kansas State College
Loyola University of Chicago
Mayo Foundation
Michigan School of Mining and Technology
Michigan State College
Northwestern University
University of Missouri
University of Nebraska
University of Pittsburgh
Notre Dame University
Ohio State University
Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College
Purdue University
St. Louis University
University of Chicago
University of Cincinnati
University of Illinois
University of Iowa
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Wisconsin
Washington University (St. Louis)
Western Reserve University

Director: Dr. Walter H. Zinn

BROOKHAVEN NATIONAL LABORATORY

Patchogue, Long Island, N. Y.

Contractor operator: Associated Universities, Inc., a nonprofit organization of the following institutions:

Columbia University
Cornell University
Harvard University
Johns Hopkins University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Princeton University
University of Pennsylvania
University of Rochester
Yale University

Director: Dr. Philip M. Morse

CLINTON NATIONAL LABORATORY

Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Contract operator: Monsanto Chemical Co. Participating institutions:

Alabama Polytechnic Institute
Catholic University of America
Duke University
Emory University
Georgia School of Technology
Louisiana State University
Tulane University of Louisiana
University of Alabama
University of Kentucky
University of North Carolina
University of Tennessee
University of Texas
University of Virginia
Vanderbilt University

Assistant director: Dr. E. J. Murphy

APPENDIX 4

Distribution of Isotopes From Isotopes Division, Oak Ridge, Tenn.

	Number of shipments			
	July 1 to Dec. 31, 1946	Jan. 1 to June 30, 1947	July 1 to Dec. 31, 1947	Total, Dec. 31, 1947
Shipments classified by broad field of utilization:				
Radioactive isotopes:				
Medical therapy	88	319	397	804
Animal physiology	78	202	306	586
Chemistry	27	47	91	165
Physics	17	65	69	151
Plant physiology	16	33	29	78
Industrial research	14	18	33	65
Bacteriology	4	7	26	37
Metallurgy	2	8	2	12
Total	246	699	953	1,898
Stable isotopes:				
Physics	----------	27	77	104
Chemistry	----------	12	45	57
Animal physiology	----------	16	19	35
Industrial research	----------	----------	7	7
Plant physiology	----------	----------	5	5
Bacteriology	----------	----------	1	1
Total	----------	55	154	209
Shipments classified by kind of isotope:				
Radioactive isotopes:				
Phosphorus 32	48	212	325	585
Iodine 131	68	208	287	563
Carbon 14	47	41	67	155
Sodium 24	1	31	49	81
Gold 198	17	46	6	69
Sulfur 35	12	19	20	51
Calcium 45	5	17	25	47
Iron 55, 59	5	21	20	46
Potassium 42	6	17	14	37
Cobalt 60	4	20	12	36
Strontium 87, 90	3	4	5	12
All others (49)	30	63	123	216
Total	246	699	953	1,898
Stable isotopes:				
Deuterium oxide (heavy water)	----------	31	60	91
Deuterium	----------	22	58	80
Boron 10	----------	2	22	24
Oxygen 18	----------	----------	14	14
Total	----------	55	154	209

Distribution of Isotopes From Isotopes Division, Oak Ridge, Tenn.—Continued

	Total number of shipments to Dec. 31, 1947			Total number of shipments to Dec. 31, 1947	
	Radioactive	Stable		Radioactive	Stable
Shipments classified by State, Territory, and foreign country:			Shipments classified by State, Territory, and foreign country—Continued		
Alabama	2	----------	Ohio	142	14
California	185	16	Oklahoma	----------	1
Connecticut	69	9	Oregon	15	----------
Delaware	11	3	Pennsylvania	124	21
Florida	21	----------	Tennessee	88	----------
Georgia	16	1	Texas	50	8
Illinois	101	24	Utah	8	1
Indiana	32	8	Virginia	4	1
Iowa	2	----------	Washington	11	----------
Kansas	2	1	Wisconsin	57	4
Louisiana	24	2	District of Columbia	37	8
Maryland	57	5	Hawaii	3	----------
Massachusetts	264	27			
Michigan	81	6	Total	1,898	209
Minnesota	99	5			
Missouri	75	3	Argentina	1	----------
Montana	----------	1	Australia	17	----------
Nebraska	7	----------	Denmark	1	----------
New Jersey	26	7	United Kingdom	1	----------
New York	275	32			
North Carolina	10	1	Total	20	----------

April 30 1965

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH UPHILL FARM CONWAY, MASSACHUSETTS

Dear Janet:

Glory is no comfort, I know. Sometimes it only makes the grief harder to bear by throwing such a blaze of light around it. But this is a very particular kind of glory. What stands out is not the fame but the man — and how fine a man, how human a man. We are all enhanced in thinking of him — all proud to have known him — all the better for his being. Ada and I have been thinking of you day by day through this long, painful time, wishing we could somehow reach you with our affection. But nothing could have reached you there where you had to be alone. Now we can send you only our deep and enduring admiration. What a gift is a great wife: more greater. And he knew it.

Dear Janet — will you take our love, too, with all the others?

Archie

Archibald MacLeish

October 28, 1960

Dear Archie:

This is a belated note to say my thanks for your graciousness in offering to arrange what would have been a delightful weekend when the Yales play the Harvards. Janet, Casey, and I are all disappointed, but we shall be coming to Boston occasionally to see our young man and hope to get a glimpse of you.

As ever yours,

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
Uphill Farm
Conway, Massachusetts
ERM:gw

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH UPHILL FARM CONWAY, MASSACHUSETTS

October 10, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Madison Avenue at 53rd
New York City

19th
Leave for Quincy!

Dear Ed:

The Yale-Harvard Game is November 19th and the Master of Leverett House would be delighted to put you both up. The one question remaining is whether you are really serious about wanting to come. The plan, if you can arrange it, would be something like this: you would come up on Friday in time to dine with Ada and me at the Somerset Club and we would then make our way back to the Master's Lodgings where some of the lads in the house, together with some members of the faculty would drop in for a little casual talk - ladies included. In other words, you would not have to sing for your supper but merely meet a few pleasant people and talk a bit - which has never been a burden for you or for those who talk with you. Let me know how you feel about this so that I can proceed to put in for the necessary tickets. Would your son be coming in from Milton and would he like me to get him a ticket also and would he like to bring somebody along with him?

A.MACL:aj

Yours ever,

Archie

MacLeish, Archibald

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH WIDENER W. HARVARD UNIVERSITY

January 16, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Your letter of January 9 gave me the deepest possible pleasure. Thank you for wanting to write it - and then for doing it.

As for The Horse, it was presented by the B.B.C. on their Home Program day before yesterday. I have as yet no word of the production or the response, but I know they had put together a cast they were proud of.

For the life of me I can't understand the CBS reaction, for the play is certainly as good as The Fall of the City and I think a good deal better. I am afraid it means something not about my play but about the direction in which radio is going and that saddens me. I wish you were still in a position to influence such things, though I know what heartaches go with it. However, I can counterbalance all that by rejoicing, as so many other Americans do, that you are where you are.

Yours ever,

Archibald MacLeish

A MacL/mvs

MacLeish, Archibald

January 9, 1952

Dear Archie:

A new year is upon us and for some reason, I wish to send you my best salute and deepest personal affection. I wish also to say that I had a fleeting moment of almost wishing that I were back as an executive of this company in order that your horse might have had a fair run. When next you come down to this "stable", will you not give me an opportunity to buy you a lunch.

As ever yours,

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
Widner W.
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH WIDENER W. HARVARD UNIVERSITY

October 15

Mr. M. See attached

23

Dear Ed:

Correction.

If my guess is right - that no one at CBS burns to ride my horse - could I trouble you to send it along to Harold Freedman, Hotel Volney, 23 East 74th St.? He has some ideas for it which sound very interesting to me. And if your secretary could drop me a line to say it has gone I'd be more than ever in your debt

yours as ever

Archie

Ed Murrow Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting Co
Madison at 52nd
New York City

Mr. Meighan's office had already sent it off to Mr. MacL.
DM

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH WIDENER W. HARVARD UNIVERSITY

October 10

Dear Ed:

I gather my HORSE is up in the pine lot somewhere. I don't want you to feel you have to keep sending the boys out after him. Unless somebody there wants to drive him badly - badly - there's no use harnessing him up at all.

You know the history of this business in my mind. Fifteen years ago I thought radio offered a superb stage for verse - for the verse play - because it liberates the imagination wholly and completely. I still think so but few people in radio have ever agreed. I not only still think so - I think also that radio might well wish, at the present moment, to exploit its few advantages over TV. But that's just one man's opinion. The point is that I don't want you to feel you have to push on this if there is no enthusiasm. And I gather there is none. If I'm right just send the lad back. I'll hope for better luck in England. And I'm deeply and as always in your debt.

affectionately

Archie

CBS RADIO

MacLeish, Archibald
(Not in Griffin Index)

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 5-2000

Howard S. Meighan
President

October 9, 1951

Dear Mr. MacLeish:

Ed Murrow, on your behalf, asked us to consider your play "The Trojan Horse" for broadcasting over CBS.

My associates and I have read the play with great interest and pondered its use.

As I am sure you will appreciate, it is most difficult to appraise this most unusual radio project except in relative terms. And on this basis, we have somewhat regretfully concluded that it is not feasible for us to contemplate this sort of thing at this time.

We still remember with enormous pride, our association with "The Fall of the City." We appreciate most sincerely the opportunity of studying the script and I am genuinely sorry that our conclusion must be negative.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
Widner W
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

mp
cc: Mr. E.R. Murrow

0/51

Mac Leish, Archibald

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To: Mr. Gottlieb

From: Mr. Murrow

Station:

October 4, 1951

MacLeish's piece was submitted to CBS, not to me. I served my time turning down program suggestions "without offending the author" and I ain't going to do it any more. I don't think I agree with Maulsby's judgment which would make it doubly difficult for me to write to MacLeish.

E.R.M.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559-7/51

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Gottlieb

Station

October 1, 1951

Re attached:

I am afraid that Mr. MacLeish's TROJAN HORSE is a little off beat for general radio consumption. I am attaching Gerry Maulsby's opinion which more or less corroborates my opinion.

Since he sent it to you directly, will you be good enough to return it to him without offending him.

L.G.

Lab

MacLeish, Archibald

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

To Mr. Gottlieb

From Mr. Murrow

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

September 24, 1951

Here's the document I spoke to you about from Archie MacLeish. I assume you will communicate with him directly.

E.R.M.

ARCHIBALD MacLEISH
CONWAY, MASSACHUSETTS

Septmeber 13,1951

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your cordial wire. Here she is - and I think she explains herself. I'll be here until the 22nd and thereafter at Harvard - Widener W, Harvard University, Cambridge 38 Mass..

and once again - thank you

yours ever

Archie

MacLeish, Archibald

SEPTEMBER 6, 1951

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
Uphill Farm
Conway, Massachusetts

SEND THE HORSE TO ME MY FRIEND TWOULD PLEASURE ME GREATLY TO SEE THAT IT GETS CAREFUL AND IMMEDIATE ATTENTION. I AM SURE CONCURRENT BBC NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT BE EMBARRASSING. REGARDS AND LOVE TO YOU BOTH.

ED MURROW

ALD MACLEISH, UPHILL FARM CONWAY, MASSACHUSETTS

September 5,1951

Dear Ed:

The troubling with having friends is that they keep bothering you. Forgive me. I know this letter shouldn't go to you but its you I think of when I think of CBS..

I have finished a new verse play for radio called The Trojan Horse - a play about the classic situation but with long shadows which fall forward into our time.

I don't know whether CBS is still interested in that kind of thing and I don't want to send it down unless it could go to someone who would be.

And I have a further question. BBC has expressed a lively sight-unseen interest which may or may not materialize. If CBS <u>might</u> be interested would it matter whether or not I were also in negotiation with BBC?

Ada and I listen to you on this hill top with admiration and something more - a kind of desperate relief after the rest of the voices. You and Elmer and then ..... well where are you? Its a terrifying thought if you judge the health of the Republic by those cynical or cowardly or evil words.

yours as ever

Archie

APRIL 16, 1951

MR. ARCHIBALD MACLEISH
WIDENER W. HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

ABOUT FALL OF CITY ONLY RECORDING HERE IS GLASS THEREFORE NOT MAILABLE. WHEN DO YOU NEED IT? [redacted] CAN ARRANGE HAVE DUBBING MADE OR PUT IT ON TAPE IF YOU HAVE FACILITIES. REGARDS

ED MURROW

[redacted]

April 13
Widener W. Harvard Univ.
Cambridge, Mass

Dear Ed:

I hate to bother you but I don't know where else to turn. Some students here want me to talk on The Fall of the City. I believe CBS has kept the master recording. Is there any way by which we could borrow a copy for my use in such a lecture? It could be at any speed. Again my apologies.

best as always

Archie MacLeish

Mr. Clarkson
Murphy
CBI record
"Air Raid"
discontinued 1942

7278
Ann

ALD MAC LEISH WIDNER W. HARVARD UNIVERSITY
APRIL 17

Dear Ed: I have just wired you my thanks. And I repeat again my apologies for troubling you with a matter of such minor interest. I am to lecture at the Fogg on the afternoon of the 26th of April and if we could have a tape at 7½ we would all be as happy as clams. With public appreciation of CBS by all Harvards.

yrs as ever

Archie

RECEIVED

1951 APR 17 PM 1:42

C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WUF044 PD CAMBRIDGE MASS 17 105P

ED MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

THATS WONDERFUL OF YOU• IF I COULD HAVE TAPE AT 7-1/2 SPEED WE COULD HANDLE IT PERFECTLY• WITHIN TEN DAYS WOULD BE TIME ENOUGUBESTXXXENOUGH BEST AS EVER

ARCHIE MACLEISH•

118P

120

MacLeish Archibald
(not included in Griffin Index)

Archibald MacLeish
Harvard University
Widener W
Cambridge, Massachusetts

October 19, 1949

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thank you for a very heartening note. As you know I have been trying to chew your ear for some months past. Next time I am in New York I will try to let you know well in advance.

Thanks again,

Archie

MacLeish, Archibald

February 7, 1949

Dear Archi:

My friend Frank Hackett, who runs at Riverdale one of the most exciting educational institutions in the country, is inviting you to a dinner on March 1st at the Cosmopolitan Club.

The invitation comes at my suggestion, and I hope very much to have the pleasure of seeing you there.

As ever yours,

Mr. Archibald MacLeish
1 West 72nd Street
New York, New York

Costello.

January 15, 1959

Dear Brother Bill:

I am not sure I can be of much help to you on the Dewey-Nixon business. My relations with Nixon are non-existent, and, while Dewey and I are neighbours and friends, we have a sort of arms-length relationship when it comes to politics. I, too, have heard that Dewey has transferred his affections to Rockefeller, but I don't know this of my own knowledge. I do know that during the 1952 campaign, Dewey practically held Nixon's hand by the telephone during the crisis over his personal fund. I can also tell you, although I certainly would not want to be quoted on this, that, up to a few weeks before the election, Dewey did not think Rockefeller could win.

If I can ferret out anything in the course of next weekend or so, I will make you a signal.

I think the year-end show suffered from too much rehearsal, too much production and, in general, too little spontaneity. My love to your family.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. William Costello
Investment Building
Washington 5, D.C.

William Costello

Counsellor on International Affairs

Cable: Coscounsel

Investment Building, Washington 5, D. C., STerling 3-7079

January 12, 1959

Dear Brother Ed:

As you are aware (from the call to you by Viking Press), I am working on something about Nixon that could be called either a long profile or a short book. It's a hell of a thing to try to do along with broadcasting, but I'm sweating it out.

One of the best-kept secrets about him is his relationship with Tom Dewey. I have heard reports that the two have met with some degree of regularity ever since 1952. Other reports say Dewey is now ready to transfer his political affections to his less controversial boy in Albany. At the same time, Joe Martin publicly accuses Nixon and Dewey of having pulled the intrigue against his leadership.

I know you have no time to write anything about your knowledge of this labyrinth, but I'd be most grateful if you could dictate a short memo, covering the Nixon-Dewey relationship (if any), and any anecdotes from your own experience. Failing that, I'll try to cometo New YOrk this spring for a talkfest, about that and other things.

Incidentally, I am grateful too for your fortitude in lying so valiantly on my behalf to Viking.

cheerio.....Bill

By the way, I thought you looked less whipped than in other years on the year-end show -- the which, by the way, suffers for want of a new format.

Sending this to your apartment because even personal mail to your office seems to get lost.

Moley, Raymond

May 11, 1956

Dear Raymond Moley:

My real concern was whether you really felt on the basis of knowledge that the piece on the Vice Presidency was distorted or inaccurate. I am venturing to send you the printed text where you will note the only reference to Mr. Nixon is an altogether favorable quotation from President Eisenhower.

My letter was prompted more out of respect than anger, and I certainly agree with you that no useful purpose is served by fellow laborers in this not always fruitful vineyard engaging in public debate or controversy.

Thanks again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Raymond Moley
152 West 42 Street
New York 36, New York

rh

RAYMOND MOLEY
152 WEST 42 STREET
NEW YORK 36

April 30, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Some years ago in what, as I remember, was a broadcast, you stated as fact an incorrect account of my official relations with Secretary Hull and my resignation from the government in 1933. That incorrect account had been vigorously exploited by my enemies at the time and was injurious to me and embarrassing to my friends. I wrote to you a correct account of the record.

In return you wrote that you regretted the account you had given and that you would take occasion to correct your interpretation of that bit of history. I was very happy to have your letter and wrote in my book of memory at the time that you had done the fair thing with a fellow laborer in the thorny field of public comment. Whether a correction was made did not particularly concern me then or now. I was glad to take the will for the deed.

Since on that occasion you clearly manifested a spirit of fairness, I hasten to reply in kind to your letter of the 28th.

What I said concerning your broadcast on the Vice Presidency was not in the text of the written speech which I made on that occasion. It was ad libbed, in the course of a political speech before a political group.

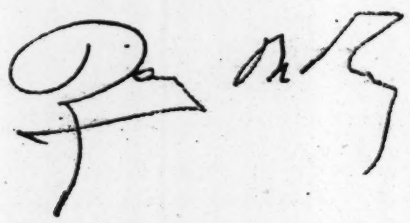
While the account given by your colleague is not verbatim correct, I did use the word "lied," and I regret it. It was not the expression commonly used to describe what I contended at the time was a selection of facts which failed to give a balanced picture of the Vice Presidency. I should have been more careful in my characterization of the general tenor of the broadcast. It was also out of my own character to mention libel.

I very sincerely regret my choice of words, which, I may add, were selected in a meeting in which feelings ran pretty high.

I am inclined to believe as a practical matter that, considering the limited circulation of my remarks concerning your broadcast, which were not reported in any of the published accounts of the speech, to bring the matter now to a much wider audience would not be helpful. However, in some way I shall presently take occasion publicly to amend any impression that my choice of words on that occasion might create.

I shall be happy to have your reaction to this suggestion.

Very sincerely,



Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

April 25, 1956

Dear Mr. Moley:

A colleague of mine in Los Angeles quotes you as having said recently on a public occasion: "More recently the anti-Nixon campaign has taken another slant. It began with a grievous and reprehensible distortion of history in a program on the Vice Presidency by Ed Murrow. If Murrow wants to sue me for libel, he can. Murrow lied. You would have thought that the Vice President is a good for nothing, or a drunkard. It was an attempt to destroy Dick Nixon." I am wondering whether the above quotation is accurate.

I am wondering, too, whether you would care to look at the script or the film; because if you would, I will be very glad to provide you with either or both. If you can find a single mistake in fact in that program, I will be both willing and eager to make a public retraction; if you can't, maybe you would consider similar action.

Normally, critical comment is expected and, indeed, welcome. I don't mind being called a liar, but it would be helpful to know wherein I lied. Would you care to enlighten me, or am I to conclude that your view is that I am merely a liar by instinct, and that you will not confer upon me the sacrament of proof.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Raymond Moley
Newsweek
152 West 42 Street
New York, New York

rh
bc: Mr. Friendly

CBS NEWS
1313 North Vine Street, Los Angeles 28 Hollywood 9-1212

LOS ANGELES BUREAU

April 19, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow,

The vagaries of the business took me yesterday noon to a rightwing festival in honor of Raymond Moley. His claim to authority because of his past errors reminds me of the ex-Communists who write and lecture for money. They brag of having been completely wrong a few years ago, but use that very fact in claiming they are completely right today.

That's beside the point, of course, I blame it on gas pains lingering on from the luncheon. I don't know whether you follow the comments of people like Moley - Newsweek but he threw the high hard one at you and I took notes.

Speaking of the Vice President, he said: "More recently the anti-Nixon campaign has taken another slant. It began with a grievous and reprehensible distortion of history in a program on the Vice Presidency by Ed Murrow. If Murrow wants to sue me for libel, he can. Murrow lied. You would have thought that the Vice President is a good for nothing, or a drunkard. It was an attempt to destroy Dick Nixon."

As I said, I don't know whether you care, but more than a thousand people heard those remarks and the newspapers today carried them in part.

With great admiration,

Bill Stout

Bill Stout

152 w 42

3-C-27 (not included in the Griffin Index) Nixon, R.

NIXON

The New York Times - September 6, 1955 - By Russell Baker (9/5/55)

Denver: Then, the Vice President gave this interpretation of what he suggested had been Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's fatal error.

There was, he said, a political adage to the effect that "you must not strike a king unless you kill him."

"Politically," he said, "you could say you must not strike a leader unless you destroy him. I think that our political history shows that when you have a great issue and an individual decides to take on the top man, if he wins out on the issue he gains in popularity, but when you make a frontal assault on somebody bigger, you'd better be sure you win. If you lose, you're through."

3-C-27

September 18, 1952

IN THE MIDST OF THE CAMPAIGN CAME WHAT NIXON LATER DESCRIBED AS THE MOST SCARRING PERSONAL CRISIS OF HIS LIFE. IT BEGAN WITH A HEADLINE, "SECRET NIXON FUND", IN THE NEW YORK POST.

This is the story, so far as we have it, of what may come to be called "The Affair Nixon". Today a Los Angeles tax attorney, Dana C. Smith, confirmed that he was a member of a group of Californians that had provided more than sixteen thousand dollars /THE LATER CORRECTED FIGURE WAS EIGHTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS/ in the last two years toward defraying the expenses of Senator Richard M. Nixon, the Republican candidate for Vice President. Smith said this money was not provided for Nixon's personal use; it was to help the senator pay for such things as Christmas cards, telephone calls, stamps, travel and radio recordings. Attorney Smith said the fund was to help Nixon do a "selling job in behalf of private enterprise," was designed to keep him free from the pressure of special interests and that no one who contributed to the fund had ever asked for personal favors. Mr. Smith said the money wasn't paid directly to Nixon. He, Smith, just paid some of Nixon's bills and, in a few "minor instances", reimbursed the senator for a few things he had to pay in Washington.

When first informed of this disclosure Senator Nixon declined to comment. Later, he said the money was used to handle postage, travel expenses, the cost of printing speeches and documents, and to enable him to hire extra clerical help. He said the money was used to take care of political expenses "which I believe should not be charged to the Federal Government." And he said, "As an alternative I might have

used free government transportation, or might have put my wife on the federal payroll, as did the Democratic nominee for Vice President." Nixon also said he hadn't been accepting law fees on the side while sitting as a member of Congress.

The chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Stephen A. Mitchell, called upon General Eisenhower to demand the resignation of Senator Nixon because he had accepted this money from the California group. Mitchell said Eisenhower should demand that Nixon get out, or Eisenhower should admit the statement that he would rather not be elected President than to be elected by the help of those who have lost their sense of public morals is just plain campaign hogwash. Mitchell said, "By no standard of public morals, or of private morals, can such conduct be condoned or explained away."

The original story of the Nixon subsidy was broken by The New York Post. Confirmation and explanation have now been offered by the tax attorney who handled the fund and by Senator Nixon. A senator's salary is twelve thousand, five hundred dollars a year, plus a yearly tax-free expense account of two thousand, five hundred dollars. The essential facts in this situation are not in dispute. The public and private morals and ethics are.

The Murrow invasion - and capture - of Israel

D-Day for the Murrow invasion of Israel was set for Monday 30th January; H-Hour was 22:00 hours when he stepped off the plane at Lydda Airport. Within fifteen minutes, he was on his way to Jerusalem and, after a clean-up at the King David Hotel, he was off to a midnight meeting with some of Israel's top officials to ask the kind of tough questions that would get him quickly to the core of the current Israel-Arab problem. At 2:30 a.m. he was deposited at the door of his hotel, and five and a half hours later, he was standing in front of two cameras with U.N. Truce Chief of Staff General Burns, on the bleak, sun-less strip of no-man's land between Israel and Jordan, just beyond the Mandelbaum Gate, a familiar mike in his hand, uttering the opening line of his next "See It Now" television programme "This is Ed Murrow, talking to you from a no-man's land in the Middle East"....

That's how it began - and that's how it went on for the next ten days, a thorough coverage at breakneck speed of the life and mood, the fears and hopes of the people of Israel. The result will form half of the ninety minute show which CBS will present at 8:30 p.m. on March 13th, an unprecedented length for a television documentary. The other forty-five minutes will be devoted to Egypt. Howard K. Smith, CBS Bureau Chief in Europe, headed the team that covered the Egyptian side.

"An essay in transportation" is how Ed Murrow put the purpose of his programme, designed to point up for American viewers the current pattern of Israel-Egyptian tension. "I'd like to use cameras and microphoes to show intelligent Americans what they would see for themselves given the opportunity of this trip to the Middle East. And perhaps a little more, enabling them to meet some folk, both high and humble, they might not themselves have had a chance of seeing...."

But he was talking in understatement. For the real standard he set himself

was the capture of an intangible - how to transmit to the American public the delicate intricacy of the strands that make up the design for living of another people - for the simple truth, like life, is never simple; and how to get all the colours of the rainbow on his palette - for black and white are hardly the sole ingredients of the middle Eastern - or any other -picture. No one whom he met in Israel can be sure that he succeeded. But all are quite certain that no one has ever tried so hard, or taken such pains, to discover truth.

To be fair, Murrow's physical invasion of Israel was something of a walk-over. His name was not strange to Israeli ears. Not that the country enjoys - if that is the word -television as yet. But newsstands brim with American papers and periodicals, and much was therefore known of some of his more outstanding "See It Now" programmes, notably the Oppenheimer and Nehru interviews, and the documentaries on McCarthy, South Africa and Farm Surplus. And there are thousands of today's Israelis, who emigrated from Europe, who recall Ed Murrow's broadcasts from blitz-torn London during the war, with their familiar "This Is London...".

And so the welcome he got as he stepped from the plane was not the frigid, impersonal, diplomatic reception accorded to the general run of V.I.P's but the warm greeting of a people who admire competence and honesty.

His technical team, serving as a kind of advance landing party, had hit the Israel beach-head five days earlier and managed to land equipment. Marty Barnett and Leo Rossi each headed a film unit, aided by Dave Blumgart, Larry Gianneschi and Robert Clemens. Marty operated a Wall single system camera and Leo an Akely. Cameras and sound and lighting equipment weighed one ton.

The more important sequences and all the major interviews were filmed with both cameras, so as not to disturb the interview by stopping to reload. And both teams shot a ratio of nearly twenty to one to ensure perfection. For the forty-five minute Israel part of the programme, the teams filmed 80,000 feet - nearly

fifteen hours of screening time. Neither Hollywood nor newsreel nor any other television programme reaches so high a ratio of shooting. It is costly but it gives results.

The seventh member of the party reached Israel two days before Murrow. This was Fred Friendly, burly co-editor of the "See It Now" programme, who bustled through the next forty-eight hours on a personal reconaissance of people and places to devise, as Chief of Operations, a feasible plan for his General. It is true to say that Israel isn't quite the same after Fred's visit. With his departure, Israelis aver that Israel is the most peaceful place in the world.

First hint of the Friendly touch came with his plan of a skirmish before the arrival of the Chief - an attack on Israel's parliament, called the Knesset, since there was unlikely to be an opportunity of tackling this body during Murrow's crowded schedule. Fred remained unbothered by the fact that no comprehensive film coverage had ever been made of the Knesset in session. On the contrary, this served as a sharpened spur. And while frantic Government officials were despatched to placate the Speaker, trucks rolled up with cameras, sound and lighting equipment. These were installed shortly before the session opened, with disturbance only to two opposition members who entered the Chamber to find their seats occupied by Leo Rossi's Akley. Fears harboured during the filming operation that this may well mean the end of parliamentary democracy in Israel proved groundless. Question time passed off without a hitch, discussion flowed smoothly, and members emerged from the ordeal with sufficient strength to celebrate, that very evening, the Knesset's seventh birthday. By this time, Fred was on his way to the airport to meet Ed. Janet Murrow followed shortly after.

Ed's interview with General Burns at 8 o'clock next morning took place in no-man's land exactly mid-way between Jordan-held Old Jerusalem and Israel-held New Jerusalem. Rain which had greeted Fred's arrival stopped when Ed reached

town, and kept off throughout his entire stay. The cameras were in position when Ed and the General reached Mandelbaum Gate - Leo and Marty had started setting up at 6 a.m.. Mandelbaum Gate, the frontier post on Israel's side of Jerusalem, is an adventure in semantics. It has been so widely mentioned in the world press that popular imagination conceives it as something at least as majestic as Berlin;s Brandenburg Tor. It is in fact a tumble-down ruin, shattered by Arab Legion twenty-five pounders during Israel's War of Independence. It belonged, before hostilities, to a Dr. Mandelbaum.

With cameras whirring while Ed talked to the General, Arab Legionaires popped their heads out of one building while Israeli soldiers watched from another. Marty's camera did a pan shot which took in the guards from both sides - surely the first time that rival troops, in their own positions, have been captured in the same shot.

Next assignment was the campus of the new Hebrew University that is being built at the western outskirts of the city. The original buildings of the University are on Mount Scopus. This is in Israel hands. But access to it lies through Jordan held territory, and this is denied to students. They study at present in improvised lecture rooms, but a new University is now being constructed in a beautiful valley near the western entrance to the city. It is characteristic of the Murrow technique that coverage of this cultural institution was achieved not through the President or one of the professors but by interviewing one of the building workers on the site. He was a Russian immigrant who had fled from Moscow shortly after the revolution. Today he is one of Israel's aristocrats - a man who works with his hands. He speaks with pride of the numerous buildings of Israel he has helped to construct. He spoke not only of the architectural grandeur of the new edifice but of the spirit of this centre of learning. "Here is the new physics laboratory, and here the department of history. The buildings are used as fast as eanh is completed. You can't go in

there - that's the new botanical hall, and there's a lecture on at the moment. Finished only last week, it's now in full working use, from 8 in the morning to 8 at night." Ed got a glimpse before he left of a model of what the completed university will look like in five years time. He promised to come back and see it on the ground.....

Next stop was the south. A border settlement near the Gaza strip. Word had come through that rain had turned the fields there into hip-high mud, and rubber boots were desirable. And so the convoy, two trucks and three cars, parked outside Jerusalem's most elegant shoe-store while one by one the teams filed in, and emerged looking like sons of the soil.

"Go South" say the words of a popular Israeli song, and south went Murrow, leaving the winding Wadi Sureik where Samson courted Delilah, and heading for the barren desert lands of the Negev. But land that was barren five years ago was now green with barley and clover, fruit of Israel's giant irrigation plan to bring water from the abundant north to nourish the arid south.

At the northernmost point of the Gaza strip, an Israel Defence Forces escort awaited the Murrow party to take them to the border settlement. For the track then leaves the tarmacadamed road and runs parallel, and close to, the border, and while Murrow sought no protection, the Israel Government was taking no chances. Men and vehicles have been mined and shop up on this very track with grim frequency during the last two years.

Half an hour later the teams arrived at Nahal Oz, without incident. Nahal Oz is the Hebrew for Stream of Strength. It is an agricultural cooperative farm, called a Kibbutz, in which an entire community own and work the land in common, putting into the common pool their labour power and their idealism - and there's a good deal of that - and receiving from the community the satisfaction of their basic wants - food, clothing, shelter, group social living, and the right to serve. It is exactly five hundred yards from the Egyptian border, opposite the

Egyptian held town of Gaza. The frontier is a furrow. The kibbutz is surrounded by a barbed wire fence, ringed with floodlights that expose would-be infiltrators at night, and dotted with entrenched look-out positions and watchtowers which are manned day and night. The young Israeli farmers, men and women, move around with rifle slung automatically over their shoulder, followers of the biblical injunction in this land of the Bible "With one hand on the plough, the other on the sword."

It was to Nahal Oz that Ed Murrow came to capture the mood of life on the frontier. While the crews were busy transferring equipment from truck to tractor, to navigate the mud - the report had been no overstatement - Ed and Fred floundered towards the most forward look-out post, and just beyond the frontier espied the Egyptian positions facing them. They returned gingerly to the settlement as dusk fell and the lights came on. Waiting for them was Uri - a twenty-year old Israeli born golden-haired farmer. Like most of his fellow members of the kibbutz, Uri had been born and brought up in urban surroudings - his father is a successful merchant in Tel-Aviv - who had responded to the call of pioneering and come south to farm and defend the frontier. His English was not polished but understandable. Ed decided to interview him on camera. But he was on duty that night, on guard in one of the watchtowers. "Very well," said Ed, "we'll interview you at your post - if you won't mind." And that's where the interview took place.

Setting up the equipment was not so easy. Powerful lights were needed for this night exterior. The only electricity available was that run off the kibbutz generator, and it wasn't certain whether it would carry the required load. At one point Fred was murmuring about cutting off the kibbutz lights for the duration of the interview, but the combined skills of Dave Blumgart and Larry Gianneschi and the kibbutz electrician succeeded in extracting enough power to illumine both Ed and Uri without plunging the rest of the community in darkness.

Ploughing through mud, they ran a cable several hundred yards from the nearest point to the tower, adding lamp to lamp while Leo Rossi, (looking incidentally like Harry Truman), stood poised on the tower, checking his light meter, eyes screwed like some modern Diogenes in myopic search for truth, exclaiming at intervals "more light, more light."

Cameras and lamps in position, Ed, trailing his microphone, scrambled up the rickety stairs to the platform of the tower where Uri stood on guard. Another watchman took over duty while Uri answered Ed's questions - ranging from life in the kibbutz to what Uri thinks about when he keeps watch on the frontier. The interview lasted an hour. After five minutes, despite the lights and the lenses, it was clear that Uri had forgotten that he was on camera, and without self-consciousness, with frankness and freedom, chatted to the American commentator. At times, this fresh, happy-faced twenty-year-old Jewish farmer sounded like an ancient monk talking to a novice, as he tried to explain why he and his fellow members had spurned the cafes, movies and lights of the city to come and farm in this lonely and dangerous outpost. This is what gave them a basic sense of satisfaction - reviving an ancient but neglected land and defending it against attack. This is what enabled him to stare back, unflinching, at what he saw in his shaving mirror each morning. Not that there was melodrama in the way he spoke. Only in the implications in what he said. He was as free from emotional overtones as an All-American on the practice field. "What do I think about when I'm on guard? I think "Why do I have to do this? I'd much rather be in bed. And I'm sure that the Egyptian on guard on the other side of the frontier feels the same. I wish we could talk it over together. But so long as there's political tension, and so long as we're attacked, someone's got to guard the frontier, and I and my young friends feel that those 'someones' ought to be us. That's why we're here."

It was long past midnight when the party left to sleep what remained of the

night at a new bungalow hotel near the Mediterranean at Ashkalon, of the biblical "Tell it not in Gath, tell it not in the streets of Ashkalon, lest the daughters of the Phillistines rejoice...". But the party was back the next morning, to cover the daily living sequences in a border settlement, the armed tractor driver who has to be careful, when ploughing near the frontier, to turn inside and not across the line; the young men and women at work and at rest; the children playing near the concrete anti-sniping wall that shields their kindergarten; the bomb-proof shelters; the peaceful cattle oblivious of their proximity to danger....

At midday, Ed broke off with one of the camera units to cover a border patrol. Listening in to a pre-patrol briefing, Ed asked these Israeli soldiers where they had come from. Replies ranged from Iraq to Yugoslavia, Morocco to Rumania, Poland to Israel born. All of course spoke Hebrew. Vehicles got stuck in the mud and they dismounted, continuing their patrol on foot. Ed followed as they moved along the border and then had to leave. There was much to be covered. While Fred stayed with the team that was continuing the coverage of Nahal Oz, Ed proceeded northwards to Heletz, scene of Israel's cuccessful oil strike some months ago. He managed, in his disarming way, to elicit from the standard clam-like lips of the local oil experts, facts about current production and future prospects which are not normally divulged. He left impressed with Israel's future oil hopes.

Rendezvous point for the two teams that evening was Beersheba, capital of the Negev. The party had an hour in which to wash and eat and they were whisked off to a new rural farming village three quarters of an hour away, which had recently been settled by new immigrants from Kurdistan. They were being taught music and dancing. Their instructor was the young Israeli composer who had authored "Tzena, Tzena." In a wooden hut in the heart of the desert, the young boys and girls sang the new songs of Israel and the old songs of their old

country, and danced the folk dances of their new land.

It was a tired party that slept that night in the unseasonably frigid rooms of the Beersheba hotel.

And early next morning they were on the job, covering this desert town which had developed in seven years from a population of 300 to 23,000, with modern apartment houses, buildings, factories, a large hospital, schools and the largest cinema-cum-congress hall in the country. It was a Thursday morning, weekly market day for the surrounding Arab bedouin, who flocked to the city with their camels and donkeys to enjoy the finest sport in the Middle East -- bargaining. For sale were carpets and saddle bags, chicken and eggs, hand-woven fabrics and ornamented belts, silver-mounted daggers and Negev herbs - and even their camels if the price was right. Leo was lucky enough to get a shot of a couple of camel-mounted bedouin riding across a nearby crest with a large newly constructed flour mill in the background.

At midday the party left to cover the potash works at the Dead Sea. They took the new road, a remarkable piece of engineering, which winds and descends in gentle curves from 1200 feet above to 1200 feet below sea level. Here, at the southern end of the sultry lake, lies Sdom - of the illfated biblical Sodom and Gemorrah. It is marked today by a huge plant engaged in extracting potash from what is probably the richest treasure of salts in the world. For the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea and there is no outlet. Evaporation is so rapid in the heat that the salt content of what remains continually rises. No swimmer can drown in this inland sea, for it takes more than a single person's power to thrust his head under water. You just float. The surrounding terrain looks like moon country, rough, bleak mounds and crags, the colour of parchment, still and lifeless in the winter heat. But there is about it a rugged beauty and a grandeur made majestic by the background blue of the calm water. For some miles along the edge of the lake the cliffs are of pure salt. It is a tribute to Ed's

reputation of honesty that no one described a salt-block near the track at 'Lot's wife.' From a high platform of the plant, near the giant separators, overlooking the salt-pans in the sea, Ed did a general commentary on the modern extraction of potash, magnesium and other chemicals which are exported to earn precious foreign exchange for the young State.

That night, too, was spent in Beersheba, for next morning, Murrow was to interview Israel's Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, in his desert pioneer settlement, Sde Boker, to which he had retreated two years ago and where he still likes to spend his weekends and free moments.

The two crews left at 6 a.m. and when Ed arrived, cameras were already set up outside the Prime Minister's three-room wooden hut. Nature was kind. The sun shone and the desert wind had not yet begun to howl. (It started five minutes after the interview ended). Ed was introduced to Ben Gurion, they chatted for a few moments just to get accustomed to each other, sat down, and within a minute, the cameras started rolling. Murrow makes it a point not to discuss or rehearse his questions before the interview. Everything is done "on camera." The result is spontaneity on the television screen. And the nature and manner of the questioning are such as to put the interviewee at ease. The Ben Gurion interview lasted an hour. Observers present who have listened in to numerous interviews with the Prime Minister affirm that never before has he offered so rich a fare of fact and philosophy. He spoke freely and with great candour about the problems that beset the State, what he is doing, what he proposes to do and what he feels others should do. He told Ed, on camera and very much on the record, that he was prepared to sit down with Nasser and any other Arab leader "tomorrow, any place, at any time, to discuss peace and negotiate a peace treaty." He burked no question, evaded no issue. He replied fully to everything he was asked. The result must surely be the most comprehensive film record to date of the feelings, thoughts and ideas of the Prime Minister of Israel.

The interview over, Ben Gurion returned to his hut, while Ed and Fred wandered round the settlement securing additional background shots. This completed, Ed thought he would just slip over to the hut to say a final goodbye to the Premier. He knocked. There was no reply. He knocked again. Again no reply. He then opened the door, and walked in. Opposite the outer door was the kitchen. It was open. Standing by the sink stood the Prime Minister of Israel, engaged in washing a plate beneath a thin trickle of water that flowed reluctantly from the faucet. They bade each other 'Shalom' - the Hebrew greeting that means "peace" - and Ed returned to the car. He told Fred what he had just seen. Someone nearby suggested filming the scene of Ben Gurion in the kitchen. "Not on your life" said Ed, "no-one would believe it. They'd think it had been staged."

The party headed northwards to spend the night in Tel Aviv, the teeming, lively city on the Mediterranean and the largest city in Israel. It was their first evening of relaxation, and they spent it at a party given by young members of the Chamber theatre, a bright and talented group, whose outstanding recent successes have been Shaw's St. Joan and Shakespeare's As You Like It. Highspots of the evening were Israeli folk songs and Negro spirituals sung by a trio to a guitar accompaniment, a puppet show, and some highly diverting theatrical caricatures by a brilliantly talented pantomimist, Shai Ofir. It was 2:30 a.m. when the party got to bed. And by eight, they were on the road to an Arab village near the Jordan border.

This was Tira, a few hundred yards from the frontier and opposite the Jordan held city of Qalqiliah. It lies about 25 miles northeast of Tel Aviv. The party was received by the Arab mayor, in flowing robes and head-dress, and the Arab superintendent of schools who served as interpreter. They were taken up a hill to inspect the new reservoir which the Government had built and which meant, for the first time, a faucet in every Arab kitchen. Someone observed

that this meant the passing of that centuries-old gracious sight - Arab women walking with slender grace from the well, a pitcher on their heads. But the women themselves who did the carrying were not at all reluctant to exchange the arduous romanticism for the boon of water on tap inside the house. The piping in of water to this village also meant green fields and abundant crops. Their standard of life had never been higher.

From coverage of water, Ed was taken to see the schools - including a high school built in the last couple of years. It was the first time the Arabs were receiving higher education. Some of the brighter pupils of this village have graduated to and are now students at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the Haifa Technion - Israel's M.I.T.

The Mayor then proudly led the party to the new hospital which is in course of construction. And they then wandered round the village.

In his interview, Ed asked the mayor what conditions were like for the Arabs of Israel. The mayor replied that he could speak only for his village, and he had the highest praise for the way the Government had helped to raise living standards beyond anything they had enjoyed under the British mandate and beyond those of villages in the Arab lands. None had such high educational and health services, instruction in the use of modern agricultural techniques, water. "How about political freedom" asked Ed. "We have it," said the mayor. He had been elected by popular vote at the last election. "How many parties do you have in your village?" "Two" said the mayor. "What's the difference between them?" Here the mayor was somewhat nonplussed. He shrugged a shoulder, laughed, and then said that in fact there was little difference between the two. "In that case," said Ed, "whom do I vote for if I ever come back here and settle?" "Oh, me of course" beamed the mayor. He had one complaint against the Government. Araba living in the border area had to have a permit to move about the country. This was irksome, though he added that in the last two

years permits were given freely and for six months or yearly periods, rather than for each trip. He understood the reason as an anti-infiltration device, but still it was tiresome and he looked forward to the day when permits would be unnecessary.

The only casualty on this visit was Janet Murrow. While the units were busy filming, Janet wandered through the dirt-track alleyways of the village on her own. An Arab lady standing near the door of her house invited her in for tea. Janet was delighted at the chance of seeing how they live. In she went, through the courtyard and into a large room rich with rugs and tapestries. Tea was brought. Janet put the cup to her lips. She tasted a thick, syrup-sweet liquid, and was about to spit it out when she remembered youthful tales about Arab hospitality, and the importance of not offending by a refusal. With great stoicism, she drained the cup. It was a green looking Janet who joined up with the party an hour later....

From Tira the convoy headed north, to the Sea of Galilee (also known as Lake Kinnereth), through the Valley of Esdraelon and down to the Jordan plain. Ed wanted to interview the men who fish in this Lake and find out from them, rather than from the politicians, what they felt about the Israel punitive action against the Syrians some months ago. The party made for Ein Gev, also a kibbutz, on the eastern edge of the Lake, close to the Syrian border and two and a half miles south of the scene of the fighting. The sun was waning as the party arrived, but by a record - and back - breaking transfer of equipment from truck to jetty and the speediest possible setting up of cameras admittedly under the goaded barbs of Fred's tongue - Leo and Marty managed a glorious dusk shot of fishing vessels moving out into the sea.

Then came an example of Ed's and Fred's insistence on what they call "things being kosher." Nothing faked; nothing posed; nothing staged. Whatever is the normal activity - that is what the cameras must capture. Simulated

activity - even if the result on the screen is the same or better - is spurned.

Ed wanted to interview the fishermen while they were engaged in actual fishing. For a night shot, much light was needed. The easiest way to get this shot was to set up cameras on the jetty, run a power line from the settlement, and have the fishermen in their boats just a few yards away. In this way the cameras would be steady, the lights right, there would be no vibration from the engines to disturb the microphone, no need for intricate haulage of equipment, and the whole job could be wrapped up in an hour. It all seemed feasible, particularly as the shots would be close and none would know that it was being filmed near the jetty rather than in the open sea. There was only one thing wrong. It wasn't 'kosher.' "Do you ever fish near the jetty?" Ed asked the fishermen. "Never," they replied. "Where do you fish - where are you fishing tonight?" "About a mile and a half out, in the heart of the Lake." "Okay," said Ed, "that's where we'll do the interview."

Then Fred got busy, ably assisted by some of the bright Israel Government Press Office boys who had come along to help. They got a couple of Israel police launches to supply power for the lighting, camera crew, kibbutznicks and police hauled equipment from jetty to launch, and cameras were set up on either side of the bridge of one of the police boats from which the filming was to take place. Ed stepped into a light motor boat, used by the kibbutz for echo soundings, and the nautical party moved off into the night, extreme care being taken not to disturb the fish.

This is how they fish in the Sea of Galilee - probably the most noted ancient fishing spot in the world. The boat with the echo sounder does a reconaissance in the late afternoon to detect the fishing ground. The area is marked with buoys. At dusk, small vessels proceed to the grounds, equipped with large LUX lamps at their stern. On arrival they drop anchor and wait. The light from the lamps attract the fish. An hour and a half later, other

boats go out, drop nets around the area of light, and then haul in their catch. Sometimes they are lucky. Sometimes they draw a blank. The night the Murrow party went out, they were lucky to haul in four tons of fish. The interview took place while the catch was actually being brought in over the side.

As the party neared the fishermen, they were suddenly apprised of two problems. Fred told the captain of the launch that the cameras had to get to within ten feet of the fishing boats. But this endangered the nets, which would probably be torn by the propellers. And the engine had to be cut off, so as not to disturb the microphone. But this meant no control in case of drift. The problems were solved by the kibbutznick in charge of the light motor boat which was carrying Ed to the location. Fifty yards from the fishing ground, the launches cut their motors. They were tied to the light motor boat and brought gently in to the fishing area. Ed stepped in to one of the fishing vessels and began chatting to the men as they hauled the fish over the side, singing as they worked.

Fred barked orders to the cameramen, the soundmen, and the sundry kibbutznicks and police who were each holding a lamp to light up the men. The spotlights of the launches had proved unsatisfactory - they threw a powerful beam but the area of illumination was small. Improvised lighting had been hurriedly secured by removing the headlamps of every truck in the settlement and running them off the launch generators. Every spare man aboard held a lamp.

And then Fred gave the order for the cameras to roll. The sight was incredible. Ed standing immaculate in the fishing vessel as wet nets were hauled in at his feet, fish jumping and glistening in the bright light as they came over the side, a prevailing hush - even the fishermen stopped singing at the sound of Fred's roar "QUIET NOW" - and overhead, the star-studded sky covering the S a of Galilee as serene as it must have been two thousand years ago when other, more noted, fishermen cast their nets on this very spot. On

the prow of the police launch, having a whale of a time, legs dangling over the side, and flanked by Leo and Marty behind their cameras, sat Fred, like some biblical Bligh, running this amphibious show, and barking clipped orders to the cameramen as if they were marine gunners firing salvos. One youngster holding a lamp slipped on the wet deck in the middle of the shooting. He was saved only because Fred didn't know the Hebrew for "fifty lashes."

With the limitless possibilities for everything going wrong, it is amazing that everything went right. Technically, the sequences and the interviews were perfect. Again, there was an absence of self-consciousness as these young Jewish fishermen answered Ed's questions. "What do you think" asked Ed, "about the action against the Syrians for which your government was censured by the Security Council - the actinn which took place just off the Lake, a couple of miles over in that direction, I understand?" "Well," said one lad, "I'm not a politician, just a fisherman. This is our lake. No one disputes it. It's entirely in Israel territory. The Syrians put up positions on the lakeside and fire at us. You see how we fish. We go out in boats with lamps. The light attracts the fish. But it also attracts the Syrians. It isn't pleasant to sit out here in these boats, and have pot shots taken at us. Something has to be done. If members of the Security Council could be here and see what happens, I don't think we'd have been censured. I think they'd have had something to say to the Syrians. Incidentally, since the action, there's been no incident, and we've been able to fish without disturbance ever since."

The party left the fishermen singing songs from the Bible and songs of Israel pioneers, and returned to the jetty. As they landed they heard strains of Mozart coming from the settlement dining room. The crews broke their earlier record of transferring equipment and raced to set up cameras to capture for the screen the Saturday night concert in this border village.

It was being held in the dining room. Tables had been cleared, and room made near the kitchen for the celebrated Israel Quartet - Fenyvesz violin, his sister, viola; Thelma Yellin, cello; and Tal, piano - who played chamber works ranging from Mozart to Prokofieff, Beethoven to Dvorzak. The farmers and fishermen of this settlement, their wives and children, sat on bare forms in this stark room, entranced by music some of which had been composed for and first played in more courtly and ornate surroundings. But no eighteenth century ducal salon could have been more appreciative. And the audience was delighted when Fred requested some encores to shoot close-ups of the players. It was late when the party got to bed in the kibbutz guest rooms.

And they rose early next morning to make a precarious climb in a command car to the top of Sussita, the hill captured by the kibbutznicks from the Syrians during the War of Independence which the Arabs had used to pour shells on to the settlement. They descended to breakfast at the small rotunda-like open cafe at the lakeside, off grilled freshly caught catfish steaks. Ed, in biblical mood, chose instead grilled St. Peter's fish, the speciality of the Sea of Galilee.

Tragedy hit the party on their way to the next stop. At the kibbutz the previous evening, a bowlful of radishes had been put on the table. There was something special about them for the American visitors. They were the size of grenades, and they were delicious. It took three powerful men to remove Fred from the table so that the teams could get on with the shooting. Before retiring, Fred had been heard to murmur something about getting a supply of the radishes taken to the cars, to spice the journey. Halfway round the Lake, just as they were nearing the Mount of Beatitudes, Fred suddenly exclaimed, "where are the radishes?" A white faced Government press liaison officer had to confess that he thought Fred had been joking and apologised for this grave logistic snarl-up. Only Ed's persuasive insistence

prevented Fred from ordering the convoy to turn round and get back to the kibbutz. Radishes in Israel are now known as Friendly's Delight. Any connection with Sherwood is furiously denied.

Waiting for the party on a hill to the north of the Lake stood Bud Mollahan, an American agricultural expert who is in Israel under the U. S. technical assistance programme to teach Israel farmers new techniques. Ed interviewed him as they faced the Sea of Galilee. To their left was the Mount of Beatitudes, scene of the Sermon on the Mount. A little to the right was Migdal, birthplace of Mary Magdalene. Bud spoke of "Operation Cowboy," under which land unfit for cultivation was being reseeded for range farming, for the raising of beef cattle. As they spoke, Israel cowboys, one riding a short tough quarter horse which had been flown out from Texas a few months before, weaved in and out of the fine herd, for all the world as if they had been born in a corral rather than a European ghetto. "How do the Jews take to farming," Ed asked Bud. "Like a duck to water," said Bud. And he added in a rich and fluent drawl "it"s funny, the Jews have been away from the land for two thousand years. They've come here and started up again. And they make fine farmers. Look at what they've done in the desert down south." And he went on to describe farming in modern Israel and how eager these farmers have been to learn new methods which experts have come in to teach.

It was time to leave. Next appointment was with a jet-fighter squadron midway between the Jordan Valley and Haifa, taking in Nazareth on the way. The party was taken on a tour of this Arab Christian city, visiting the Church of the Annunciation, and the caves nearby where Mary is believed to have heard the news from the Angel Gabriel, where the family of Jesus lived, the stone table on the floor where they ate, the workbench of Joseph the Carpenter. A new modern church is now being built on the site of the Annunciation.

Four jet Meteors were just taking off when the party moved through the

gate of this Air Force base in northern Israel. Colonel Ezer Weismann, nephew of Israel's First President, and commander of the unit was waiting to greet Ed. He was one of the two officers on the field who had been trained by the RAF during the war. The rest were all Israel trained flyers. As they crossed one tarmac, Ed asked if it was long enough to take a Meteor. "Long enough to take a Sabre jet" was the Colonel's quick reply. This is a sore point with the Israelis. The Egyptians are now receiving big shipments of Russian MIG fighters. Israel has nothing to match them for speed. She has asked the USA for F 86s - which are by now too slow for the American Air Force but fast enough for Israel. So far the answer has been NO.

Not that the disappointment was discernible on Weizmann's face. It was as fresh and cherry as the text-book version of the face of a fighter ace. From his lips, when he talks to his men, comes a rapid fire of Hebrew interspersed with RAF witticisms. Ed interviewed him against a background of obsolete P 51s - the only planes Israel has received - on payment - from the United States.

When they shot a pilot entering a Meteor, they noticed that his forearm had a tattooed number. It transpired that he had been a refugee in a Hitler concentration camp. "Which one," asked Ed. "Buchenwald" was the reply. Ed Murrow happens to have been the first American correspondent to enter Buchenwald on the day of its liberation. They had been in the same camp at the same time. But the robust young flier of today had then weighed 75 pounds. He had been in the hospital, suffering from frozen legs. The Germans inoculated most of the patients with a death needle - but hadn't managed to reach his cot before the death camp was liberated. Today, an experienced fighter pilot, he serves as flying instructor to young Israeli cadets.

Lunch time next day found the party out at an Israel army parachute base to cover a drop. Marty and Larry set up their camera inside one of the planes

near the despatcher to cover the jump while Leo and Dave and the rest of the party drove out to the dropping area. Marty was put out by the refusal to give him a parachute. He wanted to follow the boys after filming them. And Ed was only restrained from jumping by Fred's ingenuity in having him driven to the dropping area straight from Tel Aviv. While waiting for the planes to come over, Israel's Chief of Staff, Major-General Moshe Dayan arrived. The interview had been arranged there to save time. But as luck had it - Friendly luck it was called - the paratroopers came over in the middle of the interview, forming an appropriate back-drop to the sequence. Dayan, like Ben Gurion, was utterly frank. The Americans, he said, were making the British mistake of jettisoning friendly Israel and trying to buy Arab support. History had shown that Arab so called friendship was worthless. It was built on shifting sands. Despite all the aid the Arab States had received from America and Britain, Egypt had just done a deal with the Russians, opening her doors to vast shipments of arms - and to Russian influence. The obvious logic would be for America to supply defensive weapons to Israel, matching the Czech supply to Egypt tank for tank, plane for plane, gun for gun. Instead the American logic seems to be "The Egyptians are getting arms from the Soviets; they must therefore keep getting arms from us." Egypt, having learnt the virtue of diplomatic blackmail, gets arms and aid from both sides, making her strong enough to carry out her threat of attacking Israel, while Israel's arms position remains static. This is the certain road to war in the Middle East.

Dayan, who lost an eye while serving in the British forces during the Syrian campaign, is a farmer. He was born in a kibbutz and brought up in a cooperative small-holding village which his father founded. He has a fine war record and is proud of the fact that the Israel Army devotes as much time and energy to the education of the soldier as it does to his military training. "We seek," says he "to make the Israel soldier a public-spirted

citizen in time of peace and an effective fighter in time of war." He considers the army to be the greatest adult educational force in the country for the integration of the immigrants. He is certainly an unusual brass-hat. Asked what he'd most like to do, he says - and he means it: "Get out of the army and back to farming."

From paratroopers to protocol. It was getting late and Ed and Fred had a dinner date with Foreign Minister Moshe Sharret in Jerusalem. They made it just in time. Dress was informal, though the dinner party was large. Janet learned some new recipes from Zippora Sharett, notably the grated beetroot, banana and nut. Ed couldn't eat too much as he had an interview immediately after. And Fred was delightfully unprotocolish by jumping up between courses to find out how Leo and Marty were getting along with the setting up of cameras and lights in the Foreign Minister's study. It was, however, a pretty well-fed lot that moved in front of the lenses for the television interview. The cameras started rolling at 11 and went on to just past midnight. Again, the Murrow method of putting interviewee at ease worked - and paid off, in spontaneity of reply, frankness and candour. Sharett talked to Ed, in answer to crucial questions, as he would to a fellow member of the Cabinet. An evening both enjoyable and profitable in terms of footage.

Fred left for New York next morning, and Israel began to breathe again. Characteristically, Fred took one of the camera teams with him to the airport. He had heard that a plane was arriving that morning bringing immigrants from Cochin India, and he was determined to get it covered before catching his own plane. His luck held, and he managed to finish directing this sequence a few moments before his own plane was due to take off. By this time, all the airport officials, police and customs men were conditioned to carry out his slightest behest. So it was a small matter for him to be

whisked from the immigrant plane tarmac to his waiting plane, the door shut behind him and the pilot signalled to carry him off.

Ed had one more assignment before leaving: coverage of an immigrant ship due to arrive in Haifa next morning. Eight o'clock found him at the port, standing at the foot of the gangplank, microphone in hand, interviewing some of the 852 immigrants from North Africa as they came off the ship. Most of them were going straight from the ship to a farm settlement in the south. Greeting them was a youth orchestra from Haifa, playing folk songs of Israel. Nearby were relatives andffriends, come to welcome them. It was a joyous sight.

As the cameras stopped rolling, the teams were about to utter a silent prayer of thanksgiving on completion of what was a fascinating but most gruelling assignment. The crews said that they had worked at that kind of tempo for two or three days at a time, but never for so sustained a period. But Ed had read the paper that morning. And his eye had caught a small stop-press item. It appears that the previous afternoon, Syrian infiltrators had crossed the border in the north and stolen a flock of 312 sheep belonging to Kibbutz Dan. "Let's go there and find out what happened. Let's set up the cameras at the actual spot where it occurred and interview the shepherd." So that's where the convoy headed for - Kibbutz Dan ("From Dan to Beersheba"), in the northeastern corner of Israel, situated on a finger-tip of land with the Syrians on three sides. Three hours later, Ed and the shepherd were 'on camera,' exactly three hundred yards from the Syrian frontier, and Ed learned that roughly the same time on the previous day, the shepherd had stood there with his flock when three Syrian infiltrators, one of them armed, had come across the border. He himself had been unarmed - as nothing had happened in those parts for a year or more. And so he had rushed back to the kibbutz to summon help, for many shepherds had been killed in Israel

in the last few years. When they had returned, the sheep had gone. "Didn't you feel like going after them?" asked Ed. The shepherd smiled. "Of course we'd like to. But we know what happens. We chase them, cross the border in pursuit, and then the United Nations condems us for violating the frontier rather than the Syrians for crossing and rustling our sheep." "Will you get your sheep back?" "Who knows," replied the shepherd. "They stole a herd six months ago from another kibbutz. They've admitted that the cattle are in their hands. But we're still waiting.

The party said Goodbye to Kibbutz Dan - and practically goodbye to Israel, for Ed was on the plane next morning in an effort to make his Friday night "Person To Person" show. The two camera crews were left behind to complete the shooting of background sequences which did not require the presence of Murrow. They left on 21st February, and by 7:30 A.M. on the 22nd, Israel went back to work.

Postscript: Word came though three days after Ed left that the Syrians had returned 292 of Kibbutz Dan's sheep. Only 20 had been lost. This return, so speedily after the theft, is unprecedented. The general kibbutz theory is that it is due either to the Murrow broadcast on the subject, given the same evening, or to the setting up of the cameras, including a telelens, for the interview on the same spot. For the television operation was under Syrian observatinn from three sides. At all events, Murrow will long continue to be an honoured name in the annals of Kibbutz Dan.

-- Moish Pearlman --

1956

Pearlman, M.
1965

The Waldorf-Astoria
A HILTON HOTEL
Room 1414

NEW YORK 10022

My dear Janet,

Teddy and I ache to see you and Ed, but we have heard from Sidney Warburg how grim are the current moments, and we are reluctant to bother you.

But you must know that our hearts and thoughts are with you both.

All our love,

Moish (PEARLMAN)

and Telly (KOLLEK)

Pearlman Moish
Prog. Business

URGENT WIRE.

TO: MOISH PEARLMAN c/o PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL.

TRIED TO REACH YOU BY TELEPHONE. SHOULD I BORROW MY TYPEWRITER AGAIN?

REGARDS.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Budget no. 514-43

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ED MURROW CBS 485 MADISON-AVENUE

NYK-22

CANNOT TELL YOU HOW TXXXX THRILLED DELIGHTED IF YOU COULD USE YOUR TYPEWRITER AGAIN BUT WE TRYING REMAIN IN BACKGROUND NOT ANXIOUS PROJECT OURSELVES INTO PICTURE THEREFORE YOU LIKELY FIND IT UNSATISFYING AND SOMEWHAT FRUSTRATING STOP EYE WILL HOWEVER KEEP HAWKLIKE WATCH ON DEVELOPMENTS AND MOMENT IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE EYE WILL TAKE LIBERTY OF MAKING YOU WELCOMING SIGNAL LIMITLESS REGARDS YOU JANET MOISH

CB 200 JUL 16 1958

ACK

J R1 CBS

Pearlman, Moish

APRIL 10, 1958

MR. MOISH PEARLMAN
ISRAELI EMBASSY
ACCRA, GHANA

WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL YOU CONVEY MY GREETINGS TO NKRUMAH AND SAY I WOULD BE DELIGHTED INTERVIEW HIM BOTH RADIO AND TELEVISION DURING HIS VISIT. SHALOM.

ED MURROW

514-43
fc

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
Accra, Ghana. 31 march 58

שגרירות ישראל

Dear Janet and Ed,

Since warmest is what everything is in West Africa, from what more appropriate place could I send my high-temperature regards and belated thanks for your beautiful New Year wishes? Tell me, Janet, where were you when you wrote? Was it really Paris? It was very sweet and thoughtful.

And let me confess, its the real reason why I'm here. The good reason is that I had one or two things to discuss with the Government boys. The real reason is that only by travelling can one catch up on letter writing.

I've been in Ghana three weeks already and shall be here until the 20th april. But if you think that you can come to darkest or even brightest Africa without coming across Ed Murrow, you've another think coming.

I'm sitting in an open air cinema in Accra surrounded by the top government brass and diplomatic corps for a special film show to wind up their Independence celebrations. Immediately in front sit the Governor General Lord Listowel (whom you probably met in London as one of the old labour lords) and Premier Kwame Nkrumah. We're being shown two films, one on Ghana and the other I'd forgotten. The Minister of Information makes a speech, the lights go down, the screen brightens and within a few moments I hear Ed's familiar voice. What was the film? Your feature on Louis Armstrong! Can you imagine what an unexpected thrill it was for me, and how fortunate there was no ceiling for me to hit? I loved it - and your interview piece with Armstrong seated on the stoop when he untangled the jazz vocabulary was a gem. And I was delighted that they chose this film with which to mark one of the celebrations of their first anniversary of independence.

The boys here told me that alas neither you nor Fred had managed to be here for the Ghana sequences. A pity, for you would love this place - for a few days at least (for truth to tell its damnably humid, and the only times I've been dry since my arrival have been when I'm under the shower!) The people, however, are gay and cheerful and very good-hearted, and Israelis are made very welcome. For we've several technical experts here whom they've requested to help them on such things as cooperative farming, water resources, cooperative banking transport and marketing. We've a chap coming out next week to set up a Nautical College. Our largest building contractors, the agency of the Histadruth, has just concluded an agreement here to establish a Ghanian contracting company, with majority Ghanaian holdings, to carry out the major building projects in the country. And they're still very pleased with us for having done what no other country was prepared to do - help them set up a Ghanaian shipping line - the Black Star Line - with 60% Ghanaian and 40% Israel holdings, the first ships to carry an all-African crew with a few Israel officers until we can train Ghanaian officers.

The fact is, as some of their Ministers put it, that Israel technical aid to Ghana is given an added dimension because we ourselves, only yesterday, were faced with similar problems, and had to tackle them not always with limitless resources and huge capital equipment but by the use of little ingenuity and adaptability. And we seek nought in return except friendship - an international commodity in short supply for Israel. Our experts here work as they do in Israel - with an even greater missionary zeal because they want to show that what we have done can be done in Ghana.

So far we have, I think, done well by Ghana in international affairs, as Ghana has done well by us in her development field. She has resisted so far Arab attempts to throw us overboard, maintaining that as a free and independent nation, she alone will determine with whom to be friends. She wants to be friends with us and with the Arab States of the Middle East, and she would like to be the means of bringing us together. But I think Ghana underrates the persuasive power and tactics of Nasser. He may be coming to the Accra conference of the 8 independent African States which opens here on the 15 April. He has accepted, and has so far not cancelled. But it is my hunch that at the last moment he won't be able to get away - particularly if he has to go to Moscow, as this morning's papers suggest. But if he should come, I'm not at all happy about the outcome of his efforts to wean Nkrumah away from the Ghana-Israel relationship.

Now I don't know whether you have any strong anti-Nkrumah views, as we've never discussed him. But I'm wondering, if you have'nt, whether a single word from you may not have a very helpful effect. Nkrumah is visiting the U.S. some time in July at the invitation of Eisenhower. You may perhaps be meeting him at one or other of the official functions. If, when you meet him, you could slip in a smart congratulation on his courage and wisdom in maintaining such a close and friendly relationship with Israel, it would be very helpful indeed. For an endorsement by you who have your finger on the international pulse would give his policy an objective validity of weight and prestige which would encourage him to continue. It may be, of course, that you have thought of interviewing him on television. I cannot know whether he is sufficiently newsworthy for you. But if you should decide that he is, could you perhaps, with a straight face, enable us to extract a virtue from your decision by suggesting to him that the interview was recommended by me, or by the Israel embassy in Accra or just by your Israel friends?

Ed, I'm sorry to sound so damnably Machiavellian, but I am most concerned that he should be strengthened in his anti-Nasser and pro-Israel line by the encouragement of such distinguished gennelmen as you. And as I say, a few obiter dicta uttered by you in passing can be most helpful.

Incidentally, if you should decide that an interview is feasible and you don't mind letting me know, I can fix it up with him here. I hope I don't need to add that personal kudos is not my consideration. Its the old Caaaaauuuuuuuuuuuse!

I've stolen too much of your time. This screed is long enough. I close with all my love to you both. Yours ever, Meir

(1). My regards are regards that old kinnert sea-horse, Captain Red.
(2). I was intrigued and elated by the Time magazine snippet about the Senator from New York. I hope, despite your why, that there are positive developments. N.P.

Pearlman, Moshe

February 5, 1958

Dear Moish:

Many thanks for your letter of January 12th. I have also heard from Ted Lurie.

I would like very much to be able to write the suggested article for the Jerusalem Post, but I am just so loaded down with radio and television program activities that it is completely impossible for me to squeeze out enough time to do justice to the subject. You must know how sorry I am to have to say this.

Janet joins me in sending warmest good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Moshe Pearlman
Prime Minister's office
Jerusalem, Israel

mcc

HEAD OFFICE
9 Rehov Hahavatzelet
P.O.B. 81. Tel. 4233
JERUSALEM

BRANCH OFFICES
52 Nahlat Benyamin
P.O.B. 1125. Tel. 4251
TEL AVIV

1 Rehov Khayat
P.O.B. 66. Tel. 4594
HAIFA

THE JERUSALEM
POST

PUBLISHED IN JERUSALEM
BY THE PALESTINE POST LTD.

משרד ראשי
רחוב החבצלת 9
ת.ד. 81. טלפון 4233
ירושלים

סניפים
רחוב נחלת בנימין 52
ת.ד. 1125. טלפון 4251
תל אביב

רחוב חיט 1
ת.ד. 66. טלפון 4594
חיפה

January 13, 1958.

Dear Ed Murrow -

The Jerusalem Post is planning to mark the tenth anniversary of the birth of Israel with a special supplement scheduled to appear this spring.

In this connection, we would like to ask you to contribute a short piece of 700 or 800 words on any subject you yourself choose connected with our first decade. It can be a vignette of your most vivid experience during your visit here, or a brief expose of your own views on the future pattern of Israel, or your own personal estimate of the significance of the establishment of this State, or any similar subject.

One of the things the State has not been able to do in these 10 years is to balance its foreign currency budget, and it will not be possible for us to pay you a fee in your currency. We would, however, be happy if you would accept as a token of our appreciation of your contribution to this special issue a two years' subscription to our weekend (Friday) issue.

We have fixed as our deadline for copy February 15, and would appreciate it if you would let us have by return mail your acceptance of our invitation.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

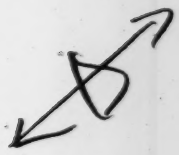
Ted R. Lurie,
Editor.

Mr. Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York.

trl:cs.

משרד ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Jerusalem



12th January 1958

Dear Ed,

I was chatting the other day with my friend Ted Lurie, Editor of the Jerusalem Post, and he told me of his plan to issue a special supplement this spring to mark Israel's 10th Anniversary. He was anxious to adorn this issue with a few contributions from distinguished writers who had visited Israel. Can you blame me for allowing your name to escape my lips before Ted had even stopped speaking? I promised to accompany his official invitation with a note of my own, hoping that you could squeeze the production of a brief masterpiece into your crowded schedule. I speak, as you will quickly discern, both as a friend and as an eager reader.

Forgive this meagre vehicle for the transmission of my love to you and Janet, and my best wishes for the New Year. Know well that their terminal points are from heart to heart.

Yours ever,

Moshe

Moshe Pearlman

Mr. Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, U.S.A.

~~Program~~
~~Bos.~~
Pearlman
moshe.

September 16, 1957

Dear Moshe:

We certainly made every effort to arrange the schedule so that we could undertake the piece on the Army of Israel but for the time being we have simply got to hold it in suspension. We have not abandoned it and I am determined that one day we shall do it. You might be interested to know that the brass in the Pentagon are also keen that we should undertake it partly in the hope that it might give some added impetus to their own information and education program. I doubt that it would.

We are all well. Casey and I drove to the West Coast during July and did a bit of fishing on the way and really discovered a bit of our country. I am more eager than ever for him to see Israel.

I will make you a signal as soon as even tentative plans are possible. In the meantime if anything should develop that causes you to think that I ought to come out for a quick trip or for a long one, please shout on the telelhone.

You will be interested to know that my colleague, Jesse Zousmer, returned from his trip confessing that I had in no sense oversold him on Israel and the people who live there.

Janet joins me in sending warmest greetings to you and Teddy and anyone else who may remember us.

As ever yours,

Mr. Moshe Pearlman
Prime Minister's Office
Jerusalem, Israel

משרד ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

25th ~~July~~ Aug. 1957
Jerusalem

Mr. Edward R. Murrow and Mr. Fred Friendly,
580 Park Avenue,
New York,
N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Ed and Fred,

While Teddy was still in the United States, I had a note from Reuven Shiloah telling me of his conversation with Fred. And when Teddy returned, he told me of his meeting with you.

Both Teddy and Reuven told me of your suggestion of filmed reportage on the Army of Israel as an educational institution.

The suggestion is wonderful, and we here will offer whatever help is necessary. This assurance is, of course, quite superfluous, for you already know that the mere whisper of the magic words Ed and Fred, open doors in Israel. Not even the latest electronic device can match the effectiveness of such whispers.

I have had a word with General Dayan, and we can count on full Army co-operation.

I am most excited at the prospect of seeing you both here soon. Do let me know what the chances are.

All love to you both - and to Janet.

Yours ever,

Moshe

Moshe Pearlman

Pearlman, Moshe

January 25, 1957

Dear Moshe:

Belated thanks for your note of the 24th. Wish we might have a long talk about many matters.

I particularly longed to stop off when I flew near you on a quick trip to Burma and back at the end of December; purpose of said trip to do an interview with Chou En-lai. I got it, but it wasn't very good. I form the impression, which is no more than an impression, that there is a barrier of some sort operating in China. It certainly didn't seem to me that Chou is "his own man" or running the show.

Somehow I hope to see you again in the late spring or summer.

As ever yours,

Mr. Moshe Pearlman
Prime Minister's Office
Jerusalem, Israel

rh

משרד ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

December 24, 1956
Jerusalem

Dear Janet and Ed,

This note bears my love and kisses to you both and to Casey. With them go my very best wishes for the New Year, for your continued success, your idealism, your dedication to righteous causes, for your happiness and sense of inner contentment at life well spent and jobs well done.

Good luck to you.

As ever,

Moshe

Moshe Pearlman

Janet and Ed Murrow
Glen Arden Farm
Pawling, New York
U. S. A.

Pearlman, Moish

DECEMBER 5, 1956

MR. MOISH PEARLMAN
c/o PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

CRITICS ALL AGREE KAYE PROGRAM OUTSTANDINGEST
STOP MY TYPEWRITER DOESN'T WORK SO GOOD HERE.
REGARDS.

ED MURROW

414-710-43

AMN CABLE AND RDO 1224P

TWX-D ACR16/TGB2647 IV786 JEC418 X4009

F JERUSALEMISR 21 2 1610 ISRGVT

ED MURROW DANNY KAYE FRED FRIENDLY CBSINC

NYK

GOOD LUCK BEST WISHES SUCCESS YOUR GREAT SHOW TODAY ALL LOVE

MOISH PEARLMAN

UA 1225P DEC 2 1956

END

Perlman, Moish

JUNE 29, 1956

PERLMAN, KOLLEK
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
JERUSALEM
ISRAEL

SHOLEM. PERMISSION GRANTED. WITH LOVE

ED MURROW

202-550-43

cc: Mr. Friendly

Pearlman, Moish

May 17, 1956

Dear Moish:

A hasty note to say that I have seen most of the footage on Danny Kaye in Israel and some of it is really sensational. My guess right now would be that we will use more footage out of Israel than any other country he visited. This editorial decision, of course, has nothing whatever to do with the fact that Murrow and Friendly will be doing the editing. I was deeply distressed to hear about young Rothenberg.

Someway, somehow I have the feeling we shall meet again before too many months pass.

As ever yours,

Mr. Moish Pearlman
Prime Minister's Office
Jerusalem, Israel

rh

משרד ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Jerusalem, May 2, 1956

Dear Ed and Fred:

What a wonderful surprise I had the other day when your "I Can Hear It Now" albums arrived. I was, in a weak moment, putting in a reluctant appearance at the office when they came, since I have had, I fear, to bow to the Prime Minister's pressure to restore my nose to the grindstone. You gave me a magnificent excuse to grab the records, rush straight home and bung them on my record player. I confess unashamedly that I spent the whole afternoon playing and replaying. Hearing your voice once again, Ed, made me quite nostalgic. And the records themselves are a superb piece of radio documentary. Thank you, thank you, and thank you for your kind and charitable inscriptions. I was touched and delighted.

Danny Kaye left yesterday and so did your teams. They had a pretty tight and crowded schedule and I only hope they managed to shoot the kind of news that you wanted. You were both much missed.

As I say, I don't know how much successful footage the teams managed to capture, but Danny's visit as a visit was a tremendous success. He was wonderful with people and I think he was quite impressed by what he saw.

My respects and regards to you both. Please remember me with love to Janet.

Yours ever,

Moish

Moish Pearlman

P.S. This is a tragic P.S. which I feel you would not wish to have kept from you. Roi Rothenberg, 20 years old, member of Nahal Oz was murdered by the Egyptians the day before yesterday. I don't think you have a shot of him but you met him during the evening when you shot Uri at the watch tower. Do you remember, Ed, when you just finished filming, and you came down the rickety steps of the watch tower and we stood with a small group chatting away merrily? Roi Rothenberg was one of the boys with us at the time. It is very sad.

Pearlman, Moish

RECEIVED
1956 APR 20 AM 10:11
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

TU

T

CBS ACR1/TG2024/IV574/JEC269/X1577

FFF JERUSALEMISRAEL 45 20 1435 ETAT D ISRAEL

MURROW FRIENDLY CBSINC

NEWYORK

DELIGHTED YOUR CABLES WILL GIVE CBS CREW MURROW FRIENDLY OPENARMS TREATMENT STOP CANT YOU COME TOO STOP ACCORDANCE YOUR REQUEST ARRANGING KAYE PERFORMANCE AMPHITHEATER EINGEV MASSES CHILDRENS GATHERINGS FOLKDANCING SINGING STOP HEREWITH BELATED CONGRATULATIONS YOUR OREAT SHOW YARDS LOVE

MOISH PEARLMAN

Pearlman

22/7 David Marcus Street,
Talbieh,
Jerusalem.
15 April 56

Dear Janet and Ed,

Its years since I saw you, months since I was warmed by Janet's kind letter, and weeks since I saw The Show. Please accept my belated thanks for the words, congratulations on the programme, and plea for forgiveness on my silence. You must surely know that the latter was prompted neither by indifference nor lack of regard. Indeed, had I written at all the moments when you filled my thoughts, you'd be doing nought but wade through my screeds. The fact is, as you must have guessed, that after the departure from this Land of the Major Prophet - I think he caught the morning plane from Lydda on 9 Feb - I returned to my cell to grapple once again with the tongue of the Minor Prophets. But I was'nt really the same chap after your visit. And when, a few weeks later, things here began to get a little hotter and the government resumed its pressure on me to forsake study and return to the grindstone, I succumbed. I am now almost back at the old stand, having wheedled the concession that I be relieved of administrative duties until the end of my sabbatical - which is July - and concern myself at the office only with policy for the moment. This enables me - in theory at least - to continue my preoccupations with the niceties of classical Hebrew style for part of the day. But in the last fortnight, what with border incidents and Dag Hammarskeld, I've scarcely opened my concordance.

I don't know how you felt in the days before 13 March but our hooks could'nt have been tenter. And then we counted the minutes before the arrival of the copy. And then we ran it, and for the next hour and a half I watched a most beautiful piece of reporting and documentary craftsmanship. To transmit the intangibles of one country - mood, atmosphere, thoughts, behaviour - to the people of another, is one of the more difficult things in this world. Ed, you succeeded in your programme more than anyone who has ever tried. You presented the issues of tension between the two countries, set in the context of what each is trying to do and what the people of each think and feel, with superb skill. In an hour and half, you taught millions what masses of news reports, feature articles and books have failed to transmit. I say these things with a touch of trepidation. For knowing that approbation from an interested party is the kiss of death to an objective reporter, I have always refrained from comment on the product of visiting writers. But I hope our friendship will prompt your forgiveness if I congratulate you on a brilliant job.

Living where I am and doing the job I do, I could, of course, have wished for a little more 'biassed objectivity'. That's not critisism but the natural expression of a partisan. Its quite clear that the moment you make it part of your purpose to take sides in obvious fashion, that's the moment when you cease to be the powerful influence and authority that you are. On detail, however, I offer one comment. I think that the Sharett interview was the least successful. (The rest were, I think, excellent). For there was too much wordage and circumlocution in his replies. He would, therefore, have improved much by heavier cutting. Two minutes clipped off him and four thirty second sequences inserted of children dancing and singing would not have disturbed the balance between the two countries but would have given a lighter rounding out of our picture.

(Now, Ed, take four minutes off to bash me over the head and say "Good Heavens, man - or any other expression you find appropriate - what do you think I did wading through thousands of thousands of feet in the cutting room if not wonder at every turn whether clipping another five seconds here or adding another five seconds there would'nt provide a truer picture? This is how we cut it, shedding blood with every stroke of the scissors. And now you come and tell me about 'four thirty seconds sequences'.") Okay, okay. Forgive again.

Can I achieve artistry in understatement by saying that I miss you both? It was wonderful to have seen you, to have spent time with you and to have found your friendship.

Yours ever,

Moish

Moish Pearlman.

Please send my love and congratulations to Fred Friendly.

Peden, Chic

March 17, 1959

Dear Chic:

You are a most thoughtful and generous and cherished colleague. Your letter is one of the few that I shall keep, for you are one of the few who understood that a great deal of love, ability and unprecedented teamwork went into SEE IT NOW.

I truly hope that our paths will cross in the course of the coming year, and that in the future we may again labor together in this not always fruitful vineyard.

As ever yours,

Mr. Chic Peden
Telenews
Hearst Metrotone News, Inc.
450 West 56th Street
New York 19, New York

ERM:jmi

Dear Ed:

Now that the hue and cry has become a dim ululation far beyond the kennels of Madison Avenue, may I speak up to say that I shall miss you keenly when I watch TV, or listen to radio. A year will be a long time awaiting your return; only lessened because of anticipation of the return of a much liked friend.

And while I scan thousands of feet of news film, I shall be thinking about you and your sabbatical. Being in the same age bracket, I envy you. Unfortunately, I aint in the same money category. But, vicariously, I shall enjoy thoughts when and if we hear of your whereabouts.

Only one thing is sure. As a guy with a few years up on you, news coverage-wise, I know that you are hooked, hooked as solid as a fireman, circus character, or gambler. Every headline will be a siren call to make the old pulse beat quicker for the action of whatever medium one pursues. And the ghosts of past great stories interlace your thoughts wherever you go.

That, Ed, was why I loved See It Now, so much. The trips I made for it offered opportunities to retrace places I had known when a very young man went forth to make the first sound films. Memories I couldn't share with anyone at the time. How could the others know what London, meant to me, the London of 1929, when Marcia, was born; and I as a very young bridegroom was priviledged to show my wife that city I love so much . . the friends there, the recollections of Lloyd George, G.B. Shaw, George the Vth, Alphonso . . all the figures we recorded for the first time. Berlin, and memories of a guy called Hitler, making a noise in Austria, youngsters manouvering gliders in anticipation of the future Luftwaffe. The Paris of Clemenceau. And Tokyo, where, in 1931, the Imperial Hotel, was a glamour spot

and a place to take a beautiful gal from some world tour ship, with promises to loook each other up if we ever got near Livermore, California. Even Shemya, where you kindly included me in a taped radio show with the CO, to recall my bomber days of early '43. And Tokyo, again, and thoughts of flying miles high with forty five hundred pound bombs in the belly of a B-29. Playing poker in a StratoOcruiser, enroute to Japan, where but a decade before I had flown unending hours in search of Jap subs, and wondered if I'd ever cover news again.

These are a few of the things SIN meant to me; and why I felt so dreadful when I was not asked to go along. But I understood. I was so damn anxious to give of those past experiences; but in the role of soundman, which I will always hold pride as an engineer, I couldn't very well speak up; and such is the odd-ball caste system of the trade, others were agin it.

It took a lot to pry loose until the Big Four Geneva Conference came along, and I was tapped to handle that in toto. It let me off the leash long enough to get in some good licks and rack up some pretty good stories.

Now I am an editor chasing other kids out, and sending a little bit of myself to each assignment, perhaps being a bit more critical when the film comes back and shots are missing or sloppy. I know why. And becoming impatient with red tape and fears and side-stepping of issues, or subordinating everything to money. It is like trying to order a fine dinner by first scanning the figures on the right; or passing up a delicious dish because someone doesn't like garlic.

Thanks, Ed, for setting a high and daring standard. The steps you and Fred made, are bench-marks future generations will be hard put to span. And I know that when you resume the parade, you will make bigger and harder prints.

If you ever feel like driving over Fairfield, way some time, just call Clearwater 9-3040, and we'll set out the decanter and branch water.

Some time soon Marcia, is getting married to a lad I like very much. He comes from tough Italian stock, and has risen as a splendid example to all these sickening punks who cry "under-priviledged". With nothing but heart he completed college and added studies at Georgetown. An ex-marine, and possessed of fine qualities, he is just what Marcia's New England blood needs. Yes, I am very proud of Wallace Angelo Capobianco. There will be no more male Pedens to carry on the name; but who cares.

And so, Ed, thanks for hundreds of delightful moments, and many fine personal thoughts. Enjoy every moment of your freedom. Your friends are legion.

Sincerely,

Chic Peden.

Peden, Chick

BENSON HOUSE
Fairfield, Connecticut

August 27, 1957.

Dear Ed:

The photograph was a delight; and I was made most happy by the thoughtful inscription and accompanying letter, a permanent reminder of an association with people and a project I keenly miss.

One of these days I hope you can visit with us at Benson House, to see a really historic old place still occupied by the same family blood lines since 1752. I'd like to show Casey, around it some day with its mementoes of Lafayete, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson, and all the loot its clipper ship masters brought home from their voyages.

Appreciatively,

Chic Peden

Peden, Chic

August 26, 1957

Dear Chic:

I am indeed honored and only wish I could have thought of a more appropriate inscription without getting too sentimental which is the way I feel about you and the early days of SEE IT NOW.

As ever yours,

Mr. Chic Peden
News Of The Day
450 West 56th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

mcc
(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

PLAZA 7-4120

HEARST METROTONE NEWS, INC.

NEWS OF THE DAY

450 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

August I2, I957.

Edward R. Murrow,
CBS, 485 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Ed:

At long last, after five years of renovating, I have come to my particular room in the Peden menage.

This is by way of saying that there is an important space on the wall for a likeness of you; and I do hope you will honor me with a signed photograph. In all my news career I have never asked for these save from very few. Rather than a gallery of casuals, I far preferred mementoes which highlight certain episodes. Needless to say, the three years working on "See It Now", were happy ones with very nice people I have missed a great deal, and would have prolonged if possible.

The twelve pictures I had planned will be completed with yours. Each represents a "first", as yours would represent the pioneer effort of "SIN", in Korea. For instance: Sir Winston Churchill, very kindly recalled that I recorded his first film interview in I929; "Lt. Gen. Rosey O'Donnell" recalled that we hit Tokyo, together for the initial strike in I944, Mrs Roosevelt, has recalled our first filmed record when she graced New York's Executive Mansion.

I do hope you can see your way clear to grant this request, Ed. It will make a guy feel very happy.

Sincerely,

Vic Peden.

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Release

Peden Charlie

PLAZA 7-4120

HEARST METROTONE NEWS, INC.

NEWS OF THE DAY

450 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

No Ans.

March I3, I956.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for the reply be it ever so gloomy. I aint downhearted; and I fully realize that your schedule is a pretty rough one for any extra-mural correspondence.

At least I feel that you will give me a "leg up" should any inter-office inquiry about me comes floating your way. Because I am going to work hard at gaining an interview with the right person if I have to write a new show and sell it to a sponsor.

My heart is in the newsreel end of the business; and I am not impressed at all with the whirly-gig way it is being handled by the networks. Something has got to give there pretty soon.

Just for the books, since I wrote you, I have been advised that the Washington, bureau of our firm received the HEADLINERS AWARD for I956, thanks to the technique and supervision of the Geneva Conference coverage I was priviledged to head up last summer.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Charlie Peden

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Av., N.Y.C.

Peden, Chic

March 9, 1956

Dear Chic:

First of all, my apologies for taking so long to answer your cordial letter.

My present schedule of radio and television programs, together with the somewhat extensive traveling I am sometimes called upon to do, leave all too little time for my personal correspondence.

I have thought a considerable amount about your letter, but unfortunately have no suggestions as to whom you could consult here. As you know, we now operate our own business and it seems to be pretty fully organized at this time.

Sincerely,

Mr. Charles S. Peden
M-G-M Telenews
450 West 56th Street,
New York, New York

fc

November 21, 1955.

Dear Ed:

This is not an easy letter to write because I cherish your frienship too highly to impose, and have strong feelings about employee loyalty.

But, now, I am afraid I have had it so far as the motion picture industry's stand on TV, is concerned. It is unrealistic and vacillating. I love the newsreel business and want to see it brave and forward, not a timid thing governed by Hollywood wait-and-see policies. No news man worth his salt can do his best in such an atmosphere, especially when he notes the drive and awareness of the TV networks for better visual news.

I should like to discuss this in detail and confidence with some CBS news executive you might suggest - preferably one above the existing newsreel set-up for obvious reasons. There is still room for experienced liason and coverage between the actual news-gathering facilities and the field.

Since it is generally known in the trade, I do not feel it disloyal to mention that I recently surveyed and evaluated all competition here and abroad. Europe, is in a bit of a mess, as no doubt, your own man will report. There is more good equipment than personnel. Fox, by virtue of its long established bureaus (with which I had a lot to do in early days), has most of the top men, new and old. BBC ranks next. And NBC, has the edge here.

For instance, there are too few men of the calibre of Leo Rossi, and Charlie Mack, in TV organizations. This situation exists because established men were loathe to leave old connections; and those available stemmed from free-lance sources. These men know their tools, but in many cases they lack trained or instinctive news sense, and that necessary esprit-de-corps so important to optimum results. Many of the reporters and contact men are carry-overs from radio, documentary, or production film work, and are abysmally ignorant of the scope, not to mention limitations of much equipment. Easily achieved quality is sacrificed, and quite a bit of friction and petty jealousies develop. A guiding influence is indicated - someone with a technical feel of the equipment, editorial knowledge, and a working acquaintanceship with the men.

The first outfit to correct this obvious snafu is going to carry the baton to the fore and keep it there.

The attached article sums up some of my thoughts which have now been reinforced by a personal survey. Oddly enough, this rather critical piece was agreed to by my own firm, and hailed as gospel by almost everyone in the field, including free-lancers. It has been reprinted in many trade journals with warm editorial support. And I was able to prove my point when assigned to Geneva, to co-ordinate coverage for ours, and the John Daly TV Newsreel. With one carefully selected <u>news-concious</u> crew, which I was given carte-blanche to train and equip, we beat the pants off of all opposition, despite their four and five outfits and the best reportorial talent in Europe. In

addition, we secured eight exclusive pre and post conference interviews at Ten Dowing Street, the Quay D'Orsay, Bonn, and the only statement made by Nikita Kruschev.

I pulled out all stops and called upon decade old diplomatic contacts to set up our itinerary. But I will be the first to admit that my modus operandi stemmed from the things I learned under Fred Friendly, and a very happy association with "See It Now".

The kudos and subsequent bonus were adequate, Ed, but I would have gladly foregone these if there had been a follow-through to maintain the pace. We had it made! Only the Almighty, knows what logic persuaded the home office to rest on its laurels, and pass up our practically green-lighted visits to Moscow, the Vatican, and Chartwell.

I never want to know the bitter frustration and heartbreak I experiened at Orly, waiting to return, and being good-naturedly chided by Irving Levine, of NBC, who was at that moment enroute to Moscow, with equipment. A wonderful renaissance in attitude had died aborning, and something went out of me I fear can never be rekindled around here. All that remains are the honeyed phrases, publicity blurbs to clients, and the knowledge that our efforts garnered several nice accounts.

There are about ten more godd years left me to perform at top peak, Ed, and I am almost desperate in my desire to break away from a dismal landscape. Once before I thought the chance had arrived when I was assigned to "See It Now". For although I was limited to sound then, I felt that some day I would be able to put my other experience as a writer and co-ordinator to use. It was a live, daring project; and I had never worked with a nicer agregate of men - the Dick Hotellots, Alec Kendricks, Smiths and the "SIN" staff. It was a stimulating and prideful thing. And I know this exists at CBS.

I have attached a brief chronological history of my background. Just for the record, I have never been fired, and always went ahead with the kindest wishes from former employers.

This letter is unpardonably long, I know. I trust you will understand and wave a guy a hand.

Sincerely,

Chic Peden

Charles S. Peden
M-G-M Telenews,
450 West 56th St., N.Y.C.

REEL VETERAN SAYS:

GUTS, VISION CRYING NEEDS TO REJUVENATE NEWSREELS

by CHARLES S. PEDEN

CHARLES S. "CHIC" PEDEN is a newsreel sound man for News of the Day and has been since 1928. He is also a man with faith and a tremendous enthusiasm — faith in the medium in which he works and enthusiasm for the journalism of the screen which he believes is the greatest medium of communication devised by man. During his career he has seen the great days of the newsreel, roaming the world from Fiji fire-walkers to the first air raid over Tokyo, and he has seen and in fact worked in that offspring of the screen newsreel, television news coverage. Today he believes, as he always has, that the motion picture newsreel has a great place in the theatrical motion picture industry, that it by no means has to surrender to television. In The HERALD for March 31, 1951, Mr. Peden spoke vigorously on the theme, "if there must be a wedding of television and the film industry, let us be the one who picks the partner and runs the household. We wrote the book." Here, in an exciting and stimulating article, he enlarges on that theme, in the light of the experience of the past four years. The opinions, he says, are his own but "if it starts a fire I'll be happy."—*The Editor.*

I HAVE been a newsreel man in the field for more than 25 years. A career of which I am very proud; and a business I love. There was a time when people would stop us to ask about our adventures, and the inevitable question as to what left us with our greatest impression. And like my contemporaries I would name some big story or spectacular catastrophe such as the crash of the *Hindenburg*.

Nowadays, however, these same people only ask one question, "What happened to the newsreels?" I would be less than a good reporter if I answered other than that *rigor mortis* is setting in. It is the most bewildering and tragic thing I have seen in my whole newsreel career.

I refer to the amazing attitude of both the motion picture big brass and the exhibitors. They both raise their hands in horror if asked to return the theatre newsreel to its former great prestige and popularity by added subsidies and rental fees. Yet the former will devote hundreds of thousands of dollars to revive old tired plots or build up recalcitrant stars who have messed up things with their idiotic didoes; and the latter, paradoxically enough, recognize news and will spend fantastic amounts to rewire houses for giant screen, closed circuit TV shows of sporting events in the name of public service. Remember that last.

Those of us who make and love the newsreel know its value. The public once held it in high esteem and would embrace it quickly. Honest exhibitors know in their hearts that it was a great asset, an attraction people sought. And most important, we live in a news-conscious period as never before. Our editors know it, too. Who goofed?

Cites Television Stress On News Reporting

The thing becomes more incredible when it is obvious that the great television networks consider theeir newreel pictures important enough to spot programs all through the day. Famous commentators dress up the presentations. Competition is keen. And in one case, Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" show has won every honor a news program can collect.

This writer knows a little about that. He was privileged to be on the staff of "See It Now" for three and a half years. Fred Friendly, the guiding genius and producer of the show, knew what he was doing when he came to the newsreels in the beginning for his film organization, equipment and personnel. Those of us behind the camera knew a great hope when he breezed in. Not for him the short cuts. No dubbing, clipped versions, etc. Despite much head-shaking, he demanded actual sound—if for no other effect than "presence"; he wanted to cover stories "back-of-beyond," and he was daring enough to bolster his beliefs with out-size cash before his idea had a sponsor. That is the sort of guts we operated under in the old days. No hill too steep. No sand too deep. Good reporters thrive in that atmosphere. He demanded the works and got it. His faith paid off.

Now any newsreel organization in the business could have done the same thing. The vision and know-how was there. The courage was lacking. Costs entered the picture at first. Yet, almost a score of rinky-dink, shoe-string TV producers will beg, borrow and steal to finance a pilot film of some chancy show because they have faith. The newsreel had everything else—worldwide organization, equipment, experience, and men willing to try anything.

Actually, with all due respect to Mr. Friendly, and the undeniable skill and personality value of Mr. Murrow, newsreels in the old days did the same thing when they frequently included certain feature stories in their makeup.

Mark Twain once observed that there is nothing so timid as a million dollars. This seems to be the case so far as backing newsreel production nowadays. A curious attitude that threatens to destroy a great property. Even now, one by one the top men behind the cameras, disillusioned and broken-hearted, are leaving decades-old connections to join the ranks of TV newsreel producers because they know that the magic spark, so necessary to good reporting, exists there—the competitive spirit and drive.

Before making a few suggestions, this writer wants to get one thing straight. He likes TV newsreels and accepts them. But he doesn't think theatre newsreels should even attempt to compete as they now do. The time element is too high a barrier; and it will grow bigger when pictures are transmitted via tape. The theatre newsreel's forte should be to elaborate on these news briefs people see at home. Build up the basic report so that TV audiences will know that when they go to a theatre they will see a detailed version done entertainingly.

Producing Newsreels For TV Networks

Only one good step has developed. The older companies are producing newsreel material for the TV networks. But it would seem this can have its disadvantages under the existing conditions. TV demands fast, brief and numerous subjects at the cost of quality sound and pictures. That is understandable and will improve in time. Unfortunately, in an effort to hit theatres quickly, this sort of coverage is slopping over into the original product. It seems wrong.

TV camermen are in very many cases newer men, accustomed to the silent hand camera techniques. It takes years to develop a good sound newsreel cameraman. The experienced ones should be allowed to work on their medium entirely. Let them develop better stories with some meat in them; as they can well do.

Never mind the man-on-street, off-the-curb-opinion type of coverage in theatrical newsreels. Show where that man comes from, what he is doing, who he is visiting. Who cares what politicians and so-called oracles, and others say about world affairs unless they can make solid statements? Let us see the thing in the works. A complete story of the Salk Vaccine from ring-tailed monkeys in Madagascar, to the injection is

(*Continued on opposite page*)

NEWSREEL NEED

(*Continued from opposite page*)

the sort of thing that theatre audiences could understand.

The old adage about the better mouse trap is still good. This should be the motto of the theatrical newsreel. Make it bigger, and better. Then exhibitors would be happy to present the newsreels in its former status as a feature of a well-balanced program. Pay for it, too.

Sure, this thing will cost money. What new and good thing doesn't at first? The men who make the newreels are dedicated to their work. All they ask is a little encouragement and backing from the top brass. They'll come up with a class product. These men who once roamed to the ends of the earth in search of material, now operate on a tether, a silver chain, almost inflexible financially, that makes assignment editors consult the tariff pages of timetables, rather than fast schedules. A hell of a note.

For these were the men of vision and daring who sent their boys with Byrd to the Antarctic, over the North Pole, into volcanoes, through swamps and impenetrable jungles, the boys who okayed chartered aircraft, boats, trains and even dogsleds to get a story. And almost without exception their men came back with epics. Stories that caught the public fancy and made exhibitors paste one-sheets outside their theatres.

Make the newsreel so good and big exhibitors will cry for it and wave fresh cash. They are seasoned showmen. They know a good thing when they see it. Return to the thousand-foot reel where a man can sink his teeth into a subject and tell a good yarn. Send those experienced men out again. Forget the inclination to let local men with so-so equipment take over assignments on big stories.

Bandung is a classical example. That distant meeting was no sweat for the old days. This time it was left to local men in most cases. Men who wouldn't dare poke a lens into some big wheel's face as old timers do. Here was one of the world's greatest international meetings, a hallmark of world affairs. What does anyone actually know about it? Mighty little from the films released. They were trivial by comparison with the past.

A Timidity That Is Turning to Rigor Mortis

This is the timidity that is turning into *rigor mortis*. A stifling, frustrating atmosphere. The public doesn't remember news that springs from restrictions—dull, factual news. It remembers color and spirit. Circulation was built on the daring things. Stanley's trek to Africa in search of Livingstone was the big story, not the final report. The way Floyd Gibbons covered a yarn was what caught people's imagination and made them look for more. When an atmosphere of daring pervades a news shop it rubs on the men and gets into the story. That devil-may-care, to-hell-with-the-expense-account coverage that makes the auditors cringe, but the public applaud, and the cash registers sing.

CHARLES S. (CHIC) PEDEN

Newsreels need a face-lifting and injection of new drive. They need fresh window dressing in the form of new techniques and a renewal of every trick in the bag — competition, not cooperation with each other. Individual treatment and coverage, not roto coverage. The sort of backing that makes a world personality welcome interviewers because he knows he is going to get a big deal. Integrity in news reporting depends on such things, not short cuts or haste.

Sure, this treatment would cost money. But think of the impact of occasional "premium" shots such as the Kentucky Derby, a national flower show, a regatta, a big football classic. Not in terms of cash, but prestige. TV does it when they sustain great shows, or present giveaway programs to hold a dialer's attention for one-half hour. The motion picture industry, with all of its fabulous assets and talents, can afford to do no less these days. The handwriting is bright and vivid on the face of millions of television tubes.

Finally, the newsreel business must begin to think in long range terms if it expects to attract new blood. The present atmosphere would scare away new talent. Electronics has only been scratched movie-wise; and may well solve all problems. Even put the industry on a happy, money-making basis.

Every big business from plastics to motor cars recognizes this policy of ear-marking certain sums for research and constant improvement to hold patrons and keep their trade marks before the world. Newsreels trail-blazed sound-on-film and were the best advertisement any motion picture producer ever had.

Here is what is on the horizon. Two years will see a practical and economical system of recording and transmittting motion pictures on magnetic tape.

The first newsreel company to adopt this system will become the unchallenged leader in both theatre and TV fields. A money-making outfit guaranteed to bring prestige to its sponsors.

Think of it? A newsreel, or newstape if you will, crew will cover a story on location, and transmit the sound and picture direct from source to key studios. There, the basic story will be re-recorded on a storage tape or processed immediately—just as directors and monitor men now do with live TV pickups. Experienced men will sit at master consoles and edit, add vault cut-ins, proper music, commentary (scripted from telephonic information at the news site), even include pre-taped titles. Then, in turn, the finished clip will be re-transmitted direct to theatres and TV stations for immediate release or storage tapes until specific spots allow for release.

Foresees Vast Interflow Of News Film Material

Ultimately, there will be a vast inter-flow of news picture material exchanged between network facilities, just as news copy is transmitted to newspapers via tele-printers. This is a whole new industry the great wire services may do well to investigate.

And it goes without saying that newsreels will have to adopt the newer sound recording techniques of tape and strip film just as production has done. The public isn't going to stand for the violent contrast between Hi-Fi sound on features, and standard recording.

Other new electronic gadgets will be used; just as some TV productions already are playing with the midget, wireless microphone. Its possibilities are many in news work. A newsreel contact man wearing one of these could pick up the direct orders of fire marshals or other leaders of rescue teams during catastrophies. Football coaches haranguing their teams; jockeys urging on their mounts. All the things spectators have not yet heard. Those "premium" touches that point up stories.

Some smart outfit will start the ball rolling one of these days. I hope it is mine. One good beginning would be to establish definite liaison between film producers and the electronic laboratories, so that both could know each others' problems and ideas.

Men with Purse Strings Hold Fate of Newsreel

Let's not get sand-bagged again, as we were 25 years ago because apathy and short-sightedness plugged ears when a synchronized disc transcription and a projector clarioned the end of an era.

Those of us who went everywhere and risked everything to build up newsreel prestige, willingly gave of all our talents and time to make a dream come true. Those who handle the purse strings, hold the ultimate fate of a great industry in their hands. We are ready, willing, and able. And are waiting for some daring guy to come along and slash the ropes. The whole newsreel business needs a renewal of faith and the same sort of vision and guts it asked of every man who ever covered a story.

Anyone for competition?

Charles S. Peden Married Christian No medical history.

Sheffield Scientific School, Yale '24. E.E.

U.S. Air Force (inactive reserve, Lt. Col. Rating: Superior)

Fellow of various engineering societies. Member various news clubs/

1925-28	Radio Corp. of America:	Research Engineer, then assigned to WEAF and WJZ with Bertha Brainard on special broadcasts.
1928 - 34	Fox Movietonews:	Sound recording, technical advisor in shorts department, instructor and organizer of newsreel bureaus at home and abroad.
1934 - 42	News Of The Day:	Sound recording, and assignment to West Coast M-G-M studios for production, Pete Smith shorts and travelogues.
1942 - 46	U.S. Air Force:	Executive Officer 11th Bomber Command, Aleutians; Commanding Officer, 21st Bomber Command, combat unit, Saipan, Tinian. Flight status.

1946 - News Of The Day
See It Now
Telenews
John Daly ABC News.

1931 - Writing credits in film, radio, and magazine fields.

Present salary: Base pay and extras - $250.00 weekly.

Fully experienced in co-ordinating film or TV newsreel production.

First hand knowledge of latest techniques, and acquaintance with all territories and best available personnel here and abroad.

Peden, Chic

August 31, 1955

Dear Chic:

Your informative note of August 22 reached me in the country just as I was winding up my vacation. You were a very thoughtful guy to give me a glimpse behind the scenes at Geneva. Stop in and see us one day. We all miss you. I am taking the liberty of sharing your letter with Fred.

As ever yours,

Mr. Chic Peden
News of the Day
450 West 56 Street
New York 19, New York

rh

August 22, 1955.

Dear Ed:

Trust this finds you enjoying a relaxing vacation. I am doing the same at Fairfield, after a rather strenuous go at Geneva.

Thereby hangs a tale, and the reason for this letter; but first may I congratulate you and yours on escaping harm in that plane affair. I just heard about it on my return.

Next, I am relaying a personal message to you from Lord Ismay, whom I interviewed in Paris. Somehow or other, his lordship sort of lumps all American film and TV units under one group, despite our careful announcement that we were covering for ABC. And along the same lines he naturally thinks of you as synonymous with any American outfits. He knew we were proceeding to Geneva, for the summit affair.

"Be sure to give Ed Murrow, my best," he observed. "My, I like that fellow . . had some wonderful moments with him." Then he mentioned something about Texas, and you that I didn't get. At the conclusion of our interview he repeated, "Now be sure to convey my greetings to Ed, and tell him he must stop by more often . . great chap."

That is the message I hoped to deliver to you at Geneva, having seen your name on the roster of those expected.

Well, t'was otherwise. I did, however, enjoy seeing Dick Hottelot and Alex Kendrick, though we were in opposing camps for a change. Our former association at Berlin, was and shall remain a pleasant thing.

This, however, was war. And I had to call upon all of my experience to prove a point - that one American film unit can outperform any European competition. We came away with eight exclusives, including the only interview with Kruschev; and I thought you might like to hear something about that for a chuckle.

When I received the assignment to co-ordinate and handle covergge, I decided to order a special midget power device for a very tiny sound camera we have. It had to be built in Dallas, and sent to me unseen, to Paris. I had in mind a possible invitation to Molotov's villa; and knew the Soviets would object to a large sound outfit.

Imagine my consternation when I regarded this power device, sent from Dallas to Paris. Never has anything so closely resembled an infernal machine. A riveted black box, about six by six inches, its designers had included a meter and a jewled binnacle light that glittered evily when the thing was operating. It also buzzed in a minor and mysterious key. There was no time to revamp it. We were off to Geneva, and the next day stood at the gate of the Molotov Villa. The guards frisked us, and for some perverse reason did not question the curious gear I had slung over my shoulder. But all other newsreel men were stopped because they had the larger outfits.

Walking up to the villa, I plugged into the hand-held sound camera, and then had to sort of approach the terrace in a lock step with my partner. The first bad moment came when I withdrew the slender pencil mike from my inside coat pocket. Its chrome-mesh end, not unlike the guard of a pistol silencer, caught the eye of a burly guard

standing beside Molotov. But just then I elected to snap on the Dallas, power device. "Here goes Buck Rogers and his ray gun," I thought. The buzz of the thing halted the approaching guard; but it was the evil, gleaming red light that really threw him for a loss. He backed away. Fortunately, M. Kruschev, not being able to see the gadget, grabbed the mike and started talking. I nudged his interpretor, who obliged with a running trahslation.

But for the rest of my days I shan't forget that buzzing gadget hanging from my shoulder, its meter needle wavering significantly, as though ready to hit a detonating peak, and the little red light glittering malevolently. Once away with our precious film, I spent the afternoon remving that meter and light, and burying the buzzing unit in folds of sponge rubber. We used it many times thereafter; but without our neck hairs rising.

And I have written that Texas electronics outfit to stop thinking up new refinements and sticking to specifications.

Just an episode I thought you might enjoy. Another, was a hundred mile an hour ride in a Mercedes-Benz 300, from the chancellory at Bonn, to catch an Idlewild-bound Lufthansa plane from Frankfurt, with our Adenauer piece. Hitler never went down the autobahn any faster. We left Bonn at seven-thirty, and wheeled up to the Lufthansa plane, due to depart at nine, with two minutes to spare!

My firm allowed me a four day respite in my beloved London, before returning. For like you, my first born opened her eyes in that wonderful city; and I have so many memories of those days. I looked in at Hallam Street; but no one was around - it being August Bank Holiday week-end. So I spent four wonderful, quiet days prowling about old haunts, and seeing old friends.

Best personal regards,

Nic Peder.

Peden, Chick

June 30, 1955

Dear Chick:

Belated but nonetheless heartfelt thanks for your note on the Cuero, Texas piece. Praise from a pro is high praise indeed, and we are all grateful and very much touched that you should take the time to tell us that you liked it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Chick Peden
News of the Day
450 West 56 Street
New York 19, New York

rh

COLUMBUS 5-0402

HEARST METROTONE NEWS, INC.

NEWS OF THE DAY

450 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

May 4, 1955.

Dear Ed:

I cannot refrain from adding to your mail reading chore by loud huzzahs for the Cuero, Texas, story last night. This is "SIN" at its goddamdest best. The sort of thing anyone ever remotely associated with the news business can think about with deep pride and renewed hope in these days of malleable, journalistic integrity.

That piece should be a requirement of every school of journalism course in the land. The sight of that guy's face on hearing the news of his award (whether it was actual or staged) was epoch. And the coverage was eloquent. Would that I could chalk up something like that.

Best personal regards,

Chic Peden

3-C-30

Perkins, Milo

MILO PERKINS

The Turfgrass Farm
4961 East 22nd Street
Tucson, Arizona
March 5, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In the absence of Mr. Perkins, I acknowledge your letter of March 1, enclosing a letter of introduction to Mr. Pierpoint. Your helpful courtesy will be deeply appreciated by Mr. Perkins.

Sincerely,

Viola Allen

Viola Allen (Miss)
Secretary to Mr. Perkins

Perkins, Milo

March 1, 1955

Dear Milo:

Thanks for your note of February 14th.

I envy you and Tharon your forthcoming trip. Enclosed is a letter of introduction to Bob Pierpoint, the CBS bureau chief in Tokyo. You will find him a most likeable and well-informed young man and I know that he will be happy to give you whatever information you need.

Sincerely,

Mr. Milo Perkins
The Turfgrass Farm
4961 East 22nd Street
Tucson, Arizona

fc

February 25, 1955

Dear Bob:

This letter is to introduce an old friend of mine, Milo Perkins, who is planning to spend six months in Japan studying the economy of the country.

I know that you will enjoy talking together and any assistance you will be able to give Milo will be greatly appreciated.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Robert Pierpoint

MILO PERKINS

The Turfgrass Farm
4961 East 22nd Street
Tucson, Arizona
February 14, 1955

Dear Ed:

Tharon and I are sailing April 10 for Japan where we plan to spend six months having a "look-see" at the economy of the country. It would be a very great help to me if you could give me a letter to your CBS fellow in Japan. I am sure he could help me greatly in understanding the country.

Our grass business is progressing famously. We are putting in more irrigation, buying more land and doing a lot of construction work, but this promises to be a very good year indeed for our new venture.

Tharon joins me in affectionate greetings to you, Janet and Casey.

Sincerely,

Milo

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Perkins, Milo

MILO PERKINS
1200 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

November 20, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

On the occasion of the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which convened in Moscow for ten-days in October, the London Economist and the London Times had several interesting articles and editorial comments on current Soviet policy. A series of articles in the Times (London) attempted to appraise Soviet military strength.

With the thought that our attention has been largely absorbed by the national election to the exclusion somewhat of foreign news, it seems worthwhile to note some of the recent developments in Soviet policy which are bound to affect us significantly. These articles discuss those developments from a point of view which is worth considering, although I doubt anyone's capacity to appraise Soviet intentions accurately.

I. Soviet Policy

The stage was set for the Communist Party Congress by the appearance of an important fifty-page article by Stalin in the leading party magazine, Bolshevik, in which he gave his interpretation of world events and enunciated the policy line for the Communist faithful to carry out. Both from the Stalin article and the proceedings of the Congress, it seems clear that the Soviet rulers have decided to place renewed emphasis on infiltration as their method of conquest, and to soft-pedal the use of force and violence. A shift in Soviet tactics in Western Europe has been taking place during the past year. Its meaning is now clarified by the official statements.

According to Stalin there is no great danger of war between the Socialist Camp and the Capitalist now; the danger of war is rather among the Capitalist powers struggling against each other for markets. Deprived of their markets in the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe, the Capitalist nations will be driven into desperate competition among themselves. Britain and France will be forced "to break out of the clutches of the United States and to clash with it." So too will Germany and Japan. Soviet policy therefore is to avoid world war, consolidate Communist gains, build up the economic strength of the Communist bloc, organize national feeling against the United States and destroy American influence wherever it appears, and exploit the differences among the Western Powers.

"To the parties abroad goes Stalin's new directive for the united front instead of revolutionary activity, with its implied rebuke to fractious militants in France and elsewhere". The two militant French Communist leaders who favored strikes and violence to achieve Communist aims in France have been dropped recently from their top posts in the French Communist Party. Until further notice the Communist movement is "to arouse the popular masses for the struggle to preserve peace and to

avert a new world war. Consequently it does not pursue the aim of overthrowing capitalism and establishing Socialism; it limits itself to the democratic aims of the struggle for the preservation of peace".

The Economist suggests that the Communists will find plenty of situations in Western Europe to exploit to their own advantage. Any relaxation in international tensions will make people question anew the need for arms programs and high taxation. Allied determination to match Soviet power by organizing the political, economic and moral strength of free Europe will be exposed in the months ahead to clever and continuous propaganda. To encourage a lull in rearming, to help create a situation in which the West will relax its defensive efforts while the Soviet bloc increases its economic power for a fresh challenge later, is the task of the Communist Party.

II. Soviet Military Strength

1. On the basis of the best available information, it is estimated that the Soviet armed forces now number at least 4,500,000 - with the Navy at upwards of 600,000, the Army at about 3,100,000, and the Air Force at about 800,000.

2. A comparison with the size of the armed forces of the United States and of Britain is made as follows:

"The British armed forces were reduced from a peak of 4,683,000 in June, 1945, to a post-war lowest level of 669,000 at March 31, 1950; this year the maximum authorised strength (which has not been attained) is 1,023,000. The armed forces of the United States totalled 14,404,000 at June 30, 1945. By the end of June, 1948, they reached their post-war lowest level of 1,443,000; and, after a temporary increase of some 170,000 in 1949, the total fell again to 1,458,000 at the time of the Communist attack in Korea. To-day they number 3,600,000; under the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, which provides their man-power, they cannot exceed five million. British and American effectives to-day total about 4,500,000 together. The Soviet armed forces cannot number fewer than 4,500,000; the East European satellites account for another million; and both totals exclude the bulk of the frontier guards and security troops.

"In trained man-power Britain's reserves are increasing by something under 200,000 annually; and American reserves (when the remnant of the present man-power pool is exhausted) will increase by perhaps 500,000 annually. Soviet reserves are increasing by between 800,000 and 900,000 a year and satellite reserves by about half these numbers. At these rates of growth the Soviet and satellite armed forces will add more trained men to their reserves in two years than Britain and the United States will add in three; if the situation does not change otherwise, this disproportion will continue and, because of higher East European birth-rates in the past, it may even grow".

3. The present size of the Soviet armed forces, the tremendous Soviet output of weapons -- which the factory capacity exists to multiply on short notice -- indicate that the focus of the Soviet economy is on the production of arms and more arms. "The Soviet armed forces and the armament industries that supply them constitute the most formidable war machine the world has ever seen in times of nominal peace".

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The London Times comments (October 4, 1952) that in the thirteen years between the previous Congress of the Communist Party and the October 1952 meetings, Soviet gains have been immense. "The Communist Camp which before the war consisted of the Soviet Union alone -- numbering then fewer than 200 million people, with adherents elsewhere having little more than a nuisance value -- now stretches from the Elbe to the borders of Burma and Indo-China and numbers 800 million people. Russia enforced her own kind of revolution in her own way in Eastern Europe, relying on the advancing shield of her armies, but the greatest gain of all came through the triumph of the largely independent Chinese revolution. This triumph changed the strategic and political map even more radically than the Russian revolution changed it in 1917. The two Communist Powers dispose of the greater part of the Eurasian land mass, with all the advantages of interior lines of communication and with vast material resources only at the beginning of development".

Calculations made outside of Russia suggest "that the country which began with little industrial production after the revolution (and had a good part of what it had in 1941 devastated by war) will by the end of the plan in 1955 be producing over 370 million tons of coal a year, about 45 million tons of crude steel, and nearly 70 million tons of crude petroleum".

The Western Powers abhor Stalin's methods but they "cannot lightly neglect the lesson of his basic plan of putting the building and expansion of basic industry first and foremost in the years of austerity".

(Summary above from: The Economist (London), September 27, October 11 and 18, 1952; The Times (London), October 4, 7, 8, 9, 16, 1952)

Sincerely,

Milo
by Viola Alan
Secretary to Mr. Perkins
in Mr. Perkins absence

July 1, 1952

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

THE UNITED STATES

Survey of Current Business (U.S.Dept. of Commerce, May 1952).

LABOR INCOME IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD.

Compensation of employees is the largest component of the national income, forming about two-thirds of the total in the postwar years. It measures the income accruing to persons in an employee status as wages and salaries and supplementary labor income for their participation in current production.

Despite its sizable increase - from $117 billion to $178 billion - compensation of employees represented a virtually stable proportion of national income from 1946 to 1951. Except for 1948, when it dipped lower, in every postwar year it amounted to almost 65 percent of the national income total. This percentage also corresponds closely to the average proportion of national income constituted by employee income in years just preceding the war. Similar generalizations are applicable to the private sector of the economy, where compensation of employees accounted for three-fifths of private national income both in the postwar and immediate prewar years.

Wages and salaries averaged about 95 percent of employee compensation in the years 1946 - 1951, with the remainder consisting chiefly of employer contributions under government social insurance and private pension plans.

Private-industry wages and salaries moved up rapidly after the initial dislocations following the war's end. From an annual rate of $82 billion in the first quarter of 1946, they rose quarter by quarter to a rate of $118 billion at the end of 1948. In the mild recession of 1949, private payrolls were reduced slightly, but with the business upturn in early 1950 they recovered and in the second quarter of that year exceeded the high year-end 1948 totals. Following the invasion of Korea, payrolls and employment spurted sharply

into the first half of 1951, reaching a rate of $141 billion in the second quarter. Since then, the payroll total for private industry has been quite stable, as the expansionary effects of the rearmament program have been largely offset by curtailed consumer and business purchasing.

Advances in hourly earnings have been the most important factor in the postwar growth of private industry payrolls. The steady rise in hourly earnings - which encompasses the effects of wage-rate changes, shifts in the industrial composition of employment, upgrading, and other related factors - amounted to 45 percent from 1946 to 1951, and accounted by far for the major part of the total payroll change. Factors contributing to the expansion of hourly earnings have been a relatively tight labor supply and employee pressure to maintain real earnings in a period of rising prices. Except for 1949, the economy has absorbed the growth of the labor force, while the number of unemployed - averaging 4 percent of the civilian labor force, close to the minimum in a fluid economy - has represented no great problem on a national scale.

Wage rate patterns in the postwar years have been dominated by a series of settlements negotiated in the large mass-production industries and gradually extended throughout the economy. The first of these occurred early in 1946 as an effort to buttress earnings against the sharp curtailment in hours of work, particularly in manufacturing, after the end of the war. Pressure for further increases resulted from the sharp price advances following the lifting of price controls in the summer of 1946. The second-round increases, negotiated between mid-1946 and mid-1947, were of lesser proportions than the first.

A short-lived period of relative wage-rate stability then ensued as price rises slowed at the close of 1947. However, prices renewed their ascent in 1948 and negotiations took place which led to round three wage increases for a large number of industries. The mild recession of 1949 took the pressure off rising money wages, and in the new union-management contracts the main issues centered on the supplementary benefits of insurance and pensions.

The impact of Korea, with the spurt in demand and prices and the anticipation of wage controls, hastened the spread of wage increases in the latter part of 1950. Particularly noteworthy was the increasing acceptance by labor and management of the practice of tieing wage rates to the consumers' price index. With the enactment of wage-price controls in early 1951, this general principle was recognized by the Wage Stabilization Board, and wage rates in many industries drifted upward in 1951 to meet the increased cost of living.

The workweek in private industry which averaged 43 hours for all workers in 1946, drifted downward to 41 hours in 1951, when the decline was halted. Except for railroads and coal mining, where the workweek has declined since 1946 by 11 and 15 percent respectively, the hours reductions have been moderate. In durable goods manufacturing hours in 1951 averaged slightly higher than in 1946.

Increases in employees' average earnings among the major industry groups from 1946 to 1951 varied widely from 24 percent in agriculture, forestry and fisheries to almost twice that in contract construction. The largest advances were in contract construction, durable goods manufacturing, and mining, while those in the distributive sector of the economy and in nondurable goods manufacturing were about average. For the private industry sector as a whole the rise was 38 percent.

From 1946 to 1951 average full-time employment in all private industries increased from 38.2 million to 42.9 million, about one-eighth. There has been a significant shift in the industrial composition of workers over the past decade. Compared with 1940, larger proportions of private postwar workers have been engaged in manufacturing, contract construction, trade, communications, and public utilities, while proportionately fewer workers have been employed in agriculture, mining, finance and the service industries. Some of these changes are in keeping with long term trends, such as the declines in agriculture and mining and the increases in manufacturing and trade.

From 1946 to 1951 government wages and salaries - Federal, State and local - expanded from $20.6 billion to $29.1 billion. The total payroll of State and local governments has shown a steadily rising trend since 1946 reflecting increased employment necessitated by the large increase in school enrollment and the reinstatement of many public services severly curtailed during the war. The rise in the Federal payroll has been largely a product of post-Korean developments.

The 38-percent rise in average annual earnings of all full-time civilian employees, in government and in private industry, from 1946 to 1951 was somewhat in excess of the 33-percent rise in the consumers' price index over the same interval. In view of the 4-percent reduction in hours of work in this period, a rise of about 8 percent in the purchasing power of the average civilian worker's hourly earnings would be indicated. However, in many industries, employing one-fifth of all civilian wage and salary workers, the rise in employees' average annual earnings since 1946 has been less than 33 percent. In these industries workers' real wages, on the average, have suffered.

Supplements to wages and salaries in 1951, totaling $8.7 billion, were half again as large as in 1946, with all this growth occurring since 1948. They consist of employer contributions for social insurance and to private pension and welfare funds, compensation for injuries, directors' fees, pay of military reservists, etc. The growth in private supplements has been especially marked.

(This article spells out in detail many of the points mentioned briefly above and includes a number of pertinent charts and tables.)

EUROPE

The Times (London, June 3 and 4, 1952)

EAST EUROPEAN TRIALS

I. Threads in the Pattern of Communist Power and II. Motives of the War Against Heresy.

The new purge in Rumania focuses attention on Communist power in Eastern Europe. At regular intervals during the past three years the western world has read with astonishment of the disgrace of leading, seasoned Communists officials in the various satellite countries of Eastern Europe. The spectacle of the Communists liquidating their most exalted leaders, blackening their pure lights of Marxist orthodoxy, and reducing their revolutionary heroes to common spies, saboteurs and traitors, has been mystifying. As evidence of Titoist activities in these Soviet-dominated countries has accumulated, the assumption has been that the purges simply reflect a growing Russian awareness of potential nationalist deviations. But that is only part of the picture.

The duality of Russia's aim in Eastern Europe after the war was shown in her determination both to set afire and to control the flames of revolution, to incite the local Communists to gain power from below and then to impose from above the bureaucratic pattern of the present stage of the Russian revolution. Such an ambitious attempt to compress what is normally two consecutive revolutionary phases, inevitably required different human instruments to carry it out.

It was inevitable that after the first phase of seizing power from the social democratic and agrarian parties that Communists trained for decades to resist authority, steeped in rebellion and intrigue, should give place to more pliable Communists trained less in methods of revolution than in those of consolidation and bureaucracy. In a Communist country if a change of policy is required, the policy necessary to change must be represented as having been a heresy temporarily imposed by seditious elements working against the true interests of the regime. It is always the new policy that is the true Communist policy. Therefore, those with responsibility for the previous measures must be represented as deviationists or criminal wreckers. For them dismissal from office is plainly inadequate; they must also be punished.

In 1948 the second phase of Russian policy began with a marked speed-up of industrialization and collectivization in the Eastern European satellites and a general

tightening up of party membership. This new twist to the screw coincided with widespread charges of treason levelled against those who, on Moscow's orders, had carried out measures which represented a more gradual approach to the Communist millennium.

It is, then, the comprehensive nature of Russian aims in Eastern Europe, the attempt to compress two revolutionary phases which took some 30 years in Russia into less than a decade, which explains much of the rapid turnover of power in the satellite capitals. The fact is that purges are an essential thread in the pattern of Communist society.

In a Communist State the war against heresy is a normal and natural development. If authority is regarded as the protector of certain doctrines - to which messianic qualities are attributed - plainly its first duty is to cut out heresy even if in cutting out the canker much healthy tissue is removed as well.

To the Communist rulers, bent on preserving their personal power in order to serve the sacred doctrine, loyalty and disloyalty in the western sense of the words are two equally disagreeable faces of the same coin -- the inquiring mind. In a sense, the most reliable subordinates for the purposes of the Politburo, and the purge system will inevitably produce them, are people whose obedience is engaged less by conviction than by greed or fear. The kind of absolute obedience required, which can be switched from noble to base ends, is most reliable if it springs from those tangible motives which can be so easily manipulated in a police State. Loyalty based on conviction is useful in the sacrificial phase of revolution but afterwards conviction is always suspect. The truly convinced Communist is in the greatest danger for he is less flexible in his opinions, less able to change as the line changes, and therefore potentially dangerous.

Many of the purges have been motivated strictly by power considerations. However, the ideological background to the regime enables them to be carried out with methodical self-righteousness and a dedicated altruism, and to appear to the general run of Communists as a terrible necessity, rather than as the imposition of a tyrant's will. Each purge with its aftermath of bitterness among the victims' families, creates sufficient discontent to

justify another, until, like a drug, larger and larger doses are needed to keep the body politic alive.

Only by the most rigid control and a frequent turnover of power can Moscow hold the reins. The elimination of the revolutionary East European leaders earlier (Kostov, Gomulka, Rajk) and more recently the purges in Czechoslovakia and Rumania of the more pliable Moscow-trained Communist leaders (Slansky, Pauker) are the writing on the wall for all Communist officials in Eastern Europe and Russia alike.

THE MIDDLE EAST
SYRIA

The Times (London, May 30, 1952)

THE NEW REGIME IN SYRIA: DEMOCRACY THROUGH DICTATORSHIP

The present military regime in Syria has been in power for six months, dating from the coup d'etat of November 29, 1951. Parliament no longer meets, there is no cabinet and the ministries are headed by directors-general answerable to Colonel Selou as head of State.

Disorder in Syria has disappeared and crime has appreciably declined. Early steps were taken to improve the financial situation of the country. A system of progressive taxation was introduced which promises to ease the budget. Long disputed proposals of land reform were quickly made into law. In six months' time the Ministry of Agriculture will be in a position to begin its distribution of land to landless farmers.

Two large irrigation schemes have been drawn up, together with plans for hydro-electric installations, which aim at settling 25,000 families to find a new productive life on the land. The Government is negotiating with the International Bank of Reconstruction for a loan to cover the cost of these projects. It is also intended to expand, over five years, the port of Latakia to give it an unloading capacity of 800,000 tons a year, equal to that of Beirut.

The steps being taken are reminiscent of those taken by Kemal Ataturk after the Turkish Revolution. The ultimate aim in Syria, as it was in Turkey, is to reach democracy by dictation rather than by evolution. Before the successive coups the country had reached a state of political stagnation. There are now no rivals in Syria who could seriously challenge the program of the present Government. The Syrians themselves seem ready and willing to give the present regime a chance.

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June 1, 1952

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

THE UNITED STATES

Harvard Business Review (May-June, 1952)

THE MAN ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE by Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest.

Two years ago the authors undertook an exploratory survey of a modern automobile assembly plant for the purpose of defining more clearly the several "human equations" involved in assembly work and to search for answers to some of the practical problems posed for men and management.

In the present article they describe how an assembly line looks and feels to the men who work on it. The story is told by the men on the assembly line who themselves tell about their jobs and what they like and do not like about them. Over a period of months 180 workers were interviewed in their homes about all phases of their life on "the line". These workers constituted a substantial and representative sample of the total number of productive workers in the plant.

The men described exactly what they did and expressed their reactions to mechanical pacing, to repetitiveness, to the skills utilized and to the influence of assembly line workers on quality of product. On the basis of the comments made, the authors suggest certain measures management might explore in the interest of greater efficiency and of increased satisfaction for the individual operator.

The authors also comment briefly on the more basic problems involved in the impact of mass production on human nature through the character of work groups, the wage structure and the promotion system. They emphasize the workers' sense of anonymity within the production enterprise of which they were functional parts.

"It seems to us significant that the average worker appeared to be oppressed by this sense of anonymity <u>in spite of the fact that he declared himself well satisfied with his rate of pay and the security of his job</u>. The answer to this problem in the most general

terms would appear to be a program designed to re-create the sense and also the reality of a bona fide work community. And for such a program to be successful we believe that both union and management would have to agree on the measures to be taken. .....

"It is striking that throughout the survey of Plant X both union and management agreed with the authors that the more basic problems to be explored were not those connected with a particular plant, industry or corporation. Rather they were problems related to technological and organizational trends common to modern industry. Both agreed that modern American civilization as we know it rests upon mass-production principles quite as much as upon the natural resources of the United States. The attitude of both, therefore, was a simple and heartening one: Since these problems exist, let us get all the facts we can. In time we shall be able to solve them."

Business News Reports (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, May 9, 1952)

PERSONAL INCOME -

Personal income in March, at an annual rate of $258 billion, was virtually unchanged for the third consecutive month. The only changes registered were a decline in the income of proprietors and a largely offsetting gain in corporate dividend receipts.

Private industry payrolls, at an annual rate of $145 billion, were the same as in February, small gains in wage rates being compensated by reductions in employment. Payrolls in individual industries - manufacturing, contract construction, wholesale and retail trade and other major groups - were stable.

Government wages and salaries, Federal civilian and military, and State and local, were also unchanged in March, at an annual rate of $32 billion.

Nonfarm proprietors' income was half a billion dollars lower than in February as a result of some reduction in retail sales. Farm proprietors' income also declined in March due to the marketing of a smaller volume of farm products, together with lower livestock prices.

Personal receipts of corporate dividends in March rose about half a billion dollars to an annual rate of $9.7 billion.

Personal income in each month of the first quarter of 1952 was only one billion higher than the fourth quarter rate of $257 billion. While this stability in the income flow reflected the steadiness in employment and production totals, it also stemmed from several irregular factors which dampened the quarterly change. Fourth quarter wages and salaries included the payment of retroactive wages to Federal civilian workers. Fourth quarter dividends were raised as compared with the first quarter flow by extra, special and year-end disbursements. Deduction in the first quarter of initial payment of social security contributions by self-employed persons also served to reduce personal income in relation to the final quarter of last year.

Labor (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor, May 20, 1952)

NATION'S FACTORIES REPORT 400,000 DECREASE IN PRODUCTION WORKERS OVER THE YEAR.

Production worker employment in manufacturing plants declined by about 410,000 over the past year, to 12.7 million in mid-April 1952. Additions to the workforce in defense-related industries were outweighed by reductions in consumer goods and building materials manufacturing.

The number of employees in nonfarm industries, at 46.2 million this April, was a quarter million higher than a year earlier. The gain, however, largely reflected the different timing of the Easter shopping season. Retail stores reported a pre-Easter addition of 170,000 workers between March and April.

Nonfarm employment rose by 280,000 between March and April, as a result of seasonal employment expansion in contract construction and service industries, as well as in retail trade. These gains more than offset seasonal employment declines in consumer soft goods manufacturing.

Over the year, production worker employment was reduced by 10 percent or more in

the lumber, textile, and jewelry, toys and miscellaneous manufacturing groups, and by from 5 to 7 percent in the furniture, paper, fabricated, metal, apparel, leather, and stone, clay and glass groups. Slackened demand for consumer goods and reduced expenditures for residential construction have resulted in higher inventories and curtailed production schedules in these industries. Taken together, these industries reported a net reduction of nearly a half million production workers between April 1951 and April 1952.

The only manufacturing industry groups reporting gains of over 2 percent in production worker employment over the year were transportation, equipment, machinery, instruments, and ordnance. These gains reflected expanded output of military goods and industrial equipment needed for the defense production program. However, the rate of employment expansion in defense-related industries has slowed down considerably in recent months. For example, production worker employment in aircraft plants has risen by an average of 5000 per month thus far this year, compared with an average monthly increase of about 13,000 between the Korean outbreak and the end of 1951.

In contrast to the decrease in production worker employment, the number of nonproduction workers in manufacturing industries rose by 210,000 over the year. In expanding defense-connected industries, nonproduction workers have been added to payrolls at a faster rate than production workers, reflecting greatly increased requirements for technical and administrative personnel. Also, industries where output has declined, overhead staffs - sales, office, technical, and supervisory employees - have generally been maintained, while the number of production workers has been reduced.

The number of workers employed in contract construction rose seasonally by 115,000 between March and April, and at 2.4 million was 50,000 below the record April 1951 level. Outlays for private residential and commercial building were below April 1951 rates, but military and industrial construction activity was up sharply over the year.

Unemployment at an estimated 1.6 million remained at a postwar low for the season.

EUROPE
UNITED KINGDOM

The Times (London, May 8, 1952)

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN EXCHANGE

On the occasion of the last full meeting of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity, the Times comments on the success of the Council's work. Leaders of the Federation of British Industries, the British Employers' Confederation and the Trades Union Congress worked in a cooperative spirit with American industrialists and trade unionists. The arrangements made were carried out with great enthusiasm by the 66 British teams which have visited the United States and by their American hosts.

Initially the criticism was made that it was unnecessary to send teams at great expense of time and money to study American industrial practice when the best British practice was as good as the American or better, and more directly applicable to British problems. However, the value and success of the Anglo-American Council must be judged by the extent to which it provided the spark necessary to catch the imagination and evoke joint contributions from management, technicians and workers on a national scale.

Some of the industrial teams which visited the United States made recommendations which were unrealistic or related to factors outside the control of their industries. Others suggested improvements which large firms had already adopted and small firms could not afford. In every instance, however, people drawn from all levels and all sections of each industry studied one another and one another's problems. From this exchange rather than from the study of American industry sprang the deeper interest in productivity and in efforts to improve it which is reported on all sides.

This does not mean that American practice included nothing which could be imitated here advantageously or adapted to British industrial needs. Rather it means that even on the technical side it is becoming clear that British genius is fully capable of devising the details of what is needed once the need is understood. For this reason, the individual

teams' reports on mechanisation, accounting, standardisation, and training have had a lesser effect than the reports of the specialist teams which studied the general principles of mechanical handling, management, accounting, simplification of products, and training, particularly of supervisors, in the United States.

The lesson of this very successful experiment seems to be that a psychological attack on inertia and resistance to innovation can produce better and quicker results in the practical field than concentration on the practical details themselves.

POLAND

The Economist (London, May 10, 1952)

THE CHURCH'S RESISTANCE IN POLAND.

The first copy of a pastoral letter distributed at Easter by the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland has just leaked across the iron curtain. It is a reminder of the extent to which the Polish hierarchy has maintained its unyielding attitude to Communism over the past seven years. Today it is the sole remaining outpost of the Vatican in Eastern Europe.

The object of the Polish Communists is to produce, as in the Soviet Union, an acquiescent priesthood and a church which is the instrument of the regime. However there are vast differences between the Orthodox Church in Russia and the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. While the Russian Church leaders have always been more or less subservient, the Polish episcopacy has a long record of stubborn resistance to authority, both that of the Czars and of their own rulers. Also, unlike the Russian, the Polish Church has the enormous support of the parent church outside, and within the country, of a congregation which remains unshaken in the faith.

Striking proof of this devotion was given last Christmas. For the first time the occasion was officially ignored and strenuous propaganda efforts were made to play up the New Year, linked to the Six Year Plan, instead of Christmas. Nevertheless, it is known that on Christmas Day the churches were crowded to overflowing and that people, including Party members, stayed away from work.

Among the organized nation-wide demonstrations in favor of the new Polish constitution, there has been no radio or press mention of clerical participation, except by the pro-Government "Union of Patriotic Priests". This Union is the regime's sole achievement in its efforts to undermine the Church's power and is the result of promoting a schismatic movement among the ill-paid lower clergy. Even so, the Government itself does not claim more than a few hundred members out of a total Catholic priesthood of about 9,000.

The Church in Poland today is carrying out the doctrine of non-cooperation. To what extent priests encourage or participate in any active resistance, is hard to say. From time to time priests have been tried for allegedly anti-state or treasonable activities. But there is no evidence that subversion is part of the Church's policy in Poland. It prefers to rely on non-cooperation and the preservation of a moral ascendency over a simple people.

The Church still has considerable material resources in Poland - in lands, monasteries, seminaries, etc. Attendance at the University of Lublin, the Catholic academic stronghold, has reached the record number of 6,000. In 1949, there were 6300 priests working as paid religious instructors in Polish schools. Many hundreds of them have since been dismissed in spite of the Hierarchy's protests. With the legal separation of church and state under the new constitution, it can be presumed that the rest of these priest-instructors will disappear along with the last vestiges of ecclesiastical authority over Polish education.

However, at least for another generation the dominating role of Catholicism in the lives of the people will continue. Poland is an agrarian country and life in the villages is still primitive. The Church and its ritual is and has been for centuries, the sole amenity and the sole consolation.

AFRICA
LIBERIA

Foreign Commerce Weekly (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, May 12, 1952.)

LIBERIA'S EFFORTS TOWARD ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT.

Liberia, one of several small countries on the West Coast of Africa, has made

considerable strides toward economic advancement. The article describes the country's resources -- timber and mineral and its basic activity, agriculture. The most important agricultural production from the standpoint of the money economy of Liberia, is plantation rubber. The great majority of the people raise cassava, rice and yams or gather bananas and palm kernel for their food. The production of cacao, coffee, kola nuts and peanuts has been advancing in recent years and these products promise to become important cash crops in the future.

The Firestone Tire and Rubber Company pioneered the development of plantation rubber in Liberia after World War I. Private enterprises, representing American investments and local Liberian interests, are now engaged in various projects aimed at developing national resources. Iron-ore deposits are being developed by the Liberia Mining Co. and shipments are being made to the United States at a rate of 10,000 tons weekly.

Liberia has had close ties with the United States throughout its history. Recently, it was the first country to conclude an agreement with us to receive technical assistance in terms of the Point 4 program. Initially this program in Liberia is directed primarily toward agricultural development. It also encompasses work in the fields of public works and utilities, health and sanitation, education and housing.

The Point 4 projects have been integrated into Liberia's Five-Year Plan for economic development, a plan evolved by the Liberian Government, drawing heavily upon the work done by the U. S. Public Health and Economic Missions. These missions operated in Liberia during World War II when the United States was granted special privileges for the construction and operation of an airfield.

The Five-Year Plan will be financed by the Liberian Government largely from current revenues, although public loans and limited grants are expected to help. A joint Liberian-United States Commission for Economic Development has been established. Like other underdeveloped countries with ambitious plans for economic and social improvement, Liberia lacks sufficient trained manpower; the country has inadequate transportation, communication facilities and basis social services. Large sums of money will be needed to carry out the program. In this connection the Liberian Government has recognized the desirability of encouraging the inflow from abroad of private capital investments.

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Perkins, Milo

May 1, 1952

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

THE UNITED STATES

Foreign Affairs (New York, April 1952)

KOREA IN PERSPECTIVE by Adlai E. Stevenson (Governor of Illinois)

Although it is too early to make any final estimate of the Korean experience, the writer believes that "we have made historic progress toward the establishment of a viable system of collective security." Certain positive gains for American foreign policy may be noted:

1. The Korean engagement put the American rearmament effort into high gear.

2. Our leadership in fighting aggression in Korea not only saved the moral and psychological defenses of Western Europe from possible disintegration but also sparked the rapid build-up there of physical defenses.

3. The Soviet Union now knows that the path of conquest is mortally dangerous.

4. Our support of the first great collective military effort of the United Nations to resist aggression demonstrated that the organization is adaptable to the role of enforcement as well as to that of conciliation.

5. We may record that the successful resistance in Korea has contributed greatly to the successful negotiation of a Treaty of Peace with Japan, as well as of arrangements satisfactory to us regarding the future security of that country.

6. We have learned vital military lessons in Korea.

American interests, power and responsibilities are world-wide. Two basic facts affect our position in the world. The first is that a world-wide imperialist war is now being carried on by Soviet Russia and its Communist satellites. The second is the existence of the United Nations - a world-wide organization of states "united in strength to maintain international peace and security." The relationship of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Nations is the primary element in the American problem of foreign policy today.

Although the United Nations has worked haltingly and at times badly, it has worked. Because the present world-wide coalition of free peoples is inconceivable without a central forum and instrument for discussion and adjustment, the United Nations remains an indispensable part of our foreign policy. So long as the Soviet rulers continue their dual war - against their own people and against all outsiders, there is no reason to expect that the UN will be able to adjust the differences between the Soviets and the free world. Nevertheless, it maintains at least formal contact between the two worlds. Our own willingness to keep the door open for talk and negotiation is evidence for our friends that we will accept any reasonable opportunity to improve relations and avoid all-out war.

Despite differences in approach and emphasis, much of the free world now shares a wide range of political and economic interests which move it in the direction of unity. The United Nations is a most valuable instrument in harmonizing differences in those interests. It and other agencies such as NATO have given us and our friends, considerable experience "in this unceasing task of mutual accommodation". We will find support among peoples in the free countries to the degree that they believe the United States does not simply consult its own interests but gives consideration to their interests as well. Other nations have a reciprocal obligation to give weight to our interests too.

In his concluding paragraph, Mr. Stevenson writes, "What is incontrovertible, I think, is that America needs and wants allies. I think most Americans know this. I think we believe that the redress in the balance of power in the world must be completed, and quickly. I think we believe that the great experiment in collective security on which we embarked in 1945 is still in the long run our best chance for peace. I think we believe that international cooperation is more than elocution. In short, I think most of us have convictions about the position of the United States in the world today and accept the risks and responsibilities inherent in that position."

Statistical Series (Securities and Exchange Commission, March 27, 1952)

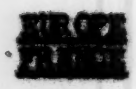
BUSINESS EXPECTS HIGHER CAPITAL EXPENDITURES AND SALES IN 1952.

American business is planning to spend $24.1 billion in 1952 for new plant and equipment according to the latest survey of capital outlays made by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Commerce. This total exceeds the previous high in 1951 by 4 percent in dollars and by almost as much in physical volume terms.

Capital outlays in 1951 were $23.3 billion and were very close to the expenditures anticipated by business in the survey conducted in the early part of last year.

Manufacturing concerns and electric and gas utilities have programmed capital expenditures in 1952 at 8 percent above 1951 and mining companies expect to spend 7 percent more. Among transportation companies the nonrail groups plan on investing 19 percent more than in 1951, while the railroads expect to spend the same amount as last year. Commercial and miscellaneous industries are the only major group scheduling lower capital outlays than in 1951.

The survey also furnished information on the sales expectations of businessmen in 1952. The largest increases in sales above 1951 are anticipated by mining concerns (11 percent) and electric and gas utilities and nonrail transportation companies (10 percent). Manufacturers expect their sales to rise 5 percent with a somewhat greater increase in the durable goods industries. Commercial and miscellaneous companies expect a minor increase in sales.



The Economist (London, March 22, 1952)

FRENCH TAXES AND BENEFITS.

The recurrent budget crises in France and the general atmosphere of fiscal

irresponsibility which has surrounded the Fourth Republic, have tended to distort two basic facts of French social life. The first is that the French nation as a whole surrenders almost as much of its income through taxation as the British. According to French official claims the figures are 38 percent of the national income in the French case and 40 percent in the British. The second fact is that since 1946 France has been building up a system of social security and free health services which is at least as comprehensive as any in Western Europe.

A comparison between the social benefits in Britain and in France indicates that both British and French families tend to receive rather similar benefits from their respective states. On the whole, the French employee earns less from his employer and receives more from the state while, on the whole, the English employee pays a higher income tax and a slightly lower contribution to social insurance. In both countries, children are educated free until they are fifteen; medical treatment is about 90 percent free; there are state insurance schemes against industrial injuries, other disabilities and chronic sickness; and a system of special assistance to the very poor.

Although the two schemes cover the same ground, they are very different in method and approach. Of the total sum which passes through the French budget, only 29 percent is raised by a direct tax on personal or company incomes; 10 percent comes from state properties, and 61 percent from indirect taxes on consumption and imports. Of the direct taxes, practically all are paid by employers on behalf of themselves and their employees. In addition, the employer has to pay the state around 29 percent on his basic wages bill in respect of social security contributions which are not included in the budget.

It is very profitable to have children in France - with three children the regular allowances are 60 percent of the basic wage. The results speak for themselves in statistics. In the years immediately preceding the last war, deaths on a yearly average, were

20,000 more than births. Since 1946, births have exceeded deaths by more than 312,000 on a yearly average. The French system maintains a degree of incentive which is absent from the British. Within certain limits, the more a Frenchman earns the more he receives from the state.

In practice the French system does not work so well as the British. But a careful look at the French taxes and benefits would indicate that France as a whole is not grossly undertaxed and that France is by no means backward in its social services.

THE NEAR EAST

KUWAIT

The Times (London, March 4, 1952)

KUWAIT'S BURDEN OF WEALTH.

Kuwait, an independent sheikdom under British protection at the head of the Persian Gulf, which has been for centuries an Arab trading center, has suddenly emerged as the fifth oil-producing country in the world.

This desert State of about 150,000 people will receive this year a revenue of some $56 million. If production this year from the Kuwait oilfield reaches 40 million tons, as is expected, the royalty and tax payable in 1953 under the agreement concluded in December will be around $140 million.

Kuwait has an unusually stable and pacific history and the ruling dynasty has been unbroken since 1756. Sheik Abdulla Salim, the ruler, is a serious, thoughtful man in his middle fifties, simple in dress, religious, and conservative in habits. His governing preoccupation is to dispose of the revenue from oil wisely for the good of his people.

Kuwait's first need is water. Its supply is brought in from outside in dhows which discharge their tanks at the quayside from which the water sellers load their skins.

The State will now be able to afford to pipe water from the Euphrates and pay for the privilege, if Iraq agrees. Political prudence, however, dictates that Kuwait should make itself tolerably self-sufficient in water. This is to be done by the largest system of distillation yet conceived.

The largest water distillation plant in the world today is the Kuwait Oil Company's plant at its leading port, Mina-el-Ahmadi. This plant uses the spent steam from the power generators to distil 600,000 gallons of fresh water daily from the sea, of which 200,000 gallons are piped to the town. The remainder serves the oil company establishments which are a self-contained town separated from Kuwait town by more than 20 miles of sand. Outside the old city a new plant designed to give one million gallons of water a day, is being built at State expense. It will be fired by oilfield gas. In the past the average Kuwaiti has used 1 1/2 gallons of water daily, a quantity far too small to allow for sewerage. This amount has already been doubled and next year it may rise to 8 or 9 gallons a head a day.

Reduction of disease is going forward under the State medical service. The present hospital was opened in October 1949 for 120 beds. It now has 180 beds and a tubercular ward in another building has been expanded from 60 to more than 100 beds. A permanent new tuberculosis hospital is approaching completion. A site is now being cleared outside the present town for a new general hospital of 750 beds.

Profound changes are also taking place in the field of education. Until 1910 the only schools in Kuwait were the Koran schools in which a few children were instructed in the scriptures. Two or three general schools were built in the next 25 years and in 1935 the policy was begun of importing teachers from more advanced Arab countries. Since 1945, eleven new boys' schools and seven new girls' schools have been founded. There are now 399 teachers instead of 119 seven years ago. The number of pupils has risen from 3,000 to more than 8,000. Education is free, the children receive a free meal a day, free clothing and medical treatment.

Since Kuwaiti women are strictly veiled, it is the more remarkable that as many as 2500 girls are now at school. The education of women in large numbers may make even deeper marks on Kuwaiti society than the coming of water or the reduction of disease. Young men are being sent to study in Egypt, Lebanon and the western countries with funds provided by the state and the oil company and 27 are now studying in England.

Kuwait is using its oil revenues to construct, in a decayed and neglected region of the world, a modern and advanced community.

THE FAR EAST

Foreign Policy Bulletin (New York, April 15, 1952)

TEN-POINT PROGRAM FOR U. S. IN ASIA by Chester Bowles (U.S.Ambassador to India)

Americans have reason to be proud of the way we have faced up boldly and imaginatively to the danger of Soviet aggression in Europe - through the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic pact.

However, in Asia we face a profound challenge from the already dangerously successful efforts the Communists are making there. We know Europe but we do not know Asia. Nor do the Asian peoples know our history and traditions. Skillful Soviet propaganda associates us with the nineteenth-century colonialism of European powers.

India occupies the key position in Asia today. India is the world's largest democracy. In four and a half years of independence, it has established complete freedom of speech, free elections, democratic courts, and a parliamentary system based on the best British, French and American experience. But the real test for India's democracy will be its ability to raise the living standards of the people. On this test the future not only of India but of Asia will largely rest.

A solid majority of the Indian people are hopeful that democracy can do for them what it has done for many Western nations. But in some parts of India - the Communists

are making significant inroads. If India goes under, no thoughtful person will question the fact that democracy in Asia is finished. A Communist Asia might well jeopardize the position of free countries throughout the world. We cannot allow that to happen.

Ambassador Bowles calls for a positive Asian policy which thoughtful Democrats and Republicans can support regardless of past disagreements. Nehru, he says, is the strongest individual anti-Communist force in Asia. In spite of occasional disagreements with him on specific questions, no one can question his deep personal devotion to democracy. We must be patient in our dealings with the Asians and their problems. Remember the great American traditions, take every opportunity to express our historic antipathy to imperialism in any form.

We should not get discouraged about the problems of population and food supply in India. If India's agriculture were only as productive as that of Egypt, its annual supply of food would be twice as great.

With our help India's Five-Year Plan by the end of 1956 can increase total food production 20 percent. This would eliminate the need to import food from abroad and free foreign exchange now used for that purpose, for speeding up Indian industrialization.

"This essential 20 percent increase in food production can be achieved only by a substantial step-up in our present village-by-village program of better seeds, increased irrigation projects, better public health and increased literacy. The program now under way draws heavily from previous failures to meet communism successfully in Asia. It is a realistic down-to-earth, house-to-house, village-to-village effort already tested and proven in actual practice.

"Twelve thousand villages will begin to receive the benefits of our present Point Four program in the next few months. But our minimum objective must be 200,000 villages and 120 million people by 1956. In each area covered, a 50 percent increase

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

August 1, 1951

THE UNITED STATES

Federal Reserve Bulletin (June 1951)

1951 SURVEY OF CONSUMER FINANCES: PART I. THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK AND LIQUID ASSET POSITION OF CONSUMERS.

This article, the first in a Bulletin series, presents the findings of the sixth annual Survey of Consumer Finances sponsored by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and conducted for the Board by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The article deals with the general financial position of consumers, with changes in consumer attitudes on economic matters during the past year, and with ownership and use of liquid assets.

"On balance, consumers appear to have improved their financial positions in 1950. Annual personal income rose considerably more than prices from average 1949 levels. The number of persons owning liquid assets increased by 3 million, the number that spent more than their incomes (dissaved) declined for the first time in the postwar period, and purchases of new houses, automobiles, and other major durable goods set new records.

"Price rises in the latter part of 1950 and in early 1951, however, tended to offset previous income-gains so that there was little change in the income-price relationship between early 1950 and early 1951. Although this was true on the average, many persons were adversely affected by rising prices.

"Consumers were not very optimistic concerning their income prospects in relation to expected price rises. Many people felt that times were not favorable for the purchase of major durable goods, primarily because prices were too high. This view was widely expressed even though very few people expected prices to decline in the near future. These last factors were reflected in the reduced number and greater uncertainty of consumer plans to purchase durable goods and housing.

"It is possible that incomes may rise more than was anticipated by consumers early this year, and prices less. Also, people may become accustomed to the new high level of prices. If such is the case, consumer buying in the latter part of 1951 may exceed the volume indicated by consumers earlier in the year.

"It is significant, nevertheless, that the majority of consumers are not disposed to reduce savings in order to acquire goods in anticipation of price advances. Moreover, they continue to prefer savings bonds and bank deposits to real estate and common stock as outlets for current savings. Even though the small number preferring real estate or common stock has increased somewhat over the past two years, the chief reason given for this preference was the higher return these assets were believed to yield. These attitudes make the task of controlling inflationary pressures less difficult than it would otherwise be."

The article describes in some detail the survey findings on each of the subjects mentioned in the above summary. Twenty-four pertinent tables are included.

The New York Times Magazine (Sunday, July 8, 1951)

PATIENCE: ATOMIC WEAPON IN THE COLD WAR by Barbara Ward.

The course of events since the war indicates that the Russian strategy is to play a waiting game. The rulers in the Kremlin believe that history is on their side, that capitalism is bound to disintegrate, and that communism is destined to conquer the world. This confidence in the verdict of history gives considerable strength and flexibility to Soviet strategy. There is no need to hurry for time is on their side.

For Stalin Korea is simply an episode. For the West to hold the enemy in Korea is victory, but it is the winning of a battle not of a whole campaign. The West must understand the Russian game and avoid all belief in sudden decisive settlements.

The Soviet strategy comports well with the Russian character. Probably no people on earth are better at waiting than the Russians. The Western peoples, on

the other hand, do not appear to have the reserves of patience which characterize the Slavs. Nor do they seem to be sustained by any particular view of world history.

Britain has had some limited experience with the waiting game. In the United States, however, the traditional emphasis has been on achieving quick results in all fields. In the face of Soviet policy, can the West be patient; can it display fortitude as well as force?

Nowhere in the West is there the endurance of the Russian people. However, during the past two decades the lesson of sustained effort has been learned in field after field of Western life. In the United States, particularly, there are many examples of this. In business enterprise the policy of preferring strength and continuity of the enterprise to the quick taking of profits is attested by the rise in the past decade from 30 to 60 percent of profits devoted to reinvestment. In agriculture, the emphasis has been on soil conservation and improvement.

Even in the field of diplomacy, the rationale of the "limited war" is patience. The Western powers are already showing also that they can match Russian endurance at the conference table.

Patience is not the only Russian asset. The Communists offer, particularly to youth, a picture of Utopia, of the perfect society which will come to pass when capitalists, kulaks, kings and priests, have gone to their inevitable doom. This is not an idle challenge. For whatever else it is, the Western way of life is not a Utopia. It offers no automatic security for the good life. What it does offer is the guarantee of life, liberty and the means of pursuing happiness. But each individual human personality must create his own happiness. The Western view of human destiny is infinitely more complex and provisional than the Messianic premises of communism.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union "suffers from the insurmountable obstacle that the Kingdom of Heaven descended in 1917 and has been getting more fixedly

intolerable ever since... So, today, the chief obstacle of the Soviet version of the millenium is that it has already arrived, and that its compulsorily happy millions are among the most wretched of mankind... By promising total happiness, the Soviet Union has undermined its capacity to promise anything at all."

In the West, the state makes no promises. It can only offer opportunities for the flowering of goodness and greatness in the individual personality of the free citizen--a goal beyond any goal proposed by communism. In the dignity of the individual, in the opportunities offered the individual through the Western way of life, lie the deepest roots of Western power.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

The Economist (London, July 7, 1951)

EUROPEAN CONSOLIDATION.

In the very important speech General Eisenhower made in London on July 3 in the presence of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, he was telling the peoples of Western Europe that his job would be extremely difficult--if not impossible--unless the European signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty would create among themselves more unity than they have today.

The system by which a single general is, in effect, responsible to over a dozen governments and has to deal with each of them separately is not working at all well. It is obvious that General Eisenhower is acutely concerned over the absence in Europe of any central organs of decision.

He might have gone on to say that it is not only in their lack of coherent organization that the Western European nations are deficient, but that there is something wrong as well with their spirit and morale. Public opinion in the West has treated the recent elections in France and Italy with a certain complacency. The Italian elections did not upset De Gasperi and the French elections guaranteed the continuance of moderate governments of the center. However, what these elections show of the state of mind of the French and Italian peoples ought to be

regarded as very disturbing. In the third year of the Marshall Plan which has succeeded beyond expectation in rebuilding the European economies, a quarter of both the French and Italian electorates voted Communist. If the good year is followed by a bad one, if the French or Italian voters come under the pressure of fear or misery, how much of democracy will survive?

The Eisenhower speech was made appropriately in London because however much the British may dislike and resent it, the key to European unity lies in London. The problem of Western Europe cannot be solved without the most active and positive British cooperation and General Eisenhower has deliberately served notice on the British Government that it must make an effort to provide leadership for Europe.

It is not within the field of practical politics today to set up a super-government for a federated Europe. A more fruitful approach would be to give the Supreme Commander what he urgently needs--an organ where decisions can be taken quickly and collectively, the peacetime equivalent of the meetings of the President and the Prime Minister. There are many things that the European nations already decide together and the organs through which they do so are scattered over half a dozen capitals. The first task is to bring together in one place and, insofar as possible, in one organ, all these pieces of international machinery. When that is accomplished, it should be possible for each government to send out a plenipotentiary minister, empowered to make bargains and take decisions. The plan might be given its initial impulse by a Conference of Prime Ministers.

The first job for such an organ is to define the aims and dimensions of the common effort. One of the factors at the root of the current malaise of the Western Europeans is their feeling that they are menaced by the unknown. The demands which the policy of resisting Soviet imperialism puts upon them seem to be unlimited; the cry is always for more, until sometimes it appears that the means of avoiding war are, on the economic and social sides, as painful as war itself. It is a great blunder that this impression has been allowed to grow. The program

cannot be defined in exact terms but it should be easily possible to say what it does not amount to. Roughly, the British program is equal to about one-quarter of a total war and it is the biggest in Europe. It is not true that the peoples of Europe have to ruin themselves in order to be safe. It is perfectly possible to draw up a program which will be large enough to convince the Americans that a real effort is being made and yet moderate enough to convince the European peoples that they will not be ruined.

The immediate agenda is therefore one of European consolidation--a consolidated organization working out a consolidated program. The present British Government need not be frightened to take the initiative. The criticism could be made that what is suggested is too little. But there are two points to bear in mind. The first is that politics is the art of the possible. The governments of Europe today are all of them so narrowly based that large gestures will upset their equilibrium. The other is that there is a limit to what can be done by governmental action and administrative devices in the absence of an active public opinion based on common belief in a positive creed of action. This is what is missing in Europe today. We know what we reject but we do not know in what we believe. Statesmen can help create an atmosphere in which minds can come together but the creation of a new faith is not within their powers. For that Western Europe still awaits its prophet.

THE FAR EAST

The Harvard Business Review (July 1951)

OUR ECONOMIC POLICY IN ASIA by Raymond W. Miller.

The author, a farmer, lawyer, visiting lecturer at the Harvard Business School and consultant to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, has recently visited some fourteen countries in Asia.

His major point is that hunger is the most important fact in the world today, that the real challenge of the twentieth century is the race between man and

starvation. The great majority of the people of Asia today live in rural and urban slums under economic restrictions, social customs and superstitions of the past. Together with other free countries the United States must attack the conditions which cause these people to live in poverty, disease and hunger. Internal volcanic pressures are being generated in Asia which will erupt in this decade--as they have already started to do--unless we really lend a hand. Asia wants the United States to be a good neighbor, not a patronizing philanthropist.

The author's analysis of the problem and how to deal with it are summed up as follows:

1) At this stage, the idealistic visions of those who want to mechanize Eastern agriculture are impracticable. "Know-how" help at the grass-roots level is all Asia needs and all it is prepared to use for the time being. We could give enough of this type of help to influence profoundly the economies of the Far Eastern countries at relatively little cost.

2) The effectiveness of our help will depend on how we give it. Our aim should be to help the people of Asia to help themselves. We should support local adaptations under native administration of the American county demonstration agent. The tremendous potential of this "show-how" principle has already been demonstrated in Formosa, in India and elsewhere.

3) Not even the above program will succeed unless we raise our voice strongly for land reform. No program of increasing production can have any meaning unless the vicious land tenancy system is brought to an end.

4) We should also support the growth of cooperatives which are a valuable follow-up to land reform by making possible better purchasing and marketing practices.

The article discusses the above points in detail, applies them to specific countries in Asia, and contains many illustrations of how they have already worked or could be expected to work in Asia. It is an informative and stimulating piece.

AFRICA

Foreign Affairs (New York, July 1951)

THE BRITISH PROBLEM IN AFRICA (by Margery Perham, Oxford University, England).

The Gold Coast elections of February 1951 sent a shock right through Africa, south of the Sahara. The first assumption of ministerial office by elected Negroes in a British colonial territory marks 1951 as an important date in the political history of Africa.

The author, an authority on colonial administration in Africa, discusses the issue of self-government in various African territories, the tremendous cultural and educational problems, the conflicts between the numerically superior native groups and the dominant white minorities. She stresses the importance of the war period and the years since in British colonial Africa both in terms of Britain's altered position as a ruler of colonial peoples and in terms of the impact of the war on the social and economic life of the colonies. The different situations and issues in west, east and central Africa which challenge the British policy of a gradual transfer of powers, are discussed.

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

May 1, 1951

UNITED STATES

Scientific American (New York, April 1951)

THE CENSUS by Philip M. Hauser (University of Chicago, formerly Acting Director of the U. S. Bureau of the Census).

According to the official 1950 Census count, our population rose by over 19 million between 1940 and 1950 to a total of 150,697,361. This large increase was about seven million above the highest prediction made by population experts a decade ago. What is its significance?

From its foundation the United States has experienced a population increase unprecedented in human history for so large an area over so long a time. Since 1790 when the nation had only 3.9 million people, its population has increased 39-fold. It has doubled five times. The first three doublings each took 25 years. The fourth doubling took 35 years, from 1865 to 1900. The last took 50 years, from 1900 to 1950. Thus, as a long-term trend the rate of increase has been declining since the Civil War.

The population rise in the nineteen forties reflected in part a large "deficit" in marriages and births accumulated during the depression decade as well as the upsurge in our marriage and birth rates during World War II. One of its by-products is that the bumper baby crop of the 1940s will raise enrollment in elementary and secondary schools to more than 34 million by 1958, a forty percent increase over the enrollment of 1947.

There have been large shifts in the geographic distribution of our population with the biggest gains in the Far West. Other important shifts have been from rural to metropolitan areas and from the cities to the suburbs.

Another significant change is in the sex composition of the population. Women outnumber men for the first time in a Decennial Census report, in the ratio of 100 to 98. Two major factors figure here. The first is our immigration restriction laws. The second is the lower death rate of females.

A third major change is in the age structure of the population. The median age of the population rose from 29 years in 1940 to 31.2 years in 1950. There has also been a rapid increase in the number and proportion of persons 65 years old and older. While the population of the country as a whole has doubled since 1900, the number of persons 65 and over has quadrupled.

The Census returns indicate a substantial advance in the social-economic level of the American people during the 1940s. The proportion of persons with less than five years of schooling decreased to less than nine percent while those with a high-school education increased from 16 percent to about 22 percent and those with a college education from 3.8 percent to 4.4 percent.

Wartime mobilization of our manpower expanded the total labor force from some 55 million in April 1940 to a peak of 66.2 million in April 1945. In April 1950, on a comparable basis, the labor force was still 63.5 million, well above the prewar "normal trend." During the decade unemployment shrank from about 8.4 million to 3.5 million.

The Census shows a considerable increase in the real income of individuals and families during the decade. The median wage and salary income earned by persons 14 years of age or over rose from $789 in 1939 to over $2,000 in 1949, an increase of 156 percent. After making allowance for the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar, the average rise in real income was about 50 percent. Another set of data indicates that the gain in income occurred during the war and that since the war's end there has been no real increase in income.

The population changes of the past decade have important implications for national defense. In the immediate future there will be a relative decline in young manpower because of the birth rate drop during the depression years. After 1960 when the record baby crop of the 1940s begins to reach maturity, the supply of youths for productive work at home and for manning the armed services will climb rapidly.

The advances in education and in levels of living during the past decade are encouraging for our national future. The 1950 Census shows that we made substantial gains during the decade in both our human and our material resources.

Statistical Series (Securities and Exchange Commission, March 27, 1951)

PLANT AND EQUIPMENT EXPENDITURES OF U. S. BUSINESS 1951.

According to the latest survey of capital outlays made by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Commerce, American business is planning to spend a record $23.9 billion in 1951 for new plant and equipment. The anticipated rate of capital expansion this year exceeds by 29 percent the capital expenditures made in 1950, and by 24 percent the previous peak in 1948. It seems likely that at least two-thirds of the increase from 1950 represents higher physical volume.

All industries and size groups of companies anticipate larger capital expenditures in 1951 than in 1950, according to this survey made in the first quarter of the year. The 45 percent rise scheduled by manufacturing companies accounts for most of the planned dollar increase in the overall total--about $3.7 billion of the total gain of $5.4 billion. The relative increases among the other industries range from 41 percent in transportation other than railroads to 10 percent in the commercial and miscellaneous category.

Comparison with a similar survey made last December indicates that since that time businessmen have raised their projected rate of capital goods outlays this year about 9 percent, reflecting price as well as volume changes.

Current Population Reports (Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, April 6, 1951)

THE MONTHLY REPORT ON THE LABOR FORCE: MARCH 1951.

Employment went up sharply in March as expanding defense and seasonal activity brought an end to the mid-winter lull. In the week ending March 10, total civilian employment was estimated at 60.2 million, above the February level by 1½ million. This increase was one of the largest ever recorded for this time of year and with it the number of employed persons exceeded the March 1950 level by about 2½ million. Nonagricultural employment advanced by 800,000 between February and March to an estimated 53.8 million in the survey week.

Unemployment dropped by 300,000 to reach the lowest March level in four years.

The jobless total was estimated at 2.1 million in March, only about 3.4 percent of all persons in the civilian labor force in March.

Agricultural employment began to climb seasonally, rising from 5.9 million in February to 6.4 million in March.

The civilian labor force, which includes both employed and unemployed, was estimated at 62.3 million in March, about 1 million larger than in February. Apparently, a major factor in the increase was again the entry into the labor force of large numbers of housewives to take defense and other nonfarm jobs. In spite of the induction of large numbers of young men into the armed forces over the past year, the greatly increased labor force participation of women is responsible for keeping the civilian labor force at its current high level. In the first quarter of 1951, an average of 18.6 million women were in the civilian labor force, or about 800,000 more than in the same period of 1950.

EUROPE

U.S.S.R.

The Economist (March 24 and March 31, 1951)

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOVIET SOLDIER by a former Soviet Staff Officer.

The Soviet armed forces are first the armed forces of a Party and only second those of a nation. Party doctrine teaches that war is a product of class society and that as long as the capitalist system exists there will be wars. It further teaches that the class struggle must be developed to its logical conclusion--violent armed overthrow of the capitalist system.

The attitude which this doctrine fosters has become so deeply rooted in the consciousness of the ordinary man in the Stalinist Empire that any talk about peace which does not imply the violent destruction of capitalism seems to him to be empty words.

Equally significant is the Soviet doctrine that any war against Britain and America would be a just war because it would pursue the central aim of destroying capitalism and that any war against the Soviet Union would be unjust. The whole psychological training of the armed forces of the Soviet Union rests on this formula.

Ivan has assimilated it like a religious doctrine and nothing can unconvince him since there are no opposition parties and foreign magazines or newspapers are hard to get. If a soldier knows he is doing something just and that his opponent's cause is unjust, then his strength to fight will be immeasurably greater than without such conviction.

The Soviet Union is one of the most highly militarised states that has ever existed. At endless meetings of the Party, Komsomol, trade union and other organisations the word "war" is driven into people's consciousness. In thousands of lectures, reports, films, plays, exhibitions, monuments, placards and books the soldier is pictured as a physical and spiritual superman, a paragon of cleverness, ability, strength and greatness. The military profession has become the most honorable in Russia. From all this propaganda the ordinary soldier and citizen concludes that the aims and tasks of the Red Army are sacred.

What is the atmosphere created among Soviet people by all this? It is a new style of patriotism. Up to 1922 the Russian Federation was designated in the minds of Soviet people as "our country." Between 1922 and 1939 outer Mongolia and the whole of Turkestan became "our country." In 1939-40 the title was extended to include Eastern Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Western White Russia, Western Ukraine, Bessarabia and Bukovina. Between 1942 and 1946 it was extended to East Prussia, Memel, the Kurile Islands, Dairen, Port Arthur, Southern Sakhalin and the Carpathian Ukraine. What guarantee is there that tomorrow "our country" will not comprise Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia?

Everything depends on the success of the world revolution. "Soviet patriotism" is a means of coercing people of many races to fight for the aims of the Politburo, of creating mass fanaticism and a blind willingness to die in the name of any aims which the Kremlin may have.

The whole army does not consist of robots. Nevertheless, for twenty-four hours a day military commissars are working at the job of creating them and in the rear the job is being done by Party, Komsomol and trade union organisations. All this must be taken into account along with the tanks, guns and planes.

SOME WEAKNESSES IN THE SOVIET ARMY.

The Soviet Union is an empire with 200 peoples of different histories, cultures, languages and religions. The Second World War showed that many non-Russian people were not only resolved not to fight for the Kremlin but actually rose in revolt in the rear of the Red Army. It is not surprising that in the Ministry of War, in the main political departments in Germany, Austria and other occupied areas, commanding staffs are drawn almost exclusively from officers of Russian nationality.

It is to be remembered also that in the recent war several million men left the Soviet army. Moreover since the war officers and soldiers in occupied Europe have seen that Soviet propaganda has lied shamelessly. Contact with the free world affected them so powerfully that even fanatics began to think. The units of the Soviet army which have served abroad are the most unreliable ones.

There are also significant weaknesses in the reserves of food for the Soviet army. As a result the soldier receives not more than fifty percent of the rations he is supposed to get. On the other hand a senior officer or general gets very rich rations for ridiculously low prices and is very well fed. In the Army the soldier is completely at the mercy of his superior officers. It is clear from an endless flow of secret orders that the practice of corporal punishment and striking flourishes in the Army. Little remains of the human dignity of the Soviet soldier. Since not all soldiers are complete fanatics, all this may sometime assume ominous and far-reaching proportions which bode ill for Stalin's empire.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Persia

The Times (London, March 22, 1951)

THE CRISIS IN PERSIA: INTERNAL ISSUES BEHIND THE OIL DEMANDS.

It would be foolish to regard the crisis in Persia only in terms of oil or to assume that it can be solved by a settlement of the dispute with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Much of the instability of Persian political life during the past 150 years is attributed--and rightly so--to great Power rivalry in the country. But the

fundamental causes which have provoked conflict now brought to a head over the supplementary oil agreement, are the stupidity, greed, and lack of judgment of the ruling classes in Persia.

For many years Persian society has been in a state of disequilibrium, evident in many fields:

1. There is a wide gulf between Government and people. Nepotism is rife. No tradition of disinterested public service exists. Corruption is widespread. No clear decision has been made as to the nature of political power in Persia--whether it is to be wielded by the monarch supported by the army or by the Cabinet supported by the National Assembly or what is to be the nature of the Assembly.

2. There is a lack of balance between Teheran and the provinces. For years all commercial, economic and political activity has centered in the capital. The wealthy, the intellectuals and the professional classes upon whom local government in other countries depends, have gravitated to Teheran.

3. There is a lack of balance between the urban and the rural population. In recent years there has been a flight from the land to the towns. There is also antagonism of long-standing between the settled population and the tribes who form an important element of the population.

4. There is the uneven distribution of wealth. The main wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of the land-owning class, which often includes the merchant and contractor class on the one hand and the upper sections of the bureaucracy and higher ranks of army officers on the other.

5. There is the gulf between the "westernized" element and the rest of the population. This element is out of touch with the masses whom they fail to understand and despise. Their western associations give them undoubted influence but they are not popular and knowing they cannot achieve power by themselves, they tend, whether from ambition or zeal for reform, to seek support from some outside source. The result is that since the present ruling class is popularly, though erroneously, supposed to be supported by Britain, these critics tend to become associated with left wing and pro-Russian movements.

The disequilibrium is not new. There has been an unwillingness to accept personal responsibility and a tendency for years to simplify social problems by blaming the unresolved conflicting forces within society on personified scapegoats. The corrupt ruling class was, and is, considered to be the creature of the British and the belief has been fostered that only the British Government blocked internal reform.

In reality British interests have demanded an independent Persia and forced her to deal with the Government of the day. Although Soviet Russia's activities have been such as would lead to the extinction of Persian independence, she has avoided the stigma which has attached to England. The demand for reform has become tied up with anti-British feeling and pro-Russian sympathy.

The inner tensions of Persian society have now become so acute that they can be met only by an acceleration of the drive against the external scapegoats. This is the real explanation of the present crisis. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has been substituted for the British Government as the target of abuse.

The old order in Persia is on the point of collapse. Unless a new order and a new concept of society emerges there is little hope for Persia. The present crisis goes far deeper than the question of oil and cannot be solved by the nationalization of oil as certain irresponsible Persian politicians claim. The oil question is only the point on which the conflicting forces within Persian society have been focused. The real issue is the emergence of a new Persia.

Milo Perkins

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

April 2, 1951

UNITED STATES

Office of Business Economics (U. S. Department of Commerce, March 9, 1951)

PERSONAL INCOME.

Personal income in January 1951 was at an annual rate of $239 billion, about $2 billion below the high December 1950 rate of $241 billion.

The December-January decline reflected a substantial reduction in dividends following a year-end bulge in December dividends. In January dividends were at an annual rate of $8.8 billion compared with $14.8 billion in the previous month. The aggregate of all other types of personal income increased from $226 billion in December to $230 billion in January, at annual rates.

Wage and salary disbursements continued to increase in January to an annual rate of $159 billion, $1½ billion above the December total. However, the rise in actual wage and salary receipts was limited to $1 billion, at an annual rate, due to increased employee contributions for social insurance reflecting mainly the expansion of the Old Age and Survivors Insurance program.

For the first time since February 1950 factory wages, which have accounted for two-fifths of the rise in total personal income since that time, showed no monthly increase.

Proprietors' and rental income increased from an annual rate of $47 billion in December to $49 billion in January. Farm proprietors' income accounted for about half the rise, as prices of agricultural commodities increased sharply. Farm income has risen considerably from the low point reached in the spring of 1950, but the January rate was still below the 1948 annual total of $17.7 billion.

Personal income at an annual rate of $239 billion in January, was 11 percent above the corresponding month of 1950.

Survey of Current Business (Department of Commerce, February 1951)

The February 1951 Survey of Current Business is the annual review number. Under

the general title "The Economy Expands Under Pressure of Demand," the United States economy during 1950 is reviewed. There is a wealth of statistical material and comment on the following subjects: national income and national product in 1950, price developments, industrial production, agricultural production and income, construction activity, domestic business investment, retail trade, foreign trade, financial developments, employment and labor conditions, and the business population.

CANADA

The Economist (London, February 17, 1951)

CANADA'S CONTRIBUTION IN STRATEGIC RAW MATERIALS

In recent years Canada has made tremendous advances in the production of non-ferrous metals. Nearly all the free world's nickel comes from Canada; its output of copper follows that of the United States, Chile and Northern Rhodesia. It is high on the list of zinc and lead producers and its reserves of power and relative nearness to Central American bauxite resources, make it a natural supplier of aluminum. Further, Canada has large iron ore deposits in Labrador and Ontario and, potentially, could become one of the chief suppliers of iron ore both to the United States and the United Kingdom. Canadian petroleum reserves are already supplying a proportion of domestic needs and might eventually become an important factor in total world oil supplies.

In the present shortage of strategic metals the main pressure is on expanded production of nickel, zinc, copper and aluminum. The article discusses plans and prospects for such expansion and points out some of the development and transportation problems involved.

EUROPE

Czechoslovakia

The Times (London, March 2, 1951)

CRISIS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Fact and fiction are hard to disentangle in the affairs of a "people's democracy."

Charges of espionage and treason have been hurled against ex-Foreign Minister Clementis and other leading characters in the Czechoslovak drama. Those men had been critical of the nationalized industries and of the drive for collectivization on the land and it is reasonable to assume that the Communist Government is reaching out to destroy any individuals or groups which might become leaders of resistance. President Gottwald made the point simply: Czechoslovakia must not become another Yugoslavia.

The Czech people have been eating too much and working too little for the good of their "eternal friendship" with the Soviet Union. Their Five-Year Plan set formidable production targets to supply the maximum amount of industrial equipment to Russia and other Cominform countries. Due to shortages of coal and manpower and the resistance of the workers to harder work for low wages, the targets set have evidently not been reached.

It would be useless to argue in Moscow that what is needed to stimulate production in Czechoslovakia is to fill the shops with consumer goods. For that would involve temporary diversion of resources from the purposes of the Cominform to the preservation for a satellite people of a higher standard of living than the Russian people have.

It has now been announced in Prague that the Five-Year Plan shall be completed in three years. The Czechs are to be turned into a nation of shock workers to make their country the sixth largest steel producer in the world by the end of 1953. The task of the Government cannot be either easy or agreeable. Czechoslovakia is a relatively advanced country in which democracy took root. It is a country of peasant proprietors who, as a class, are impervious to socialism. It is a country of workers with a history of independent trade unionism.

Tito had the mettle to resist Soviet demands. President Gottwald and his colleagues have been more impressed with the fate of the Bulgarian Kostov and the Hungarian Rajk, both of whom perished for championing too strongly the interest of their own peoples in economic dealings with the Soviet Union.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Economist (London, March 3, 1951)

BASES AND TREATIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

The Middle East was largely a British sphere of influence until the United States entered the Second World War. Since then American interest in the area has increased so rapidly that thoughtful American politicians have come to consider this "Bridge of Asia" as important to the United States as Disraeli thought it vital to Britain.

American political interest grew in direct ratio to the discovery and acquisition by American companies of the rich oil deposits in the Persian Gulf. Its object is to defend these valuable possessions and to ensure that the maximum amount of petroleum from this part of southwestern Asia will be available to the Atlantic Pact powers in case of hostilities. A recent meeting at Istanbul of American diplomats in the Middle East reviewed the American position in the area.

There is cause for concern. Of the three countries--Greece, Turkey, and Persia--whose defense and administration have been built up to form a protective roof over the region, only Turkey is likely to stand firm in an emergency. However, until recently Turkey has not wanted to risk provoking Russia by allowing Britain or America facilities at air or naval bases on its territory. After the meeting of American diplomats in Istanbul, the Turkish Foreign Minister issued an official statement indicating that his country would "cooperate in the common and collective system of defence of the Eastern Mediterranean." It is now thought that Turkey will permit the Americans to equip and man an air base in Anatolia, grant facilities for British and American naval vessels in Turkish harbors, and most importantly, dovetail the strategy of the Turkish forces with that of the Middle East command.

It is fortunate for Anglo-American plans that Turkey is not hampered in its defense arrangements either by membership in the Arab League or by having recently been at war with Israel. Actually, although a Moslem state, Turkey has established relations approaching cordiality with Israel.

The aftermath of the Palestine war still hampers Anglo-American action in many parts of the Middle East. Egypt's land communications are broken with the other countries of the Arab Middle East. Jordan's sea communications with the Mediterranean are cut and there is no intercourse of any kind between Israel and its neighbors. Foreign governments find it difficult to be on cordial terms with both Israel and the Arab states. The Israeli Government might consider entering into a system for the collective defense of the area and granting American and British forces naval and air bases. But the project is unpopular with the Israeli army and, if effected, would make future treaty negotiations with Egypt and Iraq more difficult if not impossible for Britain.

While members of the Arab League led by Egypt have every reason to fear Soviet propaganda or Soviet imperialism, they have adopted a strangely neutral position. They claim that the League's own collective security pact is sufficient for the defense of the region at the moment. This pact is of little military value and Jordan, whose army--the Arab Legion is the best in the Middle East, is not a participant.

The immediate plans are to establish bases or modernize those already built in a semi-circle <u>outside</u> Israel and the Arab states. Their main object will be to protect petroleum fields, pipe lines, refineries and docks. The American and Anglo-American bases will also be within easy bombing range of one of Russia's most vulnerable areas--the Caucasian underbelly--and they will be supported by the RAF in Iraq and the Canal Zone of Egypt.

To the northwest of the petroleum area the U. S. Army Air Corps has operated since 1946 an efficient air base near Athens. It has naval facilities accorded by the Greek Government in the harbor of Piraeus and use of the port and landing ground at Salonika. The Americans are soon expected to join the RAF in the central Mediterranean at Malta. On the North African coast the American air corps has operated for several years a large air base near Tripoli while the RAF has smaller bases at Castel Benito (near Tripoli) Benghasi and El Adem (near Tobruk).

It is most unfortunate that no new treaty has been concluded with the Egyptian and Iraqi Governments. The failure of British diplomacy in this respect is due partly

to bitter feelings resulting from the Palestine war and the recognition of Israel. All efforts even to set up a joint command with the Egyptians for the invaluable air, sea and land bases in the Suez Canal Zone have failed so far. However, it is hoped that joint Anglo-American-Egyptian bases may ultimately be established in the Canal Zone and Anglo-American-Iraqi bases in Iraq.

Saudi Arabia is the only member state of the Arab League which contains a large and important American air base within a few miles of the oil fields. It is at Dharhan on the Persian Gulf and is superbly equipped for bomber and fighter units.

If the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan is settled, Pakistan will doubtless cooperate in the defense of the Persian Gulf area. The collective defense plans would then be spread more evenly over the region and not remain concentrated in the western sector.

THE FAR EAST

India

Far Eastern Survey (New York, February 7, 1951)

PILOT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN INDIA by Elizabeth Converse.

This article describes in some detail certain rural development projects now operating in several districts of United Provinces, India, which are successfully attacking the problem of low agricultural productivity. The first of these projects was undertaken in the fall of 1948 and covers about 100 villages and some 50,000 people in Etawah, a western district. The second, of about the same size, began in the spring of 1950 in the eastern district of Gorakhpur, and a third is now being started. These projects are not receiving foreign financial aid. The provincial government supplies the funds and the work is done mainly by Indian personnel. The projects were conceived and set up by an American, Mr. Albert Mayer, who now acts as visiting consultant, and several other Americans were originally employed to launch them.

The effects of a rural project are likely to last only if the whole-hearted cooperation of the villagers involved, has been obtained. In these projects work has

been from the bottom up with a Village Level Worker assigned responsibility for the work in four villages, whose job it was to know and work intimately with the local people.

Not only have crop yields increased significantly in these project areas, but important strides have been made by the villagers in the treatment of animals, in plant pest protection work and in the use of improved agricultural implements. Under the canopy of "village participation" a number of educational activities have been fostered--adult literacy classes, group discussions, village libraries and numerous demonstration projects in agricultural methods, anti-malaria spraying, road-building, and sanitation.

The United Provinces pilot projects offer a concrete example of what can be accomplished with very limited funds in an underdeveloped country. Their success is based on realistic planning, on a trained and sympathetic approach to human problems, and on genuinely democratic methods of operation. One of the American technicians employed, an agricultural extension man, expressed his conviction that once the Indian farmer had confidence in the project workers, he was as receptive, as eager to learn and as capable of doing so, as any farmers he had worked with anywhere.

The projects also demonstrate what immense improvement could be achieved by relatively limited outside assistance if applied in a scientific and understanding manner. Mr. Mayer estimates that an annual expenditure of $5 million by the United States or any other country would maintain 200 trained men and women who could undertake 100 pilot projects of this and other types in various parts of India.

Milo Perkins

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

February 1, 1951

UNITED STATES

Statistical Series (Securities and Exchange Commission)

1. Release No. 979, December 24, 1950.

VOLUME AND COMPOSITION OF INDIVIDUALS' SAVING, July-September 1950.

The postwar trend of lower liquid saving by individuals continued during the third quarter of 1950. It is estimated that individuals saved on balance, during the quarter, only a nominal amount of about $100 million in liquid form, compared with $1.4 billion in the third quarter of 1949. Liquid saving in the third quarter of 1950 amounted to less than one-fifth of 1 percent of income after taxes compared with an annual rate of over 2 percent in 1949 and about 6 percent prior to the war. Substantial saving in the form of currency and bank deposits and insurance was offset by a record increase in mortgage and consumer debt and by a decrease in individuals' holdings of U. S. Government securities.

Non-liquid saving by individuals continued at a high rate during the third quarter of 1950. Home construction, including alterations and also construction by nonprofit institutions, amounted to $3.8 billion in the third quarter as compared with $2.3 billion in the same period of 1949. Purchases of automobiles and other durable goods amounted to a record $8.5 billion in the third quarter.

The largest component of individuals' saving in the third quarter of 1950 was a $2.1 billion increase in insurance and pension reserves. Private life insurance accounted for $1 billion and government insurance and pension reserves accounted for $1.1 billion.

Mortgage debt of individuals increased $1.8 billion in the third quarter of 1950, a new record rate. Other consumer debt also showed a substantial increase, $1.7 billion.

2. Release No. 980, December 27, 1950.

WORKING CAPITAL OF U. S. CORPORATIONS, September 30, 1950.

The net working capital of American corporations reached a new high in the third

quarter of 1950 and was estimated at $75.9 billion at the end of September. During the third quarter $2.2 billion was added to working capital, reflecting increases in cash, government securities and inventories, offset in part by a rise in federal income tax liabilities.

In addition to the increase of $2.2 billion in working capital, corporations invested about $4.1 billion in plant and equipment during the third quarter of 1950. To finance this $6.3 billion expansion, corporations obtained about $800 million from external sources, about one-eighth of their requirements. Long-term borrowings amounted to about $600 million. Net new stock issues added $200 million. Internal sources--depreciation accruals and undistributed profits--provided the remaining $5.5 billion for corporate capital expansion in the third quarter.

3. Release No. 982, December 30, 1950.

BUSINESS EXPANSION PLANNED FOR 1951.

A special survey of business plans made jointly by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Commerce estimates that business is planning to expand at a record rate of $21.9 billion in 1951. This is 21 percent higher than the estimated outlays for 1950 and about 14 percent higher than the peak expenditures in 1948.

With allowance for the rise in capital goods costs during 1950, the physical volume of outlays in 1951 is currently anticipated at about 17 percent above actual expenditures in 1950. In view of the demand which increasing defense outlays will make upon tight materials and manpower, there is some question as to whether the expansion planned will be fully realized in 1951.

Some two-thirds of the planned increase in capital outlays for 1951 over 1950 is attributable to manufacturing companies. They expect to add $10.6 billion to their plant and equipment during 1951, an increase of $2.6 billion or 33 percent over 1950. Iron and steel companies plan approximately to double their expenditures in 1951. The chemical industry also is planning substantial additions.

Railroads and mining companies are planning to spend about 19 percent more in 1951

than in 1950 while transportation companies other than railroads plan to spend 44 percent more. Electric and gas utilities plan to spend about 7 percent more in 1951. For commercial and other companies an 8 percent increase in spending in 1951, is estimated.

EUROPE

The United Kingdom

The Economist (London, January 6, 1951)

MID-CENTURY.

In spite of the difficulties which Western civilisation faces at the mid-century, there is room for limited optimism. For several years ahead the West can concentrate on the necessities of physical defense only at the cost of severely thinning the fruits of the free society. But it is important to see the sacrifice in proportion. As was shown in 1939-1945 even war itself can be fought without a catastrophic surrender of the basic personal liberties or the rights of criticism.

For all the postwar poverty of Europe, the West as a whole is richer than ever. It is necessary in this instance not to confuse the problems of the free world with the secular shift of the centers of power and wealth away from Europe. For what Europe lacks in economic strength the United States possesses in abundance.

"Against all the losses of the twentieth century must be set the fact that the United States has come of age. It has come to a heritage far different from anything anyone expected. The leadership to which the United States has succeeded has turned out to be that not of a gloriously expanding world economy but of a half-world on the defensive, and, therefore, imposing more in responsibilities than it provides in privileges. Those responsibilities the American people have accepted--with doubts and hesitations and even now inconsistencies, yet on the whole with remarkable foresight, courage and energy. Three years ago the United States came to see, and one must assume will continue to see, that it could not have security in the postwar world until the Russians were convinced that Western Europe would not be left either to succumb to invasion or to be so weakened by cold war as to fall under Communist dictatorship from within. It will be time to despair for the free world if ever this partnership of its

two halves should dissolve."

Union of effort is not enough. The free world cannot just go on preserving itself by being strong enough to deter aggression. At some point there must be a break in the international tension, whatever the Russian decision on peace and war. At some point in the twentieth century the success of the free world will consist not in its self-preservation but in its ability to go forward. In democratic terms this means its capacity to offer its own people and the poor communities in Africa and Asia--rising standards, both material and moral, which dictatorship cannot provide. For this, two things are necessary now. In defending itself against Communism the West must maintain, through perhaps a decade or more of acute mental and physical strain, as much as possible both of its freedoms and of its economic progressiveness.

The superiority of western society is not only that it is just and free but also that it is rich. The economic problem for the beginning of the half-century is to combine equalitarianism and full employment with the conditions of efficiency, flexibility and self-restraint necessary for effective defense and sustained economic progress.

The one certainty today is that the pattern of the next fifty years is more than usually undecided. It is possible for this generation more than most to shape the lives of many generations to come. There is no reason to despair of making those lives rich and fruitful but it will require iron nerves and strong heads.

THE FAR EAST

Foreign Affairs (January 1951)

PARTNERSHIP WITH ASIA by P. C. Spender, Minister for External Affairs of Australia.

More than one billion people have been caught up in political and social transformation in Asia in the course of less than ten years. In six countries of South and Southeast Asia, 550,000,000 people have passed through the crisis of Japanese aggression, later the complete elimination of Western political control, and have assumed the full responsibility for their own political future. Further, China has undergone Communist revolution and Japan has yet to be readmitted to the community of nations.

There is no more important task of international relations than the development of mutual trust and confidence between Asia and the countries of the Pacific, particularly the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and between Asia and Western Europe.

The non-Communist world must associate itself with the dynamics of Asia. Today Communist agents move among the peoples of Asia preaching doctrines of national independence, of reform of social equality, of economic development, and the elimination of the evils of landlord-tenant relations. These are objectives the Asian people want. Only the non-Communist world can help in their attainment. But exposure of Soviet ruthlessness and the falsity of Communist premises will not of themselves divert Asian people from Communism. The free world must take unto itself the constructive reformist ideals of Asia.

Nationalism in Asia was predominantly a movement against colonial imperial power with the objective of social reform as one of its significant features. The basic liberal conceptions--passionate devotion to individual liberty, political and economic freedoms--find limited acceptance among Asian peoples, accustomed to a social system centering generally upon the family unit within the larger organism of a paternalistic government which has taken a variety of forms of absolutism. The West has failed in the main to find the key to open the confidence of Asia and to hasten the assimilation by Asia of the best in Western democracy--liberal institutions, efficient government, principles of economic equality, techniques of social welfare and the technology of production. These ideas are foreign to the present Asia, however much her leaders may deny it.

The most constructive approach which the West can make is to participate, with the consent and encouragement of the governments of Asia, in the process of economic and social development which is part of the nationalist movement in Asia. Constructive policy will offer ready assistance to governments to carry out economic and social programs in ways of their own choice.

"What is required is a flow of capital to Asia to supplement the deficiencies in internal savings and to provide its governments with the means of financing new projects

of development. Private capital can play its part. The foreign capital will be spent on imports of all kinds both to sustain consumption and to provide the equipment needed for a rapid growth in productive output. Asia is rich in manpower, but poor in the capacity of its manpower to produce what it needs for a better life. Asia also needs technology from the Western world, and techniques of economic organisation and government administration. But the flow of aid of this kind must be adapted to the tempo of social change which is wanted by the countries themselves and which can be absorbed in their own cultural and political systems. The yardsticks of success will not be the extent to which production of the few major export industries is raised, but the extent to which economic resources are used and bring a general sharing of increased wealth and widened opportunities for employment. Merely to pour into Asia quantities of advisers, for example on the techniques of social welfare as developed in the advanced capitalist countries, will not necessarily lead to successful results. The problem of social reform requires a real pooling of ideas. The pooling can fruitfully take place in Asia itself, the more advanced assisting the less advanced within social systems that are generally similar to each other. In addition the partnership between Asian countries and the more developed countries of the West needs a two-way traffic of ideas which will dissipate our mutual ignorance of each others' philosophies, religions, social ideals and political objectives. In current planning of 'assistance' programs perhaps overmuch attention is being given to the one-way traffic in technical and financial assistance, while the advantages of an intake of ideas from Asia are being neglected. This is an area of cooperation where governments have a part to play by stimulation and exhortation. But the channels will be non-governmental--through universities, employer and trade union associations, international machinery like the International Labor Organisation, conferences of newspaper editors, scientists and intellectuals in all walks of life. In this way the non-Communist world can present to Asian people the best in its liberal democratic traditions and its sciences."

Bilateral aid arrangements between contributors and recipient governments can be successfully made in some cases. However in Asia there are substantial advantages in

using the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The British Commonwealth nations have undertaken an experiment which seeks to combine the most beneficial features of the bilateral and international methods of organising assistance. A Commonwealth Consultative Committee, consisting of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Canada has established a Technical Assistance Bureau in Colombo and has prepared a comprehensive report on the development of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and the British Territories in and around the Malayan Peninsula. A program of economic development for each country over a six-year period beginning in 1951 is designed to bring help to more than 400,000,000 people in Asia. In this cooperative work will be found an effective partnership between Asian and non-Asian governments. Already the Commonwealth governments have suggested to other governments in the area that they join in the enterprise and preliminary discussions have been held. No program of regional assistance in Asia as a whole could succeed without cooperation and material support from the United States and other countries outside the area. A successful attack upon the problem would involve a regional inter-governmental arrangement which would include governments outside the Asian area which have special interests within it. In a wider venture embracing other countries, the organization would be changed and would no longer be identified as a Commonwealth enterprise as such.

The democracies have the advantages of tremendous resources, genuine humanitarianism, and the desire to work for the full sovereign independence of Asian peoples. Communism has none of these objectives. It has attracted many Asian people by its successful exploitation of the nationalist idea and because the Western democracies have had only limited success in reaching the minds of Asians. Through the United Nations the democracies of the world have been able to act against aggression in Asia. But the value of this demonstration will be dissipated unless we realize that the victory to be sought lies in the realms both of material welfare and abstract ideas.

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

January 2, 1951

UNITED STATES

Survey of Current Business (U. S. Department of Commerce, November 1950)

FOREIGN TRANSACTIONS OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT IN FISCAL 1950.

Gross foreign aid extended by the U. S. Government in the form of cash or goods and services in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950 declined to $5 billion from the high of $6.4 billion in the previous year. This was the sharpest year-to-year change during the postwar period. It brings the 1946-1950 annual average to $5.7 billion.

Among the outstanding developments of the past fiscal year were: the initiation of the Mutual Defense Assistance Program, the enactment of legislation to implement the Point Four program proposed by the President in his inaugural address in January 1949, and the establishment of a new program of economic aid for the Far East.

Gross foreign aid rendered by the U. S. Government in the five postwar years which ended June 30, 1950, aggregated $28.1 billion. This is exclusive of the Government's investment of $3.4 billion in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

Government aid played a large part in financing the export surplus of the United States during the postwar period. The recent decline in aid has been accompanied by an even greater reduction in the margin of exports over imports. Further, the sharp curtailment of aid in the form of long-term Government credits has contributed to the reversal in the flow of net foreign investment.

Developments since the invasion of South Korea on June 25, 1950 have greatly altered the outlook for additional new foreign aid and other activities abroad. New authorizations and appropriations by Congress from July through September will provide $8.7 billion in addition to the carry-over of $5.4 billion from previously authorized aid programs, making a total of $14.1 billion now available for grants and credits after July 1, 1950. Almost all of the new funds are for grants. The only new credit authority is that of $62.5 million for a loan to Spain. Nearly half of the new appropriations will be for military, in contrast to economic, aid.

The article reviews briefly the distribution of foreign grants under ECA and other programs,

the legislative implementation of Point Four, the status of the guaranty program, and expenditures for stockpiling purposes.

(A number of tables and charts are included.)

Business News Reports (U. S. Department of Commerce, December 8, 1950)

PERSONAL INCOME, October 1950.

Personal income continued its upward move in October and at an annual rate of $230.1 billion, was $1.4 billion higher than in September. The rise was accounted for mainly by increased wage and salary receipts which together with higher farm proprietors' incomes and transfer payments more than offset a drop in corporate dividend disbursements.

Disbursements of wages and salaries rose from an annual rate of $150.6 billion in September to $153.1 billion in October. Almost all of the increase occurred in manufacturing and government. Factory payrolls rose $1.1 billion at an annual rate as both employment and average hourly earnings continued upward. The rise in October brought factory payrolls to an annual rate of $53.1 billion as compared with $48.4 billion in June prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. Factory payrolls accounted for nearly three-quarters of the June-October increase in private industry payrolls--from $122 billion to $128.4 billion at annual rates.

Government wages and slaries increased from an annual rate of $23.7 billion in September to $24.7 billion in October, largely due to rising military payrolls.

Statistical Series (Securities and Exchange Commission, December 11, 1950)

PLANT AND EQUIPMENT EXPENDITURES OF U. S. BUSINESS, 1950-51

Business expenditures for new plant and equipment planned for the first quarter of 1951 are expected to exceed any previous first quarter and after seasonal adjustment will be at the highest rate on record, according to the most recent survey of capital outlays made jointly by the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Department of Commerce. Expenditures planned for the first quarter of 1951 are estimated at $4.8 billion, thirty percent more than in the first quarter of 1950. Based on preliminary returns, if plans for the year as a whole are realized, 1951 capital outlays will be higher than in any previous year.

According to present estimates, total expenditures for the year 1950 will just about equal the total for 1949, $18.1 billion. Outlays for the last half of 1950 are expected to amount to

10.1 billion, about twelve percent more than the last half of 1949 and approximately equal to the record amount spent in the last half of 1948. Outlays during the first half of 1950 were about twelve percent less than in the first half of 1949.

Manufacturing corporations account for almost the entire increase in expenditures by business in the last half of 1950 compared with the last half of 1949. Manufacturing companies will have invested about $4.6 billion in plant and equipment in the last half of 1950 compared with $3.5 billion in the last six months of 1949. Expenditures by manufacturing enterprises for all of 1950 will amount to some $8.0 billion, about ten percent more than the 1949 total. Except for electric and gas utilities other industry groups will show some decrease in their 1950 plant and equipment outlays.

Actual expenditures for the third quarter of 1950 were about seven percent lower than previously anticipated. The present estimate of planned outlays for the fourth quarter of 1950 is fourteen percent higher than the previous estimate. All industry groups expect to increase their expenditures.

Current Population Reports: Labor Force (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, December 8, 1950)

THE MONTHLY REPORT ON THE LABOR FORCE: NOVEMBER 1950.

Total civilian employment for the survey week ending November 11 was estimated at 61.3 million, a drop of half a million between October and November as harvesting operations entered the final stage. Even with the drop, civilian employment was about 1½ million above the previous November high in 1948.

Nonagricultural employment rose to an all-time November high of 53.7 million.

The downtrend in unemployment was interrupted in November when the jobless total rose to 2.2 million from 1.9 million in October. There was some evidence that this increase may reflect the entry of persons into the labor market, probably seeking temporary jobs for the holiday season. There was also a slight increase in unemployment among factory workers, some of which may have been due to temporary dislocations in industries affected by the defense program. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate in November was only 3.5 percent, compared with 5.4 percent in November 1949.

The civilian labor force which includes both the employed and the unemployed, was estimated at 63.5 million in November. The total labor force, including the armed forces, was estimated at 65.5 million, about a million larger than in November a year ago and 8 million larger than in November 1941 on the eve of U. S. entry into World War II. "The number of young persons under 25 in the labor force, however, was about the same in November 1950 as in 1941, both because the teen-age population has declined in numbers as a result of the low birth rate of the depression years and because many young women have remained outside the labor force as a consequence of the consistently high marriage and birth rates of recent years. In addition, many young veterans are still outside the labor force and attending school. Most of the expansion in the labor force since 1941 is attributable to the increased number of workers 35 years old and over, men as well as women. Among men, this increase has stemmed largely from population growth, but, among women, the higher degree of labor force participation has also been a major factor. As a result of both these factors, women 35 years of age and over accounted for about 16½ percent of the total labor force in November 1950, as compared with 11 percent in November 1941; and all women accounted for 30 percent as compared with 26 percent in 1941. Men 35 years of age and over accounted for about the same proportion of the labor force in November 1950 as in 1941--41 percent, even though the proportion which all men formed dropped from 74 percent to 70 percent."

Harper's Magazine (New York, December 1950)

THE DANGER POINT IN TAXES by Colin Clark.

Colin Clark, the well-known Australian economist, has an interesting article in the December 1950 issue of Harper's in which he asks the question: "How high can taxes rise without economic trouble?"

Based on the experiences of many countries during the past twenty-five years, his conclusion is--"that the safe political and economic limit of taxation is somewhere near 25 percent of the national income. In this figure all forms of taxation are included: direct and indirect, federal, state, and local. The figure doesn't tell what proportion of your individual income can legitimately be taken in taxation; it simply indicates how large a proportion of the national income can safely be taken."

EUROPE

Foreign Policy Bulletin (Foreign Policy Association, New York, December 1, 1950)

FEAR OF ASIAN WAR FOSTERS 'NEUTRALISM' IN EUROPE.

Whatever the immediate Chinese Communist reasons for intervening in North Korea, it is evident that this development interlocks with crucial decisions now being made in Europe. One of the most critical involves the proposed creation of unified armed forces with German participation, which would be able to resist future Russian aggression.

The Soviet Union has sought to disrupt these plans by proposing negotiation of a German peace treaty and the permanent demilitarization of the former Reich. Communist action in Korea, by absorbing much of America's military reserve, has shown how little armed aid the United States could give Europe if the Russians should start a serious offensive at several weak spots around the periphery of the U.S.S.R.

General Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff clarified the implications of this situation when he declared at Atlanta on November 17 that the Korean war had left the West without adequate military reserves except for the atomic bomb. Europeans fear the prospect of atomic warfare because they see their countries first overrun and then "liberated" by bombing.

These fears have fostered the growth of defeatism and strengthened the hand not only of Europe's Communists but also of "neutralists" who maintain that the "cold war" is chiefly a struggle between the United States and Russia in which other countries should refuse to become involved. Recent developments in the Far East have augmented this "neutralist" sentiment. Uneasiness about General MacArthur's leadership is part of it.

Recent changes in United States policy with respect to Spain has led some Europeans to claim that Washington intends to defend Europe at the Pyrenees rather than the Elbe or even the Rhine. The involvement of France and Britain in costly campaigns in Indo-China and Malaya respectively reduce further the availability of defense resources in Europe itself.

"Neutralist" sentiment has manifested itself in different parts of Europe in accordance with local political rivalries and traditional national interests. In France, it has combined with the historic fear of German militarism to produce strong opposition to any German rearmament which cannot be safely controlled. In Britain, which has been our most enthusiastic partner in advocating strong Western defense, some criticism has emerged recently within the Labor party

self directed particularly against plans for increased military expenditure within the framework of the North Atlantic pact. These critics feel that increased reliance on American aid will further reduce Britain's independence and may lead to a fatal arms race with the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the most serious setback to European defense plans has occurred in Western Germany. The whole concept of German rearmament prior to full independence, was dealt a blow at state elections in the American zone in November, when the Social Democrats who had made opposition to rearmament a major campaign issue, won substantial increases. Interpreters of the German scene think that these results, together with widespread abstention from the polls by young people, reflect strong popular opposition to involvement in any war as well as an attitude of defeatism and nihilism growing out of the bitter experiences of two world wars.

On October 21 at Prague the foreign ministers of eight Eastern European nations issued a declaration on Germany calling for a ban on German rearmament, the unification of Germany, the suppression of war industry, conclusion of a peace treaty and withdrawal of all occupation troops, and the creation of an all-German council representing East and West Germany equally, to set up a new government. Following this declaration the Soviet Union on November 4 formally proposed that the Council of Foreign Ministers meet to discuss a German settlement based on it. About a week later Britain, France and the United States rejected the Soviet proposal in somewhat different statements, attacked Soviet policy in Germany, and made alternative suggestions for a conference to discuss other outstanding issues such as the Austrian treaty and the Far Eastern situation, along with the German problem.

Many observers feel that the Soviet proposals were simply intended to strengthen neutralist sentiment in Europe among those who hope that negotiation may ease international tension. In view of recent developments in Europe, it is doubtful whether any progress could be expected to come from a conference called on the basis of the Soviet proposals.

A leading French journalist reports that Europeans are looking to the fate of Secretary of State Acheson as an index of whether or not the Atlantic policy of political, economic and military partnership in Europe will be replaced by a more active policy in Asia. Regardless of whether the stress on Mr. Acheson's role is justified, it is true that any signs of a renunciation of the Atlantic policy will increase neutralist hope of escaping involvement in any Russo-American hostilities.

THE FAR EAST

Ceylon

Foreign Commerce Weekly (U. S. Department of Commerce, December 11, 1950)

CEYLON: TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH U. S. UNDER POINT-4 PROGRAM.

"The U. S. Department of State has announced that on November 7, Ceylon concluded a standard general agreement for technical cooperation with the United States under the Point-4 Program. The agreement sets forth the conditions under which the United States will provide technical training for nationals of Ceylon and the services of American tedhnicians to assist Ceylon in its efforts to develop its economy and improve the living conditions of its people. It also establishes a pattern for similar understandings with other countries.

"Under the general agreement, separate agreements will cover specific projects involving technical cooperation which will be carried out in Ceylon. (Such projects are being planned in a number of countries, and a large scale project for rural improvement in Iran was announced on October 19.)

"The general agreement with Ceylon is considered significant not only because it is the first of its kind to be concluded under the new Point-4 Program but because it clears the way for technical cooperation projects in an area of the world where technical assistance can contribute to economic development.

"Ceylon has rich agricultural resources, well suited to the production of tropical products. However, the production of rice, the principal food crop, is low, so that each year Ceylon must use about half its foreign exchange expenditures for imported foodstuffs. Although living on an island, the people catch only half the moderate amounts of fish they consume.

"The principal exports are tea, rubber, and coconut products. The sale of these crops gives Ceylon a favorable balance of merchandise trade, particularly with the United States. There is relatively little industry, and although Ceylon hopes to carry out a modest program of industrialization, its Government is devoting its chief effort to increasing the island's food production by bringing more land under cultivation and raising the production per acre through improved farming methods. One of the principal programs (among them the Gal Oya project) is that for water development, both for the production of hydroelectric power and for irrigation.

"Prior to achieving independence, Ceylon's principal experience was with British technicians,

at since 1948 the Government of Ceylon has begun to look to the United States, as well, for technical assistance. For instance, a United States firm is constructing a dam, a small power plant, and irrigation canals for watering 65,000 acres of rice and garden land, as part of the large Gal Oya project. Ceylon has obtained the services of a U. S. Bureau of Reclamation engineer to advise on airport development, and a Federal Reserve Board expert to assist in the establishment of a central bank, of which he is now governor."

Executive 1074.

See: Miss Allen

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

November 9, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It's been a long time since Tharon and I have been as moved by anything as we were by that exquisite windup to your broadcast last evening.

All my warmest, best.

Sincerely,

Milo

Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.
April 17, 1950

Dear Milo:

Again I am in your debt. I shall study the memorandum on Venezuela at the first opportunity and I am sure it will provide me with balance, or rather, counter-balance, when this business of oil from there comes up again as it undoubtedly will.

Please save an evening for us when you get back to town.

As ever yours,

SP

Mr. Milo Perkins
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

April 14, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Warner Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ed:

I realize that in your broadcast last evening where you mentioned the opposition of the coal industry to imports of oil from Venezuela that you were merely reporting the news. Having just returned from a couple of months in Venezuela, however, I am very sensitive to the vital importance of close commercial ties between our two countries. The other side of the story is set forth in a very excellent report of a group of Venezuelan businessmen and I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy.

We sell Venezuela roughly half a billion dollars worth of goods a year which is considerably more than we buy from her. Any quota on Venezuelan oil would enormously increase the cost of fuel oil to the American consumers. It would also be a reversal of our effort to promote freer world trade.

Everybody I know - and I put myself at the top of the list, Ed - considers you as our number one radio commentator in this country. I hope you can find the time, therefore, in the next week or two to go over the memorandum I am sending along with this letter.

I'm so sorry we didn't get to have any visit of consequence at Dave Lilienthal's last Saturday night, but I thoroughly enjoyed the chance to visit with Janet at dinner. We've got to be in New York next week, but as soon as we get back I hope the four of us can get together.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Milo

Report Presented by the Delegation of
the Venezuelan Chambers of Commerce
and Production

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THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND VENEZUELA, AND THE IMPORTATION OF VENEZUELAN OIL IN THE UNITED STATES

THE VENEZUELAN TRADE MISSION

Mr. Eugenio Mendoza, President

Mr. Andres Boulton

Mr. Mario Belloso

Mr. Armando Capriles

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CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE AND PRODUCTION
REPRESENTED:

Venezuelan Federation of Chambers & Associations of Commerce and Production, Caracas.
Chamber of Commerce of Caracas.
Chamber of Industry, Caracas.
National Association of Commerce & Industry, Caracas.
Chamber of Agriculture of Venezuela, Caracas
National Association of Cattle Owners, Caracas.
Chambers of Building and Construction
Mines' Association of Venezuela, Caracas
Chamber of Industrials of Zulia.
Union of Industrials of Valencia
Chambers of Commerce of Maracaibo, Valencia, La Guaira, San Cristóbal, Barcelona, Lara Ciudad Bolívar, Aragua, Cumaná and Puerto Cabello.

INTRODUCTION

The Venezuelan Chambers of Commerce and Production, aware of the eventuality that the U. S. A. might impose new tariff barriers or other restrictive measures to the importation of foreign oil, had thought it advisable to appoint a Delegation which, on behalf of all the sections of the private Venezuelan economy, would approach similar American institutions to emphasize to them the serious repercussions of any such decision on their mutual economic interests.

This Delegation, anxious to contribute to the maintenance and expansion of the long standing high volume of trade, between Venezuela and the United States, addresses this report to all those who are interested in the development of the American-Venezuelan commerce.

The following pages present fundamental facts about the Venezuelan economy - facts essential for a complete understanding of the problem. They indicate the growth and current position of trade between the two countries and consider the detrimental consequences of any restrictions on American importations of Venezuela's first export item, crude oil and its refined products.

INDEX

Members of the Delegation.

Chambers and Associations of Commerce and Production represented.

Introduction.

Chapter I ..... "Venezuela is an excellent market for the United States".

Chapter II ..... "Venezuela's role as a seller in the United States market and the relation existing between the two countries in international commerce".

Chapter III ..... "Venezuela is a country open to foreign trade".

Chapter IV ..... "If the United States were to restrict imports of Venezuelan oil, there would be adverse repercussions in both countries".

Chapter V ..... "Venezuela has always followed a policy of absolute equality between domestic and foreign investors."

Chapter VI ..... "If the United States were to restrict its purchases of foreign oil through the establishment of tariff barriers or other measures it would defeat its own policy favoring free trade and financial aid to underdeveloped countries".

Chapter VII ..... "Venezuela, because of its traditional monetary stability and free exchange is the most promising country for the investment of foreign capital".

Chapter VIII ..... "Venezuela has achieved its present state of economic well-being through the employment of its own resources".

Chapter IX ..... "Venezuela, by its own resources, achieved an appreciable increase in its investments in capital goods".

SUMMARY.

VENEZUELA IS AN EXCELLENT MARKET FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Venezuela's purchases from the U. S. A. have greatly increased in the last few years. Between 1938 and 1949, purchases in the U. S. have grown from $52,270,000 to $514,000,000.-, a net increase of 843%. The aggregate amount purchased by Venezuela from the U. S. A. during the last decade amounted to $2,072,100,000.-.

If one compares the ratio between purchases from the U. S. A. and total imports made by Venezuela, a similar trend is observed. In 1949 imports from the U. S. A. reached 73.6% of the total. See table below.

VENEZUELAN IMPORTS FROM 1938 to 1949

(In thousands of U.S.$)

Years	U. S. A.	Total	%
1.938	52.269	92.821	56,3
1.939	59.477	97.431	61,0
1.940	67.507	92.886	72,7
1.941	66.923	85.918	77,9
1.942	46.601	64.385	72,4
1.943	43.258	66.287	65,3
1.944	83.727	111.200	75,3
1.945	131.857	180.379	73,1
1.946	207.257	294.207	70,4
1.947	409.655	558.343	73,4
1.948	501.322	685.414	73,1
1.949 (°)	514.000	698.000	73,6

(°) Provisional Data.

Comparing the figures of U. S. A. exports to the various countries of the world shown in the tables below, one observes that:

1st: Venezuela is the foremost purchaser of American goods among all the countries of Latin America. For the year 1949 Venezuela bought 19.28% of the United States' total exports to the Latin American countries.

2nd: Venezuela is the fourth largest foreign market of the U. S. A. But since countries like England and Western Germany finance most of their imports with E. R. P. (Marshall Plan), dollars Venezuela may be regarded as the second largest world market for U. S. exports, second only to Canada.

U. S. A. EXPORTS TO LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

(Thousands of dollars)

	1948		1949 °	
T O T A L	3.160.753	%	2.495.635	%
Venezuela.....	516.438	16,33	481.349	19,28
Mexico.....	520.364	16,46	423.761	16,98
Cuba.....	440.927	13,95	342.010	13,70
Brasil.....	497.559	15,74	362.967	14,54
Colombia.....	196.875	6,23	159.419	6,38
Chile.....	105.468	3,34	129.552	5,19
Peru.....	66.319	2,09	78.761	3,16
Argentina.....	378.959	11,99	119.580	4,79
Panama.....				
Curazao.....	83.080	2,63	76.128	3,05
Uruguay.....	60.132	1,90	31.666	1,27
Otros.....	294.632	9,32	290.442	11,64

° Data covering eleven months.

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE COUNTRIES SPECIFIED BELOW, DURING THE FIRST 11 MONTHS OF 1949

TOTAL	11.047.842	%
Canada	1.797.662	16,27
Germany	759.413	6,87
United Kingdom	644.535	5.83
Venezuela	481.349	4,36
France	464.805	4,21
Japan	427.939	3,87
Mexico	423.761	3,84
Italy	420.442	3,81
Philippine	397.636	3,60
Brasil	362.967	3,29
Cuba	342.010	3,10
Belgium	281.983	2,55
Holland	253.846	2,30
South Africa	247.420	2,24
Central American Republics	241.483	2,19
India	238.168	2,16
Greece	172.728	1,56
Colombia	159.419	1,44
Austria	135.294	1,22
Denmark	133.173	1,21

EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE COUNTRIES SPECIFIED BELOW, DURING THE FIRST 11 MONTHS OF 1949
(Continued)

TOTAL	11.047.842	%
Chile	129.552	1,17
Australia	129.049	1,17
Argentina	119.580	1,08
Indonesia	112.260	1,02
Other Countries	2.171.368	19,65

Venezuela's total imports from the U. S. A. benefit almost all the States as Venezuela is a large purchaser of agricultural products and manufactured goods. If we exclude the countries included in the European Recovery Program, Venezuela becomes the foremost purchaser of American foodstuffs; that is to say, first among those customers of the United States whose purchases have not been financed indirectly by the American taxpayer. If Venezuela, through a lack of dollars, were to find itself compelled to reduce its U. S. imports drastically, such a reduction would immediately result in an appreciable loss for those regions producing foodstuffs and would probably result in an additional burden to the American taxpayer.

The following figures will give the reader an idea of Venezuela's consumption of American products:

	1.948	1.949 (°)
Foodstuffs and Beverages.-	$ 70.500.000	$ 69.200.000
(Iowa, Neb., Wis., Cal., Wash., Ore.)		
Cigarettes	$ 2.200.000	$ 2.800.000
(N.C., Vir., Ky.)		
Textiles.-	$ 49.100.000	$ 37.100.000
(N.C., S.C., Mass., N.H., Ala., Tenn., Vir., Md., Ga.)		
Lumber and Paper	$ 12.600.000	$ 13.000.000

	1.948	1.949 (°)
(La., Ala., Ore., Wash., Texas.)		
Non-metalic Minerals.-	$ 21.400.000	$ 22.800.000
Texas, Penna., N.Y. N.J., La., Ind.)		
Metals and Metal Goods	$ 89.300.000	$ 84.500.000
(Penna., Ind., Ohio., Md., N.Y., Wis., Ky., Ala., Cal., Ari., Utah., Montana.)		
Machinery and Vehicles.-	$205.000.000	$214.000.000
N.Y., Chio, Penna., Conn., Mass., Ill., Mich., Iowa, Ind., Texas, Wis.)		
Chemical Products.-	$ 23.100.000	$ 25.200.000
(Texas, Penna., N.J. Mich., Mass.-		

(°) Figures based on statistical data covering eleven months.

CONCLUSION:

Venezuela is one of the principal and most profitable markets of the United States (73.6%). With a population of five millions, (Less than 5% of the total population of Latin America) Venezuela absorbs 19.2% of U. S. exports to Latin America. Venezuela is the second largest purchaser of U. S. goods, which are paid in full from receipt obtained from its own resources.

VENEZUELA'S ROLE AS A SELLER IN THE UNITED STATES MARKET AND THE RELATION EXISTING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IN INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE.

Venezuela, as will have been observed, stands FIRST among all the countries of Latin America as a purchaser of American goods, and SECOND among all the countries in the world (with the exception of Germany and Great Britain).

Let us examine Venezuela's position as a seller to the United States and the rest of the world.

The following table shows the aggregate amount of Venezuela's exports including the value of crude oil exported to the Dutch Islands of Curacao and Aruba, for refining before re-export abroad.

Venezuelan Exports During the Years 1947 and 1948

(In thousands of dollars)

	1947	%	1948	%
1) United States	252,495	39.02	416,477	40.04
2) England	77,680	12.00	144,552	13.90
3) Argentine	38,913	6.01	61,402	5.90
4) Brasil	27,738	4.29	48,728	4.68
5) France	29,106	4.50	33,510	3.22
6) Sweeden	24,823	3.84	30,896	2.97
7) Holland	21,079	3.26	27,665	2.66
8) Canada	18,347	2.83	27,440	2.64
9) Trinidad	10,845	1.67	23,491	2.25
10) Spain Canary Islands	5,016	0.78	22,329	2.15
11) Belgium	12,771	1.97	19,186	1.84
12) Denmark	9,147	1.41	16,176	1.55
13) Norway	6,915	1.07	13,143	1.26
14) Italy	9,354	1.45	10,310	1.00
15) Uruguay	5,739	0.88	10,208	1.00
16) Portugal	5,378	0.83	8,178	0.78
	555,346	85.81	913,681	87.84
Other Countries	91,824	14.19	126,443	12.16
	647,170	100.00%	1,040,124	100.00%

The United States, it can be seen, is Venezuela's most important market having absorbed 39.02% in 1947 and 40.04% in 1948 of it's total exports.

This situation assumes greater importance when it is considered that the principal item among Venezuela's exports is oil from which it mostly depends.

On the other hand United States imports from Venezuela were only to 4.40% of its total 1947 and 5.89% in 1948.

Imports of the United States

(Thousands of Dollars)

Source	1947	%	1948	%
Venezuela	252,495	4.40	416,467	5.89
Other Countries	5,480,974	95.60	6,653,877	94.11
TOTAL	5,733,369	100.00	7,070,344	100.00

In the U. S. Venezuelan commercial relations there is another factor which favors the United States and it becomes apparent when the Trade Balance is analyzed.

Trade Balance of the United States and Venezuela

(In thousands of dollars)

	1947	1948	1949 (*)
Exports	$ 409,655	$ 501,322	$ 514,000
Imports	252,495	416,467	385,000
Favorable Balance	$ 157,160	$ 84,855	$ 129,000

(*) Provisional Data.

The above table shows that the Trade balance is favorable to the United States, in spite of the fact that the United States only makes less than six percent of its total foreign purchases in Venezuela.

The U. S. position, becomes even more favorable if we take into account the additional U. S. revenue from other sources. This revenue may be detailed as follows:

Freight charges paid to American steamship companies; maritime insurance; re-insurance; remittances from American citizens to their families in the United States; expenditures made by Venezuelan citizens within the United States (residents, students and tourists); rentals for motion picture films; and profits earned from American capital invested in Venezuela.

The approximate breakdown is:

(In millions of dollars)

	1947	1948
Maritime transport	66.8	95.5
Insurance	7.2	10.2
Remittances by Americans	10.0	12.0
Expenditures of Venzuelans in the U.S.	4.0	15.0
Earnings of American Companies	205.4	309.9
Motion Picture Rentals	2.5	2.8
T O T A L	295.9	445.4

This additional U. S. income, added to the favorable Trade Balance yielded a total of $433,100,000 in 1947 and $530,600,000 in 1948.

From this we must naturally deduct the income that Venezuela receives from the United States, from similar sources as well as the new investments of American capital. According to a study published in the International Financial Statistics of the International Monetary Fund, Venezuela received from the rest of the world the sum of $20,700,000 in 1947. Allowing an increase of 15% for 1948, the figure reached is $23,800,000. The re-investments of oil companies for 1947 were estimated by the Balance of Payments Yearbook at $124,200,000 and, according to data from the companies themselves, they were $214,900,000 in 1948.

Thus by deducting the foregoing amounts from the sums mentioned above, we obtain the following final balances in favor of the United States:

	1947	1948
	$453,100,000	$530,600,000
Less--------	144,900,000	238,700,000
Balance:	$308,200,000	$291,900,000

To summarize: The United States, in purchasing from Venezuela but 5.89% of its total imports, actually derives a much greater benefit than Venzeula.

Since Venezuela maintains a typically multilateral trade (in contrast with the bilateral systems that are so predominant in the world today), Venezuela's Trade Balance for 1948 was favorable everywhere except in the United States, and in Italy, where Venezuela also had a $3,000,000 adverse balance.

VENEZUELA IS A COUNTRY OPEN TO FOREIGN TRADE. In a world which every day tends more towards protectivism and in which new obstacles are daily being placed against the free exchange of merchandise, Venezuela stands unique as a country whose doors are open wide to international trade.

In Venezuela, as in other countries, there are, of course, import duties. (Some articles require import licenses, but, taking our foreign commerce as a whole, they play an absolutely secondary role).

Our import duties, in the majority, are not of a protective nature, and have very little influence upon the volume of imports.

Moreover, whenever the fiscal situation and general conditions of the economy have permitted, the Government has granted important exemptions from duties and reduced the tariff substantially. On the whole, so far as their influence on trade, the reductions have exceeded the new restrictions by far.

This policy, together with the absolutely free movement of foreign exchange in Venezuela, has resulted in the constant increase of imports as well as in the decrease in the percentage of customs duties.

This development is well illustrated in the following table which shows the value of imports, the amount of duties paid, and the percentage charge of duties.

The table covers the period from 1938 to 1949:

(In thousands of Bolivares)

	(1) Imports FOB Values	(2) Duties Paid	(3) Percentage Chge. of Duties (2/1)
1938	310,949	109,641	35.2
1939	326,393	127,220	39.0
1940	311,169	117,789	37.9
1941	287,825	93,152	32.5
1942	215,691	68,382	31.7
1943	222,060	82,280	37.1
1944	372,519	83,973	22.5
1945	604,270	122,006	20.2
1946	985,595	140,431	14.2
1947	1,870,448	229,953	12.3
1948	2,296,137 (*)	286,948	12.5
1949	2,241,011 (*)	315,746	14.1

(*) Provisional figures excluding parcel post and imports by air.

Import duties, which reached 35.2% in 1938 and 39% in 1939 of the F.O.B. value of the imports, dropped to 12.5% in 1948 and to 14.1% in 1949.

If further proof of Venezuela's liberal trade policy is needed, it may be found in the Modus Vivendi begun July, 1939 and still in force.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1934 which constitutes the basis of this Modus Vivendi for the United States establishes, as its principal aim:

> "The purpose of expanding foreign markets for the products of the United States (as a means of assisting in the present emergency in restoring the American standard of living, in overcoming domestic unemployment and the present economic depression, in increasing the purchasing power of the American public, and in establishing and maintaining a better relationship among various branches of American agriculture, industry, mining, and commerce) by regulating the admission of foreign goods into the United States in accordance with the characteristics and needs of various branches of American production, so that foreign markets will be made available to those branches of American production which require and are capable of developing such outlets by affording corresponding market opportunities for foreign products in the United States".

Of all the treaties entered into by the United States under the Act, there are very few that have achieved this purpose to such an extent as the one with Venezuela.

Under the Modus Vivendi the import duties for 96 categories were substantially reduced. At the same time, the Modus Vivendi fixed American tariff rates for 14 Venezuelan articles, among them crude oil and its products, the latter being subject to a duty of 10-1/2 cents per barrel, up to an amount equalling 5% of the total crude oil refined in the United States. Imports of Crude oil beyond this limit were subject to a tax of 21 cents per barrel. (Because of the treaty between the United States and Mexico, and in accordance with the most favored nation treatment, the maximum tax of 21 cents per barrel only remained in force during the first years of the Modus Vivendi).

During the ten years the Modus Vivendi has been in force, changes of a restrictive nature were made only for tires, crackers and lard. The importation

of these commodities are now subject to import licenses established after a friendly agreement with the U. S. A.

These restrictions were more than compensated by reductions of the duties on 26 articles to levels substantially below those established in the Modus Vivendi.

These articles, with their duties under the Modus Vivendi and those in force at present, are:

Article	Modus Vivendi (Bolivares per Kg.)	Present Tariffs
1- Fresh fruits (apples, pears, grapes)	0.75	0.10
2- Oats	0.20	0.10
3- Flour	0.24	0.04
4- Ham	1.20	0.001
5- Sausages	1.20	0.001
6- Canned pork	1.20	0.001
7- Vegetables and garden stuff	0.80	0.10
8- Frozen meats	1.20	0.001
9- Galvanized steel or iron sheets	0.20	0.10
10- Tin sheets	0.08	0.001
11- Chassis alone	0.01	0.005
12- Disassembled automobiles which paid from Bs 1 to Bs 0.55		0.001
13- Wheels for tires	1.00	0.10
14- Tubes	1.00	0.05
15- Automobile bodies	1.00	0.50
16- Mud guards	1.00	0.10
17- Rings	1.00	0.05
18- Brake liquids	1.00	0.50
19- Unprinted films	2.00	0.50
20- Sewing machines	0.20	0.001
21- Typewriters	1.00	0.10
22- Calculating machines	2.00	0.30
23- Motors	0.08	0.001
24- Spark plugs	1.20	0.001
25- Machines whose weight does not exceed 30 kgs. that paid from Bs 1 to Bs 0.35		0.50
26- Agricultural machines that paid from Bsl to Bs 0.05		Exempt
27- Batteries	0.50	0.20
28- Battery parts	0.50	0.05
29- Transmission belts	1.20	0.05

Venezuela, in an era of extreme economic nationalism, has succeeded in strengthing its economy without discarding the principles of a liberal policy in the field of international trade.

IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO RESTRICT IMPORTS OF VENEZUELAN OIL THERE WOULD BE ADVERSE REPERCUSSIONS IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

Restrictions on the importation of oil by the United States would have unfavorable consequences, both in Venezuela and in several important areas of the United States economy.

In Venezuela oil is the greatest revenue producer for the National Treasury. From 1938 to 1949 Government revenue from the oil industry has risen steadily. In 1938 oil revenue represented 28.4% of the total and by 1948 it had increased to 59.4%.

The following schedule shows the rate of increase:

Year	Total Government Revenue	Revenue from Oil	%
1938	340.345	96.731	28.42
1939	350.903	92.128	26.25
1940	329.749	83.785	25.43
1941	352.263	132.249	36.81
1942	291.820	74.631	25.57
1943	340.226	76.354	22.44
1944	541.878	262.241	48.39
1945	659.638	315.064	47.76
1946	855.519	427.611	49.98
1947	1.281.001	685.247	53.49
1948	1.771.884	1.052.263	59.39

These figures indicate Venezuela's fiscal development which is reflected in a marked improvement of the country's well-being and social welfare. They are the chief source of meeting the country's pressing needs.

As far as U.S. oil economy is concerned, it should be borne in mind that the trade balance, despite the increase of imports (mainly crude and residual fuel oil) has been definitely in favor of the United States. In 1948 imports of oil by the United States amounted to $417.7 millions, while in the first ten months of 1949, it was $385.7 millions. In 1948 the United States exported refined products and to a lesser degree crude oil valuing $658.9 millions, and during the first ten months of 1949 its exports in this area amounted to $485.5 millions.

These balances result from the fact that the United States imports principally crude oil of slight value per unit while it exports mainly the refined product, which has a superior value per unit. In selling its refined product, the U.S. exports chiefly the value added to crude oil in the process of refining.

We have already seen that in 1948 the United States exported to Venezuela goods worth $501,320,000 while importing $460,470,000, worth to enjoy a favorable balance of $85,850,000. If the United States cut its imports of Venezuelan crude oil, our country would be compelled to restrict its purchases in the United States, not as a reprisal but simply because Venezuela would not have the U. S. $ to pay for American imports. Venezuela would have to limit its purchases considerably, or to cease them altogether - steel products from Pittsburgh, automobiles from Detroit, textiles from North and South Carolina, food from the Middle West, etc. - Venezuela and the producers in the United States would suffer accordingly.

But what is at stake is something far more serious than a greater or lesser exchange of goods between the two countries.

Venezuela enjoys to day a unique position in international trade.

We have already seen that Venezuela, excluding the United States, is one of the few bulwarks of free exchange of goods and free monetary exchange left in the world to-day. Because of its peculiar position, Venezuela has been able to organize its foreign commerce on a truly multilateral classical basis, purchasing more goods from one country than it sells, selling more goods to another than it buys, and compensating its deficit with the one from the surplus with the other. This position is not only advantageous to ourselves but also to the United States. As we have stated, Venezuela, in 1948 imported American goods valuing $501,320,000; this fugure swells to $946,720,000 by adding the income to the United States from services, profits from American investments, remittances from Americans residing in Venezuela, etc. Venezuela realized $419,470,000 through sale of its products to the United States, plus $214,900,000 from new American investments in Venezuela and $23,800,000 from other American sources, for a total of $655,170,000. The full balance was $291,900,000 in favor of the United States. This balance demonstrates that the economic relationship between Venezuela and the United States is in absolute terms, more beneficial to the United States than Venezuela. This is a direct result of Venezuela's role as one of the last bulwarks of multilateral trade.

If the United States restricts the importation of Venezuelan oil, it must not be expected that the trade between both countries will be reduced equally on both sides. The United States will not continue to maintain its present favorable balance. Not only the value of trade would decrease but the favorable balance would necessarily have to disappear for the following reasons:

First: The restriction would affect the profits of American companies operating in Venezuela and consequently the income of many thousands of American investors would be reduced.

Second: In order to protect its own exports, Venezuela would have to increase that part of its exports to countries other than the United States and make important concessions to those countries. Thus Venezuela would have to purchase more from other countries and modify substantially its system of foreign exchange and its commercial policy in order to adapt them to conditions peculiar to those countries. Venezuela would then cease to be a bulwark of free exchange and free trade on a multilateral basis and would have to take the road to bilateralism. The favorable balances that Venezuela to-day enjoys with respect to most of the countries of the world, outside of the United States, would be reduced or perhaps disappear and, as a result, the favorable balance of the United States would also suffer.

To summarize: If the United States were to reduce its imports of Venezuelan oil:

The United States would lose a part of its own oil exports.

The United States would lose a good customer for its industrial and agricultural products, one whose purchases exceed its sales to the United States substantially.

Venezuela would lose its privileged position in the field of foreign exchange which permits it to collect dollars from other countries and remit them to the U. S.

The United States would lose the greater part of the income which, apart from exports, it derives from its trade with Venezuela.

VENEZUELA HAS ALWAYS FOLLOWED A POLICY OF ABSOLUTE EQUALITY BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN INVESTORS.

The traditional policy of Venezuela towards aliens has been based on equality. Venezuela grants foreign citizens the same civil rights as its own nationals. As a result of this policy, and in contrast with the discriminatory conduct system that is growing so generalized in most countries of the world -- whereby greater advantages are conceded to domestic capital, at the expense of foreign investments and to resident investors at the expense of non-residents -- Venezuela, has preserved the doctrine of equal economic opportunity for foreign and domestic capital whether or not the investor resides within the country.

This policy has recently been strengthened greatly by POINT FOUR of President Truman's doctrine which implicitly condemns discriminatory systems and pleads for equal treatment to foreign investors in order to stimulate the investment of private capital in underdeveloped countries, thus achieving greater social wellbeing and establishing the bases for a new era of peace and prosperity.

The recommendation approved by the Inter-American Conference, held in Lima in December of 1938:

> "To endorse the negotiations of trade agreements embodying the principles of equality of treatment as the most beneficial and effective method of expanding and facilitating international trade"

is already a reality in Venezuela, consecrated in its legislation, as is clear below:

The National Constitution establishes absolute equality between nationals and aliens with respect to civil rights.

The Civil Code declares that aliens shall enjoy in Venezuela the same civil rights as are enjoyed by Venezuelans.

The Law Concerning Aliens reaffirms the same principle - that aliens shall enjoy the same civil rights as Venezuelans. The only restriction under the law concerns the exercise of rights and activities of a political nature.

The Code of Commerce prescribes the legal system applicable to commercial transactions as well as to business corporations without discriminating against persons of foreign nationality or companies organized abroad with agencies or branches in Venezuela. Concerning the latter, the Code merely requires the registration of documents that verify the origins of the corporation and govern its operations.

These rules of equality have also been incorporated into special laws regulating specified activities:

The Petroleum Law confers upon any person, whether national or alien, the right to acquire concessions to explore for oil and process its derivatives.

The Law of Mines provides that any person, whether national or foreign, may acquire mining concessions within the Republic of Venezuela subject only to the regulations established by the said law.

The Banking Law stipulates the formalities and conditions required for the organization and operation of banks within Venezuela. These are equally applicable to domestic banks and to the branches of foreign banks established within the country.

The Insurance Law provides that insurance operations, regardless of character, may be carried on within Venezuela only by enterprises legally authorized to do business within the country, but Venezuelan companies are subject to the same regulations as foreign companies.

The Income Tax Law is applicable equally, without discrimination, to the incomes of nationals and aliens, from activities carried on in Venezuela.

The Civil Aviation Law. Commercial transport service within Venezuela is subject to the grant of a Government concession. The law requires that at least 51% of the capital stock of corporations ejoying such concessions belong to Venezuelan citizens. The remaining 49% may be owned by aliens. This limitation, the only one found in the laws of Venezuela, is amply justified in view of the nature of aviation. Foreign capital has, nevertheless, been invested in aviation as is clear from the fact that of the four companies devoted to internal air transport - Linea Aeropostal Venezolana, Linea Aerea Taca, Aerovias Venezolanas (Avensa) and Linea Aerea Ransa - three of them are owned by both Venezuelan and American capital.

Venezuela, thus is today one of the few countries in the world which offers foreign capital a totally friendly reception and favorable opportunity.

IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO RESTRICT ITS PURCHASES OF FOREIGN OIL THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TARIFF BARRIERS OR OTHER MEASURES WOULD DEFEAT ITS OWN POLICY FAVORING FREE TRADE AND FINANCIAL AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

Imposition of further restrictive measures against Venezuelan oil would defeat the policy of free trade which the United States has explicitly and repeatedly proclaimed in numerous declarations, agreements and international conferences. We refer below to some of them:

1°) President Truman defines the principle of aid to underdeveloped countries in the following terms:

> "Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more material for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens".

2°) Point IV of President Truman's Inaugural address before Congress, in January 1949 sets forth the basis for a liberal economic policy. A policy of restricting imports or imposing high tariffs would therefore be in direct conflict with balancing the economy of a sister nation.

3°) At the Conference of American States, held in Buenos Aires in 1937, the following principle was proclaimed:

> "That the American States abstain, so far as possible, from raising or augmenting tariff barriers and every kind of restriction which directly or indirectly hinders international trade and resulting payments;
> "That immediately, and to the extent that the several national economies permit, a policy of abolishing and gradually reducing the said excessive or unreasonable prohibitions and restrictions upon international commerce be undertaken and carried forward by each of the said States, through the conclusion or revision of bilateral economic or commercial agreements and treaties and through unilateral action by country....."

4°) At the Havana Conference held late in 1947 and in the Commerce Charter signed there, the United States openly opposed the possible adoption of discriminatory measures and quantitative restrictions which might affect the multilateral character of international commerce.

5°) The United States is a party to the General Convention on Custom Duties and Commerce adopted at a conference held a few months ago at Annecy, France. The principal objective of this convention was to establish a general system of tariffs and other measures to make possible a liberation of world commerce from the multiple existing prohibitions, restrictions and controlling measures.

6°) On June 24th last year President Truman reiterated to Congress the Administration's point-of-view with respect to its policy of mutual aid and of promoting international commerce. Among other things the President said: "Our experience has shown us that the volume of our foreign trade is much greater with highly developed countries than it is with those countries which have a low standard of living and inadequate industries. To increase the total production and the national revenue of less-developed regions, is to increase the very stability of our own economy".

Any new barriers that would interfere with the flow of Venezuelan oil to the American market would be against the principles underlying the free trade policy. They would moreover jeopardize the principle of elimination of hindrances and restrictions, of necessary cooperation to improve conditions in other countries, and of giving effective aid through the Marshall Plan, Point IV, and the Import-Export Bank. These principles are not purely fortuitous nor are they based on political expediency; they are the principles on which the foreign policy of the U. S. is based today. To act contrary to them even temporarily, cannot but detract from the trust that other nations have placed in the United States of America.

VENEZUELA, BECAUSE OF ITS TRADITIONAL MONETARY STABILITY AND FREE EXCHANGE IS THE MOST PROMISING COUNTRY FOR THE INVESTMENT OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

Among the basic factors which reveal the philosophy and principles of a country in its relations, is the attitude towards currency and monetary manipulations. For decades monetary inestability has been the chief factor affecting the free exchange of goods and services, and the sound economic relations among the peoples of the earth. What is Venezuela's history in this respect?

Venezuela, in 1879, fixed its monetary unit (the Bolivar) at a gold content of 0,290.323 grs. per unit, in accordance with the gold franc of the Latin Monetary Union. Before devaluation of the dollar in 1934 the Venezuelan rate of exchange, based on this parity, was Bs 5.18 to the dollar and then it became Bs 3.061.

The official gold parity of the Bolivar has not changed since 1879. To-day almost the entire flow of dollars into Venezuela are purchased at Bs 3.09; that is to say, with a surcharge above official parity of 0,95%. They are sold to the public at Bs 3.35, that is, including a surcharge over official parity, existing since 1879, of 9.4%. No other country has this record of monetary stability.

Venezuela has enjoyed its monetary stability almost without controls. In all its history Venezuela has only once resorted to exchange control as such. This occurred during a few months of 1940/1941, when shortly after the Nazi invasion of Europe Venezuela's exports became practically paralized. This abnormal situation soon was rectified and the purchase and sale of foreign exchange has been entirely free since then.

The monetary system of Venezuela is at the present time based on the gold exchange standard.

The notes issued by the Central Bank of Venezuela are backed by a large reserve of gold and foreign exchange convertible into gold; it is not backed by government securities of any sort.

As of December 31, 1949, the balance of the Central Bank was as follows:

		Millions of bolivares
1)	Gold	1.040.83
	Foreign exchange convertible into gold	221.60
	TOTAL	1.262.43
2)	Notes in circulation	814.34
	Demand Deposit	496.54
	TOTAL	1.310.88

The ratio of international reserves to notes in circulation plus deposits and other short term liabilities, as of December 31, 1949, was 96.3%.

Another factor contributing to the stability of Venezuelan currency is the fact that Venezuela has no Foreign Debt and that its Internal Debt amounts to only Bs 14,808,131.62, or about $4,420,000. The debt represents less than 5% of the cash reserves in the National Treasury and less than 1% of the present Federal Budget.

Conclusions: Venezuela has not changed the gold parity of its currency, not even in 1934, when the United States resorted to devaluation.

Venezuela, during its entire history, has never caused damage to foreign investors as a result of tampering with its currency.

Venezuela, because of its monetary stability has eliminated the risks of exchange fluctuations to foreign capital.

Venezuela is one, of the few countries of the world, that may take pride in its past and present monetary conditions.

VENEZUELA HAS ACHIEVED ITS PRESENT STATE OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING THROUGH THE EMPLOYMENT OF ITS OWN RESOURCES.

The United States, through various government credit agencies, has aided almost every country in the world on a large scale; it has aided some countries so that they might reconstruct their economies devastated by the recent war and helped others to develop their internal potential resources.

This aid, which directly affects the American taxpayer, comes from loans granted by the Export-Import Bank, as well as other agencies such as the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan).

Loans made by the Export-Import Bank
Total of authorized credits from
February 12th, 1934 to June 13th, 1949

	Thousands of Dollars	
LATIN AMERICA		
Argentine	93,690	
Bolivia	20,998	
Brazil	283,696	
Chile	112,681	
Colombia	65,279	
Costa Rica	8,723	
Cuba	90,367	
Dominican Republic	3,300	
Ecuador	20,617	
Haiti	17,350	
Honduras	2,700	
Mexico	155,659	
Nicaragua	5,235	
Panama	6,500	
Paraguay	7,800	
Peru	37,450	
Salvador	1,726	
Uruguay	43,727	
Venezuela	47,339	
Miscellaneous	118,983	
TOTAL LATIN AMERICA		1,143,820
EUROPE		2,147,176
ASIA		570,245
OTHER COUNTRIES		386,990
MISCELLANEOUS		14,942
GRAND TOTAL		4,263,173

If we compare the aggregate of the various loans made to Latin America, $1,143,820,000, with the loans made to Venezuela, it will appear that Venezuela's share represents only 4.13% of the total. But even this percentage drops to 2.39% if we take into account that Venezuela did not use the loan of $20,000,000 granted in 1942. The $27,339,000 which Venezuela actually received from the Export-Import Bank, has been almost completely amortized. The unpaid balance on all loans, as of June 30th, 1949 was $3,275,000.

Venezuela, foremost purchaser of American goods among the countries of Latin America, has availed itself of the financial aid offered by the Export-Import Bank to the limited extent of 2.39%.

VENEZUELA, BY ITS OWN RESOURCES, ACHIEVED AN APPRECIABLE INCREASE IN ITS INVESTMENTS IN CAPITAL GOODS.

Since 1936, Venezuela with its motto of "Let us sow our oil", has expressed its eagerness and determination to achieve a state of economic well-being and to diversify its production through investing its oil revenues.

Positive results have been achieved here and in the improvement of sanitation, education and other fields to promote the wellbeing of the country at large.

OIL, PARAMOUNT FACTOR IN THE ECONOMY OF VENEZUELA.

In order to ascertain the extent to which oil permeates the Venezuelan economy, let us note what its contribution to foreign exchange has been during the period from 1938 to 1948:

Years	Thousands of Dollars Sold by oil companies
1938	67.000
1939	72.000
1940	61.000
1941	70.000
1942	57.000
1943	67.000
1944	113.000
1945	192.000
1946	278.000
1947	409.000
1948	622.000
TOTAL	$2.008.000

UTILIZATION OF OIL RECEIPTS

The receipt from the exploitation of oil industry during the eleven-year period ended December 31, 1948, has been used as follows:

	Thousands of Dollars
International reserves in gold & foreign currencies	372,000
Government investments	492,000
Total private investments	677,000
Consumers' goods	468,000
	2,008,000

VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT'S INVESTMENTS FROM 1938 TO 1948.

The investments made during this period by the Venezuelan Government were direct and indirect. The direct investments, including only the works undertaken by the Federal Government through the Ministry of Public Works, amounted to Bs 897,000,000. The indirect investments, of Bs 753,000,000, represent the contributions made by the Federal Government either as capital investments or as loans to agencies and to institutions of a mixed charac-

ter, with capital from both the nation and private individuals.

PRIVATE INVESTMENTS. Oil activities have contributed in large measure to Venezuela's national income. Therefore, the accumulation and investment of new capital by private individuals must be considered, to a great extent, as an investment of oil receipts.

The principal private investments from 1938 to 1948 were as follows:

	(In Thousands of Dollars)
In Buildings & constructions	353,000
In machinery & mechanical equipment	325,000
TOTAL	678,000

Venezuela has, therefore, shown its determination to attain the goal of "sowing our oil" and will be able hereafter to increase its production through the investments already made.

VENEZUELA INCREASED ITS PRODUCTION BY 120.4% IN TWELVE YEARS. The extent to which Venezuela has increased its production, is seen in the following indexes, taking 1936 as 100% and excluding the oil industry.

	Importation of products competing with national products	Industrial production of Venezuela
1936	100	100
1948	490.4	220.4

It appears from the foregoing that the national industry of Venezuela, excluding the oil industry, during the twelve-year period considered, attained a considerable degree of development - 120.4%. The figures show that while the national industry increased more than twofold, the increase in foreign imports during the same period was almost fivefold.

This discrepancy between the growth of national production and imports should not be looked upon with alarm. It shows merely that the exportation of oil has developed at a greater pace than other factors in our economy. Furthermore, 64% of the total imports for 1948 were represented by fixed capital assets.

Conclusion: From the ascending trends of the various sectors in our economic life; it can be observed that Venezuela is directing its efforts towards making better use of its own resources and is already increasing its production, thus fulfilling the task she has undertaken of "sowing our oil".

SUMMARY

I. Economic Relations Between the United States and Venezuela

Venezuelan purchases from the United States in 1949 valued $514,000,000, which was 73.6% of its total imports and 19.60% of all United States exports to Latin America. Twelve years ago our purchases amounted only to $52,000,000.

Venezuela's per capita annual consumption of American products amounts to $103.00. The next highest per capita consumption by any Latin American country is $70.00 per annum.

Venezuela sold the United States commodities valuing $385,000,000 in 1949, or about 40% of its exports, including oil.

Venezuela is one of the best markets of the United States:

A) Because it sells to Venezuela more than it purchases in return (In 1948 the favorable estimated surplus of the Balance of Payments amounted to $292,000,000).

B) Because it pays its debts punctually and in dollars.

C) Because it has had no need of financial assistance from the American taxpayer through loans.

II. Consequences of American measures restricting the importation of Venezuelan oil.

Conflict between Principles and Declarations.- The United States has undertaken the role of chief guardian of the principle of free monetary exchange and the free circulation of goods. To establish further restrictions to the importation of oil would constitute a serious contravention of this policy, so repeatedly proclaimed.

Abandonment of Multilateral Commerce by Venezuela.- The present freedom of our international trade could not be maintained if, in the search for new markets for our oil, we were compelled to follow the road leading to bilateral agreements. The result would unavoidably be the diversion of our present purchases of American goods to other markets with damage to all concerned. The favorable balance which the United States enjoys today in its economic relations with us may only be maintained under present conditions. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that part of the balance represents the profits which are obtained from American investments in the Venezuelan oil industry. These investments would necessarily have to be reduced if oil production were to be diminished.

A smaller importation of Venezuelan oil by the United States may improve the local market and domestic prices, but since the United States exports more than it imports, dollar by dollar, it cannot fail to feel the effect of a greater supply of oil in the international trade channels resulting from Venezuelan oil seeking out new markets.

A smaller exportation of oil to the United States would force us into a period of readjustment. The duration is not easy to predict and a chief consequence would be budgetary reduction with resulting unemployment that could create a state of unrest beneficial to none.

The true feeling of continental solidaridity which inspires our people and the cordial spirit of collaboration with Americans and their enterprises would also be affected. Any changes however transitory but none-the-less grave, could easily be avoided by preservation of the present commercial status which has been maintained for more than ten years with mutual and equitable advantages.

III. Economic, Financial and Legal Conditions of Venezuela.

Currency and Exchange.- In 1879 the gold parity of the Bolivar was established and since that time has not been altered. Monetary stability has been maintained without need of controls or interference, except for the regulations established for a relatively short period during the recent war. The international reserves of Venezuela amount to $375,000,000 which represent 96% of the paper currency in circulation plus bank deposits and other short term obligations. Our currency is therefore backed by a security that could hardly be excelled.

Export-Import Bank.- Venezuela's indebtedness at the present time to the Export-Import Bank is $3,275,000. - the balance due on a loan of $27,339,000. This loan equals only 2.4% of the total authorized by the Export-Import Bank to Latin American countries.

Investment of its Resources.- During the past eleven years Venezuela has received $2,000,000,000 from oil operations. Of this sum $1,170,000,000 have been invested in capital assets (by the Government as well as by private individuals). We have accumulated reserves of $370,000,000 and spent $460,000,000. Our industrial production has increased by 120% and we have improved immeasurably our sanitary and educational conditions.

Equality of Treatment for Nationals and Aliens.- Venezuelan legislation establishes no difference whatsoever between national and foreign investors; both pay the same taxes, enjoy the same rights and are subject to the same obligations.

SUMMARY OF MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ARTICLES

April 1, 1950

UNITED STATES

Current Population Reports (Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, March 2, 1950)

ANNUAL REPORT ON THE LABOR FORCE, 1949. Total civilian employment averaged 58.7 million during 1949, ranging from 57 million at the low point early in the year to about 60 million at the peak. The average for 1949 was about 700,000 below the 1948 level, but exceeded that for any other year in the Nation's history.

Unemployment was substantially above the 1947 and 1948 levels, as job opportunities declined in 1949 while the labor force continued to expand. The average for 1949 was 3.4 million, as compared with 2.1 million in both of the two preceding years. Most of the rise occurred in the first half of the year, with unemployment reaching a peak of 4.1 million in July when many youngsters were seeking summer jobs. During the last five months of the year, it showed some tendency to level off at the 3½ million mark.

Curtailed job opportunities in nonagricultural industries accounted for practically all of the decline in employment from the 1948 level. Nonagricultural employment dropped by 2 million between December 1948 and the middle of 1949. With the marked pickup in August, maintained in later months, most of the earlier losses were cancelled, however. For 1949 as a whole, nonagricultural employment averaged 50.7 million, as compared with 51.4 million in 1948 and 49.8 million in 1947.

Agricultural employment was at about the same level during 1949 as in 1948, averaging 8 million in both years.

Some cutbacks in hours worked accompanied the decline in employment in 1949. Generally, man-hours worked by the labor force in 1949 were about 2½ percent under the 1948 total, although employment dropped by only 1 percent. Special surveys conducted periodically during the year showed that the number involuntarily working short hours because of economic factors had practically doubled since 1948. In 1949, some 2½ million persons, on the average, were working part time (less than 35 hours) in any particular week because of slack work, material shortages, job turnover, and the unavailability of full-time jobs. In 1948 the corresponding number was estimated at 1½ million. However, even in 1949, most of these persons still had the equivalent of a 3 or 4 day work week.

Persons unemployed in 1949 were generally out of work for longer periods than those jobless in 1947 and 1948. The typical unemployed person in an average week in 1949 had been looking for work unsuccessfully for 5.7 weeks as compared with 4.3 weeks in 1948 and 4.7 weeks in 1947. Furthermore, the number jobless for relatively long periods of time - 4 months or longer - began a steady rise early in 1949 and started levelling off only in the late summer months. As a result, there were about 800,000 unemployed workers in this group at the end of the year, as compared with an average of 300,000 to 450,000 in other postwar years.

Labor Force Participation Rates

The total labor force which includes the civilian employed, the unemployed, and the armed forces, rose by 800,000 between 1948 and 1949 on the average - a change that is consistent with the expected annual increment. Except for the peak war years, the labor force participation rate, that is - the proportion of the noninstitutional population 14 years old and over in the civilian labor force or the armed forces, has changed only slightly since 1940. In fact, from the fragmentary data available, it appears that no marked changes have occurred in the over-all rate since the turn of the century. In 1949, the labor force participation rate averaged 58 percent, about the same as in 1948,- 57.8 percent, and only slightly higher than in 1940 - 56 percent. At the height of the war, however, with an unusually large proportion of the population in the armed forces, it averaged 62 to 63 percent.

Working wives continued to be an increasingly important element in the Nation's labor force. Their number increased by half a million between 1948 and 1949 and by 4 million since 1940. A significant increase has taken place since 1940 in the participation of women 35 years old and over.

Youngsters of high-school age who both work and attend school were about as numerous in 1949 as in 1948, and about four times as numerous as in 1940. In 1949, about 1.2 million 14 to 17 year-old boys and girls enrolled in school and were also gainfully employed, mostly at part-time jobs. In 1940, the corresponding number was only 300,000.

Turnover in the Labor Force

The labor force turned over at a rate of close to 5 percent a month during 1949. On the average, about 2,820,000 persons entered the civilian labor force each month during 1949, whereas some 2,770,000 left the labor force, the large majority only temporarily.

Much of the turnover in the labor force is attributable to the fluctuating demand for workers in seasonal industries such as agriculture and trade, although new workers and persons who are permanently retiring also contribute. Most of the turnover occurs among women and teen-age persons - the groups from which seasonal workers are largely drawn. Women 20 years of age and over constituted only about one-quarter of all civilian workers in 1949, on the average, but they formed about half of the entries and withdrawals into and from the labor force. Similarly, teen-age persons who constituted about 10 percent of all workers accounted for 30 percent of the entries and withdrawals.

Business News Reports (U.S. Department of Commerce, March 16, 1950)

PERSONAL INCOME IN JANUARY 1950. Personal income in January, exclusive of payment of the special insurance dividend to veterans, was at an annual rate $1 billion higher than in December.

The inauguration of the program for payment of the special dividend from the National Service Life Insurance fund resulted in an extraordinary increase of total personal income from an annual rate of $211.9 billion in December to $218.4 billion in January.

These special dividend payments to veterans of World War II amounted to $450 million in January. When put on an annual-rate basis to conform with other personal income data, the payments were at an annual rate of almost $5½ billion. However, the Department of Commerce emphasized that the payment of the special dividend will be substantially completed within a few months.

Wage and salary receipts in January, at an annual rate of $134.1 billion, were about the same as in December. The stability of factory wages in both the durable-goods and non-durable goods industries was in marked contrast to the sharp declines which took place in the same period last year.

Increased contributions by employees for social insurance, reflecting the higher rates under the old age and survivors insurance program, partly offset other increases in personal income in January. Such contributions, which increased from an annual rate of $2.2 billion in December to $2.8 billion in January, are deducted in obtaining the wage-and-salary component of personal income.

Interest and dividends declined from an annual rate of $18.9 billion in December to $17.4 billion in January. The drop was concentrated in corporate dividend payments, which in

December included a large year-end disbursement by one automobile manufacturing company.

Proprietors' and rental income rose from an annual rate of $43.5 billion in December to $46.2 billion in January. Most of this increase occurred in the income of farm proprietors, which on a monthly basis exhibits considerable irregularity. The January rise in farm income stemmed mainly from an increase in the seasonally adjusted volume of crops marketed or placed under Government loan. Nonfarm proprietors' income also rose in January, reflecting chiefly larger sales of retail trade establishments.

Transfer payments rose from an annual rate of $12.8 billion in December to $18.5 billion in January. Nearly all of this large increase was due to disbursements of the special National Service Life Insurance dividend.

Total personal income for 1949 was $209.8 billion as compared with $211.9 billion for 1948.

THE FAR EAST

China

Foreign Policy Reports (Foreign Policy Association, N.Y., February 15, 1950)

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY by A. Doak Barnett. The leaders of the Chinese Communist party comprise a tightly-knit brotherhood of experienced, able, devoted, tough revolutionaries. The top men are members of the Central Committee and also hold key positions in the government and army. The fate of China for the foreseeable future is largely in their hands.

As a group the Central Committee is held together by both personal and professional ties. Most of them are old-time party members who participated in at least one important phase of early party history. The predominance of southerners is striking. Roughly a quarter of the regular members are natives of Hunan, the province from which Mao Tse-tung comes. A large majority come from south of the Yangtse River. These Communist leaders, however, built their army and party machine largely in North China.

A majority of the members of the Central Committee have studied abroad - largely in the Soviet Union though some in France and Germany. Until his recent trip to Moscow, Mao Tse-tung was one of a minority in the Central Committee who had never been outside of China.

Class origin of the Committee members includes both peasantry and gentry. However, the Communist Party in China has a larger proportion of top leaders from the lower classes than

any other important political group in modern China. All party leaders, regardless of class origin, have lived an austere, proletarian sort of life in their struggle for power. The leadership of the party has had greater unity and solidarity than most similar parties in other countries. No basic internal schisms or dramatic purges have occurred since the early 1930's when Mao Tse-tung assumed control after the failure of Li Li-san's "putschism". Li Li-san who returned to China via Manchuria with the Russians in 1945 is now a member of the Central Committee under Mao who replaced him as party chief.

Despite a lack of tangible evidence, it is widely believed that there is now growing tension within the party between a strongly pro-Russian faction associated with Liu Shao-ch'i as well as Li Li-san, and a basically nationalist faction associated with Chou En-lai. The position of Mao with respect to this reported division of opinion is vague. Mao has long been described as a thoroughly nationalist "Chinese Communist" but during the past year he has taken a strong stand favoring close alignment with the Soviet Union.

Mao is still the undisputed leader of the party. Chu Teh, the top Communist military chief, is always ranked second but he is aging and less active. The two most obvious contenders for succession to Mao's position are Liu Shao-ch'i - a theoretician, labor expert and party organization man seldom in the limelight, and Chou En-lai, now Premier and Foreign Minister of the Communist government. Chou is Mao's most effective political aide and the Communists' most experienced negotiator.

Japan

The Times (London, March 8, 1950)

JAPANESE POPULATION RISE. In 1946 the population of Japan stood at 76,155,000. In 1948 it was estimated at 80,697,000. By the end of 1950 a figure of approximately 84 million will have been attained. The problem of the ever increasing number of mouths to feed has been attracting widespread attention in Japan. The present excess of births over deaths is about 1,600,000 yearly. The fertility rate remains high. Due to the efforts of the Public Health and Welfare Section of Allied Headquarters the death-rate of 15.68 per 1,000 in 1946 was reduced to 11.96 in 1948. This is the lowest rate ever recorded for Japan.

The Japanese male has a life-expectancy today of over three years more than he had in 1941, and the Japanese female eight years more. Infant mortality has fallen sharply. The

incidence of diphtheria has been reduced by 83 percent, dysentery by 87 percent, and typhoid by 86 percent. The entire population has been vaccinated and in 1948 only 29 cases of smallpox were reported as against 17,600 in the spring of 1946.

Japan covers an area smaller than California and is comparatively poor in resources. After a careful study of the problem, Dr. Warren S. Thompson, an eminent American demographer, last year recommended birth control as the only effective way of relieving the pressure of population. Birth control knowledge is being disseminated but seems to have found little favor with the rural communities which constitute about one-half of the total population.

According to a survey, conducted by the newspaper Asahi, only 9 percent of married people said they had practised birth control, 87 percent said they had not. Some 39 percent professed to favor birth control.

Japan would be a rich country if it had fewer people. There is a limit to the number it can support even on a bare, subsistence diet. Dr. Okazaki, director of the Japanese Institute for Research into Population, has said the best population would be 50 million but that it would be possible to support more if further industrialization was carried out rapidly. He favors large-scale emigration as well as birth control.

The Japanese leaders regard emigration as the solution of the population problem. They look upon Borneo, New Guinea, and the tropical parts of Australia as suitable territories for emigration. Even if there were no political barriers, emigration on the scale required would be economically impossible. Ships would have to be found to move one and a half million people from their home country each year. Land would have to be cleared and housing built. That would take care only of the annual increase but would not reduce the number of people now crowded on the Japanese islands.

Increased industrialization is often said to be the only solution. It is doubtful whether the country can obtain enough foreign currency to purchase abroad all the food and raw materials she requires for her expanding population. Domestic resources can be improved both through increased productive capacity for food and materials and through improved industrial techniques but these things are likely to take decades to achieve.

A comprehensive survey of Japanese natural resources, recently concluded by Dr. E.A. Ackerman of the University of Chicago, confirmed Dr. Thompson's view that birth control was the

only solution of the population problem. If the population continued to rise toward 100 million, the people might achieve a standard of living equivalent to 1930-34, provided that financial aid from abroad was continued indefinitely. If the aid were not forthcoming the country might perhaps become "self-supporting" ultimately but only on the barest level of subsistence.

Reprinted from
Harper's MAGAZINE

What We *Can* Do Under Point Four

Milo Perkins

SP

SINCE the end of the war we have put some $25 billion into various foreign aid programs. We are committed for nearly $10 billion more. We have put over $50 billion into our own military effort, which is of vital consequence to the non-communist world. We have averted catastrophes at terrific cost. But economic recovery on a self-sustaining basis in most of the world is not yet in sight.

It is slowly dawning on us here in the United States that we are not going to be able to buy world-wide recovery with a check book. If recovery is to be had at all, we must give of ourselves as well as our money. We must face up to the challenge for the century-long job that it is. We must speak frankly to our friends in other lands. We must not be ashamed to state our own self-interests openly before the court of world opinion. As bankers for half the world, perhaps we can't be loved. Maybe all we can hope for is a reputation of trying to be fair.

Thus far, our efforts to promote recovery in the rest of the world have been based largely on government-to-government grants and credits. These have averted disasters in many areas, but they have not built a recovery which can sustain itself without our continuing aid. I am unimpressed with statistics about production in Europe having reached 110 per cent or 120 per cent of the 1938 levels. Textile mills running on free American cotton and automobiles running on free American gasoline represent industrial relief and not recovery. There is a place for government-to-government credits in the future but they must take second place to private investment.

Cutting through the infinite complexity of this postwar world, two economic facts stand out like lanterns in a dark night. The first is this: that with only 7 per cent of the world's population, the United States has roughly half of its manufacturing capacity and a highly mechanized agriculture. Our production is growing at a faster relative rate than that of any other country. In the early nineteen-forties we spent tens of billions of dollars on plant and equipment for wartime purposes. Most of these factories are now turning out goods for peacetime use.

As though this were not enough, we have invested another $60 billion in plant and

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Reprinted from Harper's Magazine, December, 1949.
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equipment since 1945—and are still going strong. I suggest, in all humility, that the "climate" within which an achievement of this sort is possible—by free men—is worth examination by all peoples who want to raise their own living standards. We have accomplished this by being ourselves—by counting primarily on competitive enterprise and by using the powers of government to buttress our economy rather than to control it.

The second key fact which stands out is this: that production in most other countries is wholly inadequate to meet the needs of the people who live in the rest of the world. The fundamental crisis in most nations today is a production crisis and not a fiscal crisis. The simple reason why some currencies are "soft" is that those currencies cannot be swapped for goods at competitive levels in the countries which issued them. Until production is raised and prices are reduced within those countries and until that production is merchandized aggressively among the peoples of all lands, there is no hope of solving the money problems of the world. Devaluation, by itself, offers no final answer.

The famous "dollar shortage" is a phony in terms of semantics. What people in other countries are really saying when they use the phrase is this: that they want more of the goods which can be bought in the United States than they can afford—more than their own production permits them to buy. Most of us have had a "dollar shortage" in our personal affairs many times in our lives. All it meant was that we were not earning enough to buy everything we really needed.

Both production and distribution must be increased on a world-wide basis before the so-called "dollar shortage" will disappear and before the currencies of the world can once again be exchanged for one another without restriction.

So here is the heart of the problem which we must solve. The United States is able to produce more than it is possible to merchandise within our continental borders for the long pull—particularly more heavy machinery. The rest of the world, by contrast, is producing less than enough to satisfy the elemental needs of its people. It needs our heavy machinery to step up its own production. Our self-interest here in the United States and the self-interest of our friends elsewhere in the world is such that we ought to be able to combine our resources to our mutual benefit. Let's examine these self-interests.

Our economy in this country can remain healthy only if it continues to expand. Stop our growth and you start a depression. Our outstanding business need as far ahead as anyone can see is for an ever-increasing number of customers and for ever-broadening markets. The opportunity to participate in industrial expansion beyond our own borders is part of this concept. The rest of the world can offer us this.

The self-interest of other peoples with inadequate production is to increase the output of their factories as well as their farms. Our business men can join hands with their business men to reach this goal. Some American industries go abroad with wholly-owned subsidiaries while others prefer minority interests in foreign companies. Still others go in on a 50-50 basis with ten-year management contracts.

There are many ways to build the plants which are needed around the world but the trend will be toward joint undertakings. To borrow Eric Johnston's happy phrase, the time is ripe for us to take the lead in establishing "partnership capitalism" on an international basis. It's the surest road to higher living standards.

There is no mystery about them in a technological civilization. They can't be achieved by more human drudgery. They can only be achieved by multiplying human muscle power through machinery and mechanical horsepower. Better hand tools and the learning of simple skills must come first. As a general rule, light industries must be working successfully before heavy industries can be established. At the peak of industrialization, however, over $10,000 *per factory worker* must be saved by somebody and then invested in plant and equipment to lengthen the arms of that worker. It's just that simple to say, even though it has taken us decades here in America to achieve it.

If the rest of the world has to wait to generate its own capital to multiply human muscle power through investment in plant and equipment, it will take several centuries to do the job. If private capital from this country could flow outward on a broad basis

to the rest of the world, however, we could greatly shorten the decades necessary to reach our goal. Enormous progress could be made before this century has run its course. A good start can be made in the next ten years.

II

THE United States now holds an economic position with respect to the rest of the world which is very similar to that which the eastern seaboard of our own country has held toward the rest of the United States for over a century. When industrial development first began in this country we were dependent upon foreign capital. We welcomed it and it helped us. Those who provided it made the profit to which their savings and their willingness to venture entitled them.

Our eastern seaboard rapidly generated capital of its own, however. It was from this older area of our country that the money went west and south to build up the productive power of the nation. Had it not been for these early savings on the Atlantic Coast and their subsequent investment in factories and machinery beyond the eastern seaboard, the West and the South would have a very much lower standard of living today than they now enjoy. And what happened to business men and workers and farmers beyond the eastern seaboard in the process? They grew to be so successful that they are now generating most of their own capital.

Query: Can the United States now help the non-communist world to increase its own productivity along lines somewhat similar to those through which the eastern seaboard once helped the rest of the United States with its program of industrialization? I think it can if men in each country will examine their own self-interests objectively. That examination will force countries toward gradual economic union. People as individual producers and consumers will slowly become more important. Sovereignty as such will gradually become less important.

Obstacles to a greatly increased flow of private capital abroad such as currency inconvertibility, excessive government control, and outright discrimination against American business will not be easy to overcome. Nor will the political and psychological barriers to widespread industrialization be easily eliminated. However, there's a gambler's chance of success if the Point Four program is carried out intelligently. The stage *can* be set for a level of world-wide prosperity and industrial growth which can run for a century or two. It's a job for hardy souls with infinite perseverance but it's also our best bet for avoiding an atomic war.

President Truman has suggested a direction in which all of us might move together toward this goal in what has now become his famous Point Four, so named because it was the fourth point in his Inaugural Address last January 20. Briefly, he proposed that this country use its resources to help develop the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Actually, the opportunities are even greater in the more developed areas. But so much the better. This means that Western Europe can slowly be brought into the program as well as Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. The opportunity ought to be open to free men everywhere who are willing to *work* for higher living standards.

The President stressed the place of private capital in this long-range venture. A few days later Secretary of State Acheson significantly put great emphasis upon the necessity for a "climate" in other countries which would be attractive to private capital. Since then, many business groups have worked hard on the matter, keeping in close touch with government people working on the same problems; and the rapid rate at which ideas in this area have been developed is solid reason for having great hopes for the future.

III

WE COME now to a consideration of the key elements of an intelligent Point Four program. I want to discuss those which seem vital to me, one by one. Some of them have already been suggested by the Administration. Others have their origin elsewhere. The responsibility for emphasizing some more than others is my own.

(1) First of all there is a deep need for *a foreign investment policy on the part of this country which faces up, without apology, to the fact that we are a competitive enterprise nation.* We need to say that for the long

pull we shall be unable to help other peoples raise their living standards unless they are willing to count on competitive enterprise for the biggest part of the job.

Secretary Acheson went a long way toward enunciating such a policy in his speech of September 19 before the Pan American Society when he said:

> This country has been built by private initiative and it remains a land of private initiative. . . . Therefore it will be our policy, in general, not to extend loans of public funds for projects for which private capital is available. It is our purpose, also, to emphasize the desirability of loans which increase productivity.

Until this policy is well publicized and thoroughly understood both at home and abroad, there will be lingering hopes among government people in other countries that government-to-government grants from the United States Treasury will continue indefinitely. These hopes must be smashed before we can work on a partnership basis with the *peoples* of other countries to build the kind of world recovery which can pay its own way.

The grants of billions of dollars which we have made in the emergency period following the war have served essential purposes, but we cannot continue them as a way of life and remain solvent. This does not mean that we should stop them overnight nor that we should run out on our Marshall Plan commitments. But it does mean that we should tell the world in unmistakable terms that a way must be found by like-minded peoples to work together to build recovery on a basis which can be self-supporting. So far as we are concerned, this means counting primarily on private capital.

Many nations may not want to co-operate with us on this basis. That is their business and we shouldn't get provoked when we encounter ideas which are different from our own. Our policy should be to husband our resources for those countries which *do* want to build up productivity in the only way we know how to do it—through encouraging the individual to engage in competitive enterprise with the minimum amount of government interference. We'll be respected for being honest. The world is waiting to hear the terms upon which we want to stay in the international game for keeps.

(2) The second part of an intelligent Point Four program is *the negotiation of treaties with like-minded countries which guarantee fair treatment for United States private capital when it goes abroad.* No nation which discriminates unfairly against our businessmen has any long-term right to help from our government which is supported by taxes from a competitive enterprise economy.

Business men from thirty-two countries working through the International Chamber of Commerce recently completed a code for the Fair Treatment of Foreign Investments. Our own government would do well to use this model code as a basis for its own negotiations. All we want from these treaties is the simple assurance that our business men will be treated as fairly when they go to another country as the nationals of that country are treated when they come to the United States to engage in business. We are not entitled to any preferential treatment and no responsible person is suggesting it.

Unless we get reciprocally fair treatment, however, and unless there is a chance to make a profit commensurate with the risks of doing business abroad, we are not going to invest our savings in factories in other lands. Business without profit soon goes out of business, which is hardly a service to either the employees or the customers. Nor to the governments, whose huge budgets can only be supported by good earnings. This is so elementary that it's silly to pussy-foot on the issue with other nations.

(3) The third way in which we can implement Point Four is through *giving as much technical assistance to other nations as we can spare and as they can digest in a given period.* Immediately after the signing of investment treaties with other countries, we should set up missions to review the resources of those nations and the opportunities there for industrial as well as agricultural development.

These missions should be composed of government as well as business people from both the United States and the country being visited. The Abbink Mission which recently finished a survey in Brazil was constituted in this way. Its joint report by Brazilians and Americans was one of the outstanding jobs of the past few years. The survey covered in considerable detail the outlines of a program

for stepping up production within Brazil. It set a pattern for hard-headed United States–Brazilian co-operation for a generation to come.

Following broad surveys of this sort, smaller technical missions working on specific assignments could make a real contribution to overall economic growth. In some instances such missions would be sent abroad by the United Nations, in others by either the International Bank or the Export-Import Bank in connection with loans being sought by governments. In still other cases they might go abroad on assignments unconnected with loans, such as those of straight technical assistance in the many fields of agriculture.

The chief technical assistance which we can render to people in another country, however, will come from the establishment of *actual plants* in which our business men have a direct interest. This gives our engineers and technicians a chance to increase production in a business which they understand fully. It also gives the nationals of other countries an opportunity to learn the skills without which higher living standards are impossible in any country. Technical assistance can't be peddled like toothpaste but it's an integral part of long-range industrial growth and therefore part of any well-rounded Point Four program. It is most effective when it is tied to capital investment, either public or private.

(4) The fourth area in the carrying out of Point Four has to do with *government-to-government credits.* There is a need for these where they are quite outside the scope of private financing and where the use of government funds in carefully selected fields definitely broadens the opportunity for private investment—both for United States citizens and for nationals in the countries receiving the loans. The fact that it also broadens the opportunity for private investment by business men from third countries is an added dividend which will tend to keep competition vigorous.

I am thinking of United States government credits for the building of roads, the improvement of harbors, the betterment of transportation and communication facilities; for sanitation; and in some cases for the development of electric power. It goes without saying that the loan applications should be carefully scrutinized and that any expenditures under them should be carefully audited.

We use government money for many of these purposes in our own country and it enormously improves the climate for private investment. It is desirable in many instances to use United States government credits abroad for the same purposes in any country determined to count primarily upon competitive enterprise for its economic well-being. The facilities provided by these government loans should help all business firms within the country receiving them to grow and prosper and thus earn the tax money necessary for the repayment of the credits.

(5) The fifth way in which Point Four might be implemented is for us to develop a *much bolder program for the purchase of strategic materials from nations co-operating with us.* Quite aside from their military importance, our growing economy will require all the lead, tin, zinc, copper, manganese, etc., which the world can produce and sell us for the rest of this century. Where any nation is working desperately to raise the living standards of its own people through providing maximum opportunity for the individual, we should be willing to buy any strategic materials they care to sell us so that they can *earn* their way in the world and not be dependent on us for grants.

We should assure all nations which have signed investment treaties with us a stable market for such primary materials. Our government should be willing to enter into long-term contracts for their purchase with escalator clauses on price and quantities to be delivered. The contracts should also contain reasonable anti-dumping provisions. This would help countries getting started on industrialization programs to earn the dollars requisite for the heavy machinery they would need from this country. It would be an enormous help to them on their balance of payments problems while the whole Point Four program was getting under way and their own new industries were being established on a profitable basis.

(6) Now to my sixth point. *I feel that any nation willing to go this far in co-operation with us is entitled to a bigger slice of the American market for its own products.* I

would, therefore, like to see selective tariff cuts made for countries which have given evidence of their willingness to co-operate with us on a competitive enterprise basis. I'd like to see these cuts come just as close to free trade as possible for products produced within the co-operating country.

I realize that this would be a departure from the traditional interpretation of the "most favored nation" clause. However, all nations signing the same investment treaties with us and working with us on the other phases of the Point Four program would be entitled to the same tariff treatment. After we have entered into such arrangements with countries A and B, the next step would be for those countries to make similar arrangements with each other.

I want to see a multilateral world and I've stood for one all my life. But I've come to the reluctant conclusion that if we are to have one we shall have to build it bilaterally, brick by brick. In today's world of excessive trade restrictions, this is the only practical road to currency convertibility and ultimate economic union.

Certainly we haven't got very far by piously setting up one multilateral organization after another with a charter to do the impossible. We might get further if we set out consciously to build a "club" of like-minded nations who wanted to play ball with us in the only way that we know how to play it successfully. I wouldn't expect the whole world to join us at once and if they did we wouldn't have the resources to meet their demands. But I would expect more than enough countries to establish a partnership capitalism with us to give this new approach a fair trial.

(7) And now to the last point. Once this kind of commercial relationship has been achieved between the citizens of our country and those of another, *our own government might well offer to sell insurance to American business men investing in foreign countries.* This insurance, whose purchase would be optional, could cover certain extraordinary risks such as the inability to convert profits *already* made in a foreign country into dollars. The insurance might also cover the risks of expropriation and in my judgment should apply both to old and new investments.

The actual risks for the United States Treasury would be greatly minimized in countries which had already signed investment and commercial treaties with us and were working closely with us on a dozen other fronts. A nominal premium of 1 per cent or less ought to be adequate to cover the few losses likely to occur under these favorable trade circumstances. Beyond this, some countries would be willing to pledge a proportion of their dollar earnings to a joint fund set aside for servicing American investments. This would further reduce the risks of our own insurance program.

Medium-sized businesses in America need this insurance more than the larger corporations. There are excellent reasons for encouraging them to set up partnership arrangements with business men in other countries. I feel that if this insurance were made available *after* all the other elements of a Point Four program had been worked out, it would help to assure its total success.

IV

These are the seven key elements in the intelligent implementation of Point Four as I see them. It is vital that we come to agreement on them country by country through bilateral negotiation. These negotiations should take the form of what might be called "four-basket conferences." These would be sessions in which we brought to the conference table two baskets, one containing what we wanted from another country and the other containing what we would be prepared to give. Representatives from the other nation should also bring two baskets, one containing what they were prepared to give and the other containing what they wanted.

The contents of all four baskets should be spread on the table and explored objectively by both sides. This is the "package" approach. It has a chance to succeed whereas the "piecemeal" approach of doing a little here and a little there and asking nothing in return for what we give is certain to fail. Signing checks for what other nations want before getting the things we want in return makes no sense whatever.

All seven elements of the Point Four program should be discussed in detail at such a conference. There should be a meeting of minds on *all* of them. At the end of these

sessions, if an agreement emerges at all, it must be a complete agreement and one under which *both* sides stand to profit. Otherwise it will not last, and under such conditions it would be better not to enter into any agreement at all.

I would like to see the United States conclude such a set of arrangements with no more than two or three countries as a beginning. They should be "show piece" arrangements in the finest sense of that phrase. Experience with these could then guide us in the intelligent handling of this kind of bilateral negotiation with other countries later on. We should put everything we have into making the first programs work. *If* they work, other nations would be seeking the same sorts of arrangements with us faster than we could conclude them.

This is the best long-range answer to communism. Communists can promise the moon but only the United States has the productive resources to deliver the goods. We have been doing some of the things already suggested under the Point Four program on a piecemeal basis for several years. But for that very reason we have not achieved the cumulative effect which we might have achieved, had we done the whole job with completeness at one time, nation by nation. The whole of anything is always more than the sum of its separate parts.

On the government side we have already sent a good many technical missions abroad. We have extended some credits which have a chance of repayment, and we have engaged in some modest stockpiling of strategic materials. We have concluded some commercial treaties, the best of which was with Italy. But even this treaty did not come to grips with the crucial problem of currency convertibility.

None of these government actions has been openly conditioned upon the kind of opportunity for United States competitive enterprise in other countries which our government gives the business firms of those same countries here in the United States. None of it has faced our necessity as a creditor nation to have foreign areas open to us for private investment and industrial expansion. Consequently, there has not been an earnest effort in most other countries to improve the climate for private investment within their borders.

Nevertheless there are some foretastes of what Point Four might be like insofar as American private investment in other countries is concerned. Those who have been critical of the past activities of American companies operating in foreign lands—and often with good reason—would be surprised if they could go abroad today and see what some leading American concerns are doing for people in other countries.

The oil companies of this country, for example, have large investments throughout the world, with heavy ones concentrated in Venezuela and the Middle East. The net effect of these at a business level has been to give a good return to American stockholders *and* to bring a stream of dollars to the countries in which the petroleum was found. Venezuela, for example, has no external debt. Her government gets roughly half the profits of the oil companies operating within her borders. Her greatest natural resource was of no value to her until it was developed. Now it is her greatest source of revenue.

More importantly, the citizens of Venezuela have had a large number of opportunities opened up to them as a result of these investments. Creole Petroleum Corporation has made enormous progress in this direction in one short generation. Workers have become foremen and foremen have become managers. Young men have been trained to handle the most technical jobs.

Numerous small businesses serving the oil companies have been started by the nationals of the country. Wages have gone up sharply, and better housing has come in. A quality of medical service and a level of schooling have been introduced which were previously unknown. This is partnership capitalism at work—and working well.

In the merchandising field, Sears Roebuck has established several large stores in Latin American countries. Prices to the consumer have been reduced and the wages paid to store employees have risen. Various employee security benefits which were previously unknown to those who worked in stores in these countries have been established.

Much of the merchandise which was first supplied from the United States is now being

supplied from local sources. Sears has often acted to bring American manufacturers and foreign manufacturers together in partnerships to produce these goods. It has partially underwritten the success of these joint undertakings by agreeing to take part of the output. When it started its Mexico City store, 90 per cent of the merchandise came from the United States; 80 per cent of it now comes from Mexican sources.

In the manufacturing field, International General Electric Company has done an outstanding job of practicing "partnership capitalism." Most of its foreign investments are joint undertakings. One of the most significant things about them is the large amount of technical know-how which has flowed *from* these foreign plants *to* the United States. I.G.E. has made Point Four work for thirty years on a *two-way* street.

In the agricultural field, the United Fruit Company has done a really outstanding job of producing fruits in the Caribbean area which are marketed chiefly in the United States. Wages on the United Fruit plantations are considerably above those in the surrounding areas. Food prices have been subsidized at plantation stores to keep them close to prewar levels.

The workers and their families enjoy a degree of medical care, educational opportunity, and improved housing which represents very real progress for people in the countries where "La Frutera" operates. United Fruit is making money all right, but if it weren't it couldn't afford to give its workers a standard of living several hundred per cent above the levels that exist in the same countries for other workers.

Its agricultural school in Honduras for 150 boys from the Caribbean countries is one of the most exciting places I have ever visited. The purpose of the school is to develop knowledge about diversified agriculture in the tropics. For three years the youngsters study everything except the culture of bananas—which is the backbone of United Fruit Company's business. This investment in the growing competence of young men ought to pay good dividends. The Caribbean is one of the great frontiers still left on the planet and it's going to need leadership in the decades ahead.

I feel that the contribution toward better living standards abroad which a number of American companies are making, is heartening. However, much still remains to be done. The opportunities for local participation have only been scratched. We must dig deeper and work more closely with the nationals of other countries so that they can make their maximum contribution to industrialization within their borders.

V

WORLD recovery requires more of this kind of private activity and fewer doles from the United States Treasury. It also requires closer co-operation between business and government here in our own country. If Point Four is to succeed, American business will need fair but more vigorous diplomatic support from our State Department than it has received in the past.

We have more to contribute to other countries than capital and technical skills. We also have a "spirit" to contribute: our enthusiasm for putting machines to work for us; our belief that *any* individual should be able to climb to the top and that he should have every chance to do so; the way in which we use mass production and mass distribution to raise living standards; the way we count on high volume rather than high mark-ups for our total profits; our belief that decent wages mean broader markets for our products. (This is rank heresy in many foreign countries where 40 per cent returns on capital are not uncommon and where low wages are often considered a "competitive advantage.")

It's also our faith in *competition*. Neither labor nor management in most countries shares this faith. Their business men prefer cartels to "price-cutting" and their labor leaders are afraid that improved machinery will throw the workers out of their jobs. Competitive enterprise, as we know it here in America, has never been *tried* in much of the world.

Changing attitudes is a tougher job than building factories, but it's worth trying. There are sound economic reasons why an intelligent Point Four program could be developed to the advantage of people in many countries. But there are real *psychological* obstacles which will make it very difficult to reach this goal. They have to be faced.

Here at home, one of our chief psycho-

logical hurdles lies in the fact that so few of us have ever made our bread and butter out of foreign trade or foreign investment. We have made some progress in the past ten years, but we have a long, long way to go. Our frontier love of adventure in far places needs to be re-kindled.

Another hurdle lies in the fact that we take fright much too easily when some one calls us naughty names like "Yankee imperialists." We have not yet accepted the role of being bankers for the non-communist world as part of our every-day thinking. Events thrust this leadership into our lives. Not having sought it, we don't yet know what to do with it. I suppose better than half of us wish it had never happened. We haven't thought through all we can contribute to people abroad while making a profit for ourselves in the bargain.

Finally, we must get over our hesitancy to take goods from other countries in volume. If the rest of the world would make it profitable for us to build plants in other countries, this would give us a selfish reason for being more free-trade-minded. The deeper our roots go in the rest of the world, the more we shall act like citizens of the world.

VI

THERE are also some real psychological hurdles to be overcome in other nations. Excessive nationalism is certainly the most deadly of all. We have our share of it here in the United States, but that doesn't keep it from being one of the few truly evil forces on this planet. In addition to the normal concern in other countries with our overwhelming economic strength and the fear that we may use it to dominate other peoples, there are also some pressure-group concerns about any intimate business association with us.

Many groups at the top in other nations hide under the canopy of excessive nationalism—business men who are afraid of our competition and landowners who feel that they must have large pools of cheap labor. They talk about "dollar imperialism" but what they really mean is that they don't want any large-scale economic development with its emerging middle class in their countries.

Then, there are politicians in other nations who are being kept in power by United States cash which they are now handing out to the citizens of their own lands, and who would scream loudly about "interference with sovereignty" if the flow of government grants from us were to taper off and we began to talk about a fairer break for American business in their countries.

There are also privileged groups in some foreign nations, not in government but close to top people in government, who stand to profit by a climate which discriminates against American private investment in their countries. This climate of discrimination enables them to act as middlemen to "fix things up." Naturally, they aren't going to accept a program on its merits that might break up their little playhouses.

These efforts of privileged groups to protect themselves are part of the frailty of human nature in all countries, including our own. We'll get further if we keep our sense of humor about them and don't take the name-calling too seriously. What we should take seriously is the genuineness of our desire to build a partnership capitalism on an international basis. Are we going to build a better world *with* other peoples or are we planning to do things *to* them? That's going to be the key question abroad for a long time to come.

There are also psychological hurdles to the implementation of Point Four which spring from the people themselves in other countries. They know by instinct that science can raise their living standards. What they do not realize is that this takes time; that people have to work hard and learn new skills and save a lot for investment in plant and new machinery before these higher standards can be achieved; that expanded welfare services cannot be had for long simply by passing a few laws, but that it takes enormous production to support these programs; and that social welfare services are the result of economic development, not its cause.

PERHAPS the most valid psychological hurdle to the implementation of Point Four in other countries is the mistrust of our American culture. Other peoples know that it produces high living standards with a large amount of personal freedom. But they know that it also produces high divorce rates, tawdry entertainment, and stomach ulcers. They see the tensions which keep us in a con-

stant hurry and they find them unattractive. We Americans must realize that what we have to offer is not an unmixed blessing; that we must not try to force our American way of life on peoples who don't want it; and that we have much to learn as well as much to offer.

The hurdles we have been considering are real hurdles and the job we've been talking about is a very long-term assignment. But suppose we don't get on with it in our mutual self-interest? What's the alternative? Probably the Communists will pick us off nation by nation until in desperation what's left of the Western world will turn to atomic war rather than risk slavery in a police state.

By moving boldly to make a Point Four program work, we should be able to transfer an increasing part of the cost of foreign development from government to private shoulders. We should be able to increase the relative strength of the West as compared with the Soviet sphere. We can even hope that a strong Western world will ultimately become a magnet to draw some of the countries in the Soviet orbit closer to us. No matter what we think of the Kremlin we should not close our hearts to the Russian people. One World is only a dream in 1949, but who is wise enough to say that the dream will never be realized?

By broadening the area of industrial expansion beyond our own borders we shall increase the markets for our heavy goods industries. A search for more customers is nothing that needs to be hidden. Customers are essential to our prosperity and our prosperity is the hope of the world. There can be no international stability without it.

More importantly, we shall be working with the *citizens* of other countries to increase production and therefore the living standards of *people.* They will be learning new skills, both with their hands and with their heads. There will be many partnership arrangements between our business men and those of other countries. There will be a helpful exchange of ideas between our labor leaders and those of other nations.

These closer working associations of a mutually satisfactory nature can furnish "the tie that binds." To move in this direction is to take the offensive against communism rather than trying to "contain it." And it's still true that the offensive always wins. In any competition for improving the lot of people, we've got what it takes for victory.

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

January 13, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Perkins has written me from London and asked that I send you these observations of his on France for your personal information.

Sincerely,

Sally Seitz

Secretary to Mr. Perkins

Impressions of France - November - December - 1948

January 12, 1949

A friend I met on the boat told me that if I spent only two weeks in France I'd be able to write a book about it but that if I stayed two months I'd be thoroughly confused; he said I'd then have to wait two years to write even a magazine article.

I stayed exactly two weeks and saw a great many people. Since then I've discussed the French situation in Switzerland, Holland and England. France, along with Western Germany, is so much the key to recovery on the continent of Europe that I want to give you some quick impressions of the country as we approach the second year of E.R.P.

On paper, France has a chance to recover faster than most of the Marshall Plan nations. Her resources are considerable. Her farm lands are rich; she can feed her own people and might even export some foodstuffs if there were a change in her land use patterns.

As individuals, her people are thrifty, intelligent and industrious. Their tempo of work differs from ours but most of them work hard nonetheless. Remarkably hard, when one considers the scars left by two wars, a depression and the German occupation all crowded into one generation.

Her industries are hampered by strikes, shortages of raw materials and electrical power, but even so they are back roughly to their 1938 levels. One textile manufacturer told me that production per worker in his mills in eastern France was now 95 percent of pre-war. Her government-owned railways have made the best come-back of all. Three years ago nearly all the bridges were destroyed; today the majority have been restored and the service is acceptable.

When you cross one of the broad Paris streets at 7 p.m. the traffic jam is as bad as any in New York. The restaurants are getting ready for the evening crowds and there's nothing in the States to match what's served to you nor to match the way in which it is served. The most expensive eating places are crowded both at noon and at night.

The shops in Paris are full of all kinds of goods. Even in the poorer sections both food and clothing are available, although prices are very high. Taking 1938 as 100, prices have risen to 1700 and wages to only 1200. Workers, particularly middle income white collar workers, are being squeezed a little tighter each day.

Almost no new housing has been built since the war. (Very little was built between the two wars.) There seems to be less complaint about over-crowding among poorer people than about the high price of food, however. Rents in France are incredibly low and effectively frozen which helps everybody but the landlords. Taking the longer view, it makes new construction virtually impossible.

Social Security coverage in France is broader than in the U.S.; broader in all likelihood than the country can afford. One interesting feature is the large family allowance payment based on the size of the family. An ordinary worker with four children making 15 thousand francs a month ($50.00 at the official rate), pays about 1000 francs in taxes and gets 15 thousand francs a month from the government as a kind of parenthood bonus. (His employer pays the bulk of the tax.)

Everyone seemed agreed that Communism in France could be stopped with plenty of good food at lower prices and a stable franc that was save to save. The non-Communist unions have made great strides in recent months. Their demands have been exceedingly restrained in view of the inflation and the virile competition from the Communist-led unions. But I don't see how such restraint can last without basic fiscal reform.

I was struck by what appears to be an almost universal sense of military insecurity - a deep fear that the Red Army might be quartered in their homes before another decade passed. We sensed more fear of this than of a German revival. Nothing short of an absolute guarantee against invasion will satisfy the French and that is impossible. At most, and at great cost, we might make invasion more costly and slow it down, but that's all. U.S. air power is the real deterrent to a Soviet attack from without.

Another seemingly universal conviction was that all the troubles of France stemmed from bad government. "Blum got us into this and it may take deGaulle to get us out" is the way it was once put to me. No awareness of permanent dislocations caused by

two wars - no deep sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of France - no individual willingness to undergo any prolonged period of austerity. For many, just a simple faith in a new leader.

It is difficult to realize that the surface activity which one sees in France - all this keeping up of appearances - covers several running sores. The worst is fiscal instability. One French business man agreed it was bad but said it was nothing new - that France had been living on false money most of the time for seven centuries.

The Exchange Rate

Three hundred and fifteen francs to the dollar is the official rate of exchange for tourists. The best hotels offer you 410 and are astonished when you cash your checks at the official rate. You can get 440 on the street and over 500 francs to the dollar in Switzerland. It's all illegal but no effort whatever is made to check up on American tourists at the border on leaving the country. Before the recent inflationary swell, 80 percent of American tourist dollars were converted at the official rate and the French government got this critically needed foreign exchange.

Now, I am told, over 90 percent of the American tourist dollars are exchanged for francs in the black market which means that the money is either hoarded within France, or, as is more likely, taken outside the country. The French Government presently is losing these scarce and badly needed dollars at the rate of several hundred million a year.

Everybody deplores the situation and nobody does anything about it. Neither the Swiss nor the Dutch, nor several other European countries for that matter, tolerate any such leakage of dollars in today's world-wide dollar shortage situation. They require evidence when you leave the country that your travelers checks were cashed at the legal rate. The French have fiscal control offices at the frontier but they just don't function.

We were told that servants, on pay day, rush to exchange their French francs for Swiss francs or any other black market currency which is safer to save. (The German occupation undoubtedly helped to make black market operations the accepted thing.)

Others, who can afford it, buy consumers goods they don't need rather than keep francs on hand which are worth a little less each day. Running a business under such conditions is obviously maddening. Everybody tries to stay just as non-liquid as possible. You can do better by hoarding inventories than by selling goods.

It is estimated that billions of dollars in gold and hard currencies are hoarded illegally by French citizens both within France and outside the country. In the face of all this, it is astonishing to learn that no government has yet been able to figure out a way to tax the French farmers, particularly in this period when they are more prosperous than any other group. Even business men expressed the opinion that they were not ethically obliged to pay taxes if they disapproved of the particular tax law. It is said that three out of every four owners of American cars in France are not on the Treasury's tax list. You can't avoid feeling that there is more of anarchy than democracy in the present situation. It's a case of individualism run riot.

Everyone says a balanced budget with less government expense and higher tax collections is needed. But one gets the feeling that a "good government" would be the one that achieved such a balance out of the other fellow's pocket. We heard many rumors of corruption among French officialdom but saw no evidence of it even at petty levels. during our short stay in the country. The new French budget as of late December is quite inadequate to cope with the present situation.

Relief not Recovery

This is the climate into which we have been pouring our Marshall Plan dollars. If their chief purpose was to hold back communism and establish a measure of recovery at any cost, then the operation has been a success the first year.

But so far it's a relief operation and not a recovery operation which will be self-sustaining. In my judgment it was a very necessary relief operation last year, especially in view of the disastrous 1947 crop failure. It restored a measure of confidence to the French people, and it gave the appearance of normalcy and recovery from a terrible period of occupation. So far so good.

But textile mills which are running on free cotton and free wool and automobiles

which are running on free gasoline do not represent a recovery which can last. This is industrial relief. The French must buckle down to earning the dollars for petroleum and fibres and metals which they have to import. And we must buckle down to insisting on this. (The bankers of the world have always interfered just a little bit with the sovereignty of borrowers.)

The French can earn the money. But they'll have to get rid of their artificial rate of exchange for exports which prices their products out of world markets. They'll have to continue their excellent program to attract tourist dollars and then go in for enough fiscal discipline to keep those dollars for the Bank of France.

They'll have to step up production within France and within their overseas territories. The French colonies could supply large and greatly increased amounts of strategic materials which would be excellent sources of greater dollar income for the future. This is not taking place except on paper.

The French are afraid of over-production and they are afraid of competition. They don't want private U.S. investment on French soil no matter what lip-service they pay to this way of helping them to get production. We shall have to get very firm before matters change. Excessive nationalism is a luxury no nation can afford when it's on the verge of bankruptcy.

They will also have to make a sales drive to market their specialities and luxuries in hard currency countries. At the moment, with Marshall Plan billions in the offing, they are making no such effort. Men's French lisle hose, for example, were a great pre-war export item. One now has to wait months in the U.S. to get them. When they finally arrive they cost $5.00 a pair. The same top quality hose in France cost $1.80 at retail stores which are well stocked with them.

One of the thorny problems in running E.R.P. is that the present system appears to put a premium on doing badly. If a country succeeds by hard work and austerity it gets less dollars. If it does next to nothing to earn dollars, it gets larger grants, not only from us but from other E.R.P. countries like England. Surely it is irresponsible not to "interfere a little with sovereignty" under such exasperating circumstances.

Business men in Switzerland and in Holland expressed amazement that the U.S. was choking so much "planning" down the throat of Europe. They said no detailed three-year plan in this world of uncertainties could possibly be worth the paper it was written on. They asked why the leading private enterprise nation of the world was using techniques abroad it would not dream of using at home. They asked why, since competitive enterprise was responsible for our industrial strength, we were ashamed to insist that it have a major place in European recovery.

They said further that our emphasis on government planning is giving a stature to the bureaucrats of Europe that they could not possibly earn by their competence in their own countries. I certainly found that there is too much of an iron curtain between the government officials in France who are doing the planning and the business men who will have to carry out many of the plans. No lasting increase in production has ever yet been achieved by government to government loans, and I don't think the last three years of the Marshall Plan will be any exception. There can't be a lasting recovery without increased private investment. This can never take place in volume until our own government insists upon it as a matter of public policy and then backs up its lip-service with action.

Our Economic Cooperation Administration officials in Paris are well aware of these matters but hesitant about "interference with sovereignty". My friends outside France tell me that we interfere on little things which annoy the French but fail to make the bold moves which might really get us somewhere - even though there would be risks in bolder action. The greatest risk would be to raise deGaulle to power. Since this might easily wreck the E.R.P. as now constituted, one can understand the hesitancy at Paris.

Nearly everyone we met in France expected deGaulle to come into power before spring as a strong man and no one to whom we talked wanted him. He is regarded as sincere and honest but arrogant and an ignoramus in the fields of business, labor and international affairs. His comments on the "Corporate State" sound something like Mussolini in his early days. As an extreme nationalist, unfriendly to the Anglo-American world, he would present quite a problem. His advisors are mainly men from his London war days and are not trusted. A Swiss student who has listened to some of these aides

tells me they make emotional speeches about liberty and the greatness of the General, but have no program whatever.

In France, the deGaulle program is regarded as negative, being based entirely on anti-communism. (It was under his regime that Thorez returned to Paris from Moscow to lead the French communists. This was the period when Soviet recognition was being sought.) Many French business men fear that the wane of Communism in France might be halted if deGaulle came in and set up a dictatorship of the right.

All agree that the sooner French elections are held the better, since the present Assembly no longer represents French public opinion. Some Frenchmen think deGaulle would get only 40 percent of the vote and be obliged to bring in able men like Schuman to form a government. They think such an alignment might keep deGaulle from going too far. Political instability in France is as serious a cancer as fiscal instability.

Concluding Comment.

Anyone who hinted that the French were victims of a mild form of alcoholism would have the country up in arms against him but this is the tentative conclusion of a competent sociologist whom I met over here. This person pointed out to me that France is on a net import basis on wines and that more of her farm land each year is being diverted to grapes. Wine is served with every meal and three or four kinds are drunk at dinner. Children drink it diluted with water and the doctors applaud.

Workmen, I was told, take a glass after breakfast on the way to the factory. It is also part of the long luncheon period which means so much to them. I saw no drunkenness in France of the volatile sort one meets in the States, but if the whole French nation lives along on a very mild sort of continual "binge" it might account for some of their charming irresponsibility toward economic problems.

Their intellectuals talk about France leading a "Third Force" on the Continent - midway between the Soviet Union and the U.S. - thus preserving the diversity of cultures on the Continent and being in a position to offer ultimate mediation between the giants of the East and West. This seems to me to be an unrealistic bit of escapism in a world headed for a showdown with police-state imperialism.

France leaves an American somewhat bewildered. The French don't want recovery as we understand it with more plants being built to make more things for more people. They don't want what we've got and they can't afford what they want.

Mainly, they want what they treasure as "their way of life". It's an elusive thing to an American. It's the pomp and ceremony with which they fix your crepe suzette at the table. It's the grace with which they give a dinner party in the evening. It's the look in the eyes of their every-day folks when they stand in rapture at the ancient grandeur of Versailles with its glorious gardens. It's the ease with which their hearts turn to yesterday and shrink from tomorrow.

It's the leisure even a workman treasures when he insists on at least two hours to go home for lunch. It's the chance to walk in their lovely woods with their families. It's the "appearance" which you must keep up by way of a dinner out for your friends every week or so even if you have to starve yourself to do it. (No matter that your friends know it and will starve themselves the next week to impress you the following one.)

It's the broad, beautiful vistas in the lovely city of Paris. It's the Louvre with its art treasures. These are only some of the facets of the unique French culture of which every Frenchman is proud. It's neither Eastern nor Western. But it's theirs and they love it and they'll fight to keep it.

Most significant of all, there's no team work in France as we Americans know it. I was shocked when a high French official told me that a CED approach to increased production in France was impossible due to deep-seated hatreds. He said that these hatreds were too strong to get labor and business and agriculture around the same table to discuss the common problems in one community.

Holland was refreshingly different. The Dutch are making great personal sacrifices for recovery. They have met one very strong capital levy - are paying high taxes presently - and putting up with having other Dutch families quartered in their homes because of the housing shortage resulting from the bombing.

A cab driver in Holland gave me a very intelligent explanation of Benelux Union. At the finish he said that real union was being delayed due to differences in the price

level in Belgium and Holland but that the Dutch were doing their part by letting price levels rise in Holland by cutting government food subsidies. He said it would cost his family a little bit more to live but that Union was worth it. I'll bet on any nation whose citizens have a sense of personal responsibility for the general welfare of their country.

Let's be understanding with our E.R.P. officials who are trying to do a practical job in the French climate. One fact of arithmetic may help them. It will be almost impossible to spend as much the second year of the Marshall Plan as the first. The first year the money went fairly fast forcereals and coal - bulk commodities that were needed and easy to distribute in volume. (Even so, much of the first year's money is still unspent although it has been allocated.)

Now, as relief in Western Europe gives way to attempts at a lasting recovery, it will take longer to allocate money for machinery and longer still to get delivery. I should think that a four billion dollar total for the second year of the Marshall Plan would be a top amount. I doubt three-and-a-half billion would hurt. It might help our French as well as our other European friends to come to grips with some of their more basic problems which many of them won't face until circumstances force them to do so.

The French would like a ten year Marshall Plan even though less were available each year than now..Under such conditions they could avoid any basic changes in their way of life. We cannot permit any such leisurely approach. Ours is the delicate job of moving just as fast as we can in nudging France toward real and more rapid recovery without being too over-bearing about it.

It's in our self-interest to do all we can to prevent a complete collapse. But some measure of greater firmness must go with our future aid if E.R.P. is not to degenerate into an international W.P.A. Large numbers of people in the four countries I have visited would welcome a more business-like attitude on our part.

Unfortunately, economic recovery in Europe is inseparable from the military task of defending Western Europe from outside attack. It is also inseparable from the political problem of preventing the rise of Communism within some of the countries.

Then there is the added psychological problem presented by many left wing governments over here which are determined to push their social welfare programs at a faster rate than their productivity permits.

As though this were not enough, we must work in an atmosphere which is very restrictive as to a free movement of money, people and goods. If these same restrictions were to be applied at our forty-eight state lines our economy would grind to a halt in sixty days.

We shall need great patience in the years ahead. Europe will not be able to carry forward on her own by 1952. The current three year plans from nineteen countries all propose to solve their balance of payments problems by sharp cuts in purchases from other countries and greatly increased sales to the same countries. It is the age-old problem of folks wanting to have their cake and eat it too.

These excesses of European nationalism are a great handicap to true recovery. Our own shrinking from incisive action is another. We take fright too easily when someone calls us "Dollar Imperialists".

This is the time to back up and review our efforts. Our leadership these next three years must be bolder and it must take deeper account of our own self-interest. It must rely less on government planning and more on competitive enterprise if the production goals are to be reached. The rate at which the Communists are blackening the map of the world speaks insistently for those who have ears to hear.

July 2, 1948

Dear Mr. Perkins:

This is to acknowledge your letter and notes of July 1st. They have been received during Mr. Murrow's absence from the city and will be called to his attention as soon as he returns to the office.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Milo Perkins
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

July 1, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York New York

Dear Ed:

1

Events in the coal industry have moved rapidly in the last few weeks. So much else has happened in the same period that it seems worthwhile to summarize the developments.

Following the Goldsborough decision on the much-controverted Welfare Fund, John L. Lewis won a most important settlement for the miners.

On June 22, 1948 Judge Goldsborough held that any two of the three Welfare Fund trustees can decide any disputed issue arising in connection with the application or administration of the Fund.

He further held that members of the union employed by operators not contributing to the Fund are also entitled to all Fund benefits and sustained Lewis' position that miners 62 years of age with 20 years of service in the mines are entitled to a pension of $100 per month if they retired after May 28, 1946 (date the Welfare Fund was established).

This decision enormously strengthened Lewis' bargaining position in the then-pending negotiations with the coal operators.

Terms of the Settlement.

Lewis and the Operators signed a one-year contract on June 25, which represents a sweeping victory for the miners. Under its terms, the

miners receive $1 a day more in wages, thus raising their basic daily pay from $13.05 to $14.05. Further, the Operators agreed to pay another ten cents a ton, making a total of twenty cents, into the Welfare Fund from which miners are to draw pensions and other benefits. This will mean an annual fund of $100,000,000.

Lewis also won the general operators to a continuation of the union shop provision of last year's contract. The captive mine operators have thus far declined to sign the new contract upon the ground that the union shop clause is a violation of the Taft-Hartley law.

Significance of the Settlement.

Two factors of particular significance stand out as a result of the coal contract.

1. Inflationary aspects.

There is little doubt that the wage increase will be passed along for the consumer to pay. Higher freight rates added to the increased cost of mining coal indicate a probable rise in the price of steel too before the end of 1948.

The improvement factor in productivity in our tight economy is not apt to run over 3 percent annually. With wage rises in important sectors of the economy nearing 10 percent, the inflationary spiral gets another vigorous whirl for the rest of the year. It is true, of course, that a prolonged stoppage in coal production would also have been highly inflationary. The present settlement avoids that but the price we will pay for averting a strike is high.

Miners the world over are getting special treatment, however, and the nation is getting results in terms of production far beyond any

records being established in nationalized industries abroad.

2. Union bargaining position.

The effect of the Lewis victory and the Goldsborough decision, is to give the unions a highly important organizing weapon. Non-union coal miners are left out in the cold. The pulling power of the union is enormously strengthened and the way is at least open for similar gains by other big unions which might succeed in making comparable Welfare Fund arrangements with management.

With all my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Milo

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

May 7, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I'm going to save your letter of May 5 to pep me up when the low spots come. Many thanks.

With all my very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Milo

MP/ss

May 5, 1948

Dear Milo:

Thanks for the memo. I admire your clarity and candor. If you ever get tired of telling big corporations how to run their affairs, you ought to try a hand at broadcasting.

As ever yours,

Mr. Milo Perkins
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

April 27, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Your broadcasts continue to be "tops" and I want you to know how much Tharon and I enjoy listening to them.

I have just summarized some of my thinking on current problems for clients of mine and it occurs to me that you might possibly want to glance at the memorandum. A copy is enclosed.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Milo

Enc.
MP/ss

April 27, 1948

This is a good time to summarize some of the thinking here now that the Italian elections have been won by the anti-Communist parties and the Marshall Plan is beginning to operate.

No one doubts the very critical nature of the world situation, but it may well seem worse to us as individuals than it actually is. Due to rapid modern communications every trouble from every troubled spot of the world rains in on us every hour of the day. Bad news always makes better headlines than constructive news. It's the old story of the house on fire being a news item, whereas the house in process of construction is not news.

Since V-J Day

Looking back to V-J Day certain bold facts stand out in my mind:

1. The war has left this country stronger than ever before. In terms of modern plants and skilled manpower as well as financial liquidity we are now at our peak. England has been seriously weakened. Some of the countries on the Continent have sunk close to a number one mandate status, having lost two of the main attributes of sovereignty - the ability to defend themselves and the ability to feed their own peoples. Russia is sorely wounded but her large land army faces only an egg-shell defense at this moment in Western Europe. Apparently she is building up her submarine fleet which could not

full ten to fifteen percent more than informed persons felt possible six weeks ago. The preparedness moves in this country indicate an awareness that war could come before five years. The change in our Palestine policy based primarily on a determination not to give the Soviets a "corridor" through the Middle East and the drawing together of England, France and the Benelux countries are both very significant steps in so brief a span of time.

The Prospect for Peace.

Informed people still feel that there is more chance of peace than of war in 1948. War could come, of course, by "self-ignition" although the post-war world has survived a good many difficult incidents thus far without shooting. The best chance for peace probably lies in the fact that at this juncture neither side can deliver a body blow at the other.

The Possibility of a Compromise with the Soviets.

If there were to be an early war it would probably be a long one. If there is no war in 1948, a conference with the Soviets seems quite likely by 1949. Some sort of "deal" is even possible, based upon a "spheres of influence basis", although naturally it would not be presented publicly in these terms. The fear here is that such a conference would come to naught until our military strength is actually on the up-grade and until our capacity to wage propaganda warfare at a political level licks the Soviets in some areas other than Italy. Given progress on these two fronts, however, there is a feeling that a compromise might be reached in a year or two which would at least assure the world of a long truce without shooting.

European Recovery Program.

Mr. Hoffman is considered a good choice to head the Economic Cooperation Administration. Three tough problems would seem to face him.

1. How to get better than second-rate men to staff his organization.

only make the battle of the Atlantic more difficult in another war, but could also subject American coastal cities to attack with atomic weapons from submarines given a few years for their improvement. Soviet air defenses at home are being strengthened. The Communist infiltration techniques in most countries beyond the Iron Curtain are a formidable weapon. Strong Communist parties in the same areas represent much more threatening Fifth Columns than Hitler ever had.

2. Personal freedom in the United States is being increasingly valued above peace at any price. It is seen as worth fighting for outside the United States before the Soviets invade Western Europe and the Middle East and sit astride three continents.

3. The continued tension ahead in the world offers a tremendous challenge to the American people. We are unaccustomed psychologically to living in an atmosphere of impending doom. It takes some time to arouse us but once we are aroused we become volatile and want to take action the next morning. Can we live with poise in the period ahead? Can we keep our heads as well as General Clay kept his recently in Berlin? Can we continue to do this for a few years if the Soviets keep on probing for soft spots around the periphery of their vast empire?

The Last Six Months.

The West has taken an impressive amount of action since November in addition to the successful launching of the European Recovery Program. The Soviets have forced western civilization toward a kind of unity in a very bried period that might not otherwise have developed at all. In the battle for the Italian vote there was a political offensive of some viger in additich to the economic offensive. Civil disturbances are still possible there, but the victory is a

2. How to avoid energy consuming conflicts with the State Department.

3. How to keep a recovery program from degenerating into a relief program.

Economic Trends

In the United States a "bust" part of the boom and bust cycle may well be postponed as long as tension with the Soviets continues. Until those tensions are resolved it would seem likely that we will have full employment and gradually falling living standards as our production is diverted to military ends and exports without corresponding imports. Tax increases may well be required next year to meet mounting expenses. Deficit financing is unlikely in the enxt year or two. As taxes have to be increased it's a good guess that corporation rates will go up notwithstanding the needs of American business for continued capital expansion. Individuals seem certain to bear only part of the brunt of future tax hikes. Even then the community property principle for all states insofar as income taxes are concerned, is likely to be kept. In the event of war, excess profits taxes would probably take more of corporate income than in the last war and the principle might also be applied to individuals. Capital levies might ultimately become necessary in a prolonged conflict.

Bogota

What really happened in Bogota remains something of a mystery. There is a feeling that General Marshall may have spoken prematurely in blaming the Communists for the revolt without buttressing his statement with documented facts. Evidence that the revolt was Communist inspired and directed appears circumstantial. Revolt in Latin American countries has not been uncommon. Bitter political and economic differences between the Conservative and Liberal parties plus conflict within the Liberal party stemming from the 1946 elections

in Columbia, were certainly important factors in the eruption. Whether the relatively small Communist group in Columbia engineered the acute resentments into open revolt at a time calculated to be of greatest embarrassment to this country, is an unanswered question. That they took advantage of a situation to promote chaos seems evident. In any case, it is felt that concentration on the Communist menace in Latin America should not blind us to the real economic and social problems besetting our neighbors to the South.

March 29, 1948

Dear Milo:

Many thanks for yours of the 9th and for the copy of Poage's speech on margarine.

It was good seeing you again; let me know when next you are in town.

As ever yours,

Mr. Milo Perkins
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

March 9, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I want you to know how very much Tharon and I enjoyed lunch with you last week. Let's do it more often. The next time we hope that the four of us can be together and that your little girl will be well again.

In your broadcast last night you mentioned the oleo-butter squabble, and this morning a friend of mine sent me a copy of a speech on the subject which is really pretty fascinating reading if you ever get time to get to it.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Milo

Enc.
MP/ss

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Anti-Margarine Legislation—An Unjust and Inflationary Discrimination Against a Wholesome Food

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 14, 1948

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill for the repeal of all Federal taxes and license fees on margarine. These antimargarine laws, in one form or another, have been on the statute books for years. The butter lobby has managed to defeat every effort to put margarine on the same basis as any other nutritious and perfectly good food product. However, I have predicted on many occasions in the past, and I now renew that prediction, that the Federal antimargarine laws eventually will be repealed. They are unfair and unjust. In a democracy history shows such class legislation is repealed once the public has become thoroughly informed on the issue.

And right here let me say that the margarine issue is not a sectional issue. It should not be a partisan issue. The proposal to repeal the antimargarine laws is not an attack upon the dairy industry, or even upon the butter industry, as my colleagues to my left have in the past seemed to assume. In years past this reform has been blocked by the almost united opposition of Republican Members of Congress. They pleaded that they were protecting the butter industry. Before the war they could make the contention with some plausibility; that it might be possible to supply the American people with enough butter to meet their needs for a wholesome table spread, although this never has been done.

Today even the butter manufacturers themselves have to admit that it is impossible to supply adequate milk for America's children and at the same time supply enough butter for America's tables at any price. The issue now is: Will we deny our citizens a wholesome table spread which the butter industry cannot supply? I do not believe my Republican friends will continue to insist on keeping this legislation on the books. I would welcome their cooperation in a completely nonpartisan effort to aid all consumers, to help millions of farmers, and to strike a blow for free enterprise and equal treatment for all by repealing the discriminatory margarine laws.

The conditions which served as an excuse for the first antimargarine laws have changed, even though the laws still are in effect. The first oleomargarine was a poorly made product by comparison with modern margarine It imitated butter, but it was not nearly as nutritious as butter, and it was made in some instances under unsanitary conditions.

When the original Federal antimargarine laws were enacted, there were no Federal and State pure-food laws. As all of you know, both the Federal Government and the States have enacted comprehensive and adequate pure-food laws since that time. Among them is the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938. Under it, an official definition and standard of identity for margarine was adopted by the United States Food and Drug Administration in 1941. Margarine which is made according to this standard, and 100 percent of it is so made, has a minimum fat content of 80 percent and a minimum of 9,000 United States Pharmacopoeia units of vitamin A per pound. Ninety-nine percent of all margarine now is fortified with 15,000 units of vitamin A, the content always being indicated on the label.

I do not think that even the persons who contend that the antimargarine laws should be continued will deny that modern margarine is a nutritious and high-quality food. For anyone still doubtful, I refer them to a report on margarine by the New York Academy

of Medicine, a Report on Margarine by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council and the verdict of many other nutrition groups and nutrition experts.

The Federal antimargarine legislation is the keystone in the almost Nationwide legislative structure built up against margarine. So long as the Federal Government gives its blessing to discrimination against margarine, we can expect State laws against margarine to continue.

Charges that margarine was sold under fraudulent conditions and that it was an unhealthy product were the arguments used to push through the first margarine laws in 1886. Some Congressmen argued logically that the Government should go directly to the heart of the matter through pure-food laws instead of using the taxing power against a domestic product. The interests pressing for legislation did not like this suggestion. The thought that a tax on margarine, coupled with regulations for the labeling of margarine as such, would kill the product. Their aim all along has been to kill margarine, or to cripple it until it no longer interfered with butter. That is the aim today of the group which insists on perpetuation of the antimargarine laws.

Recently I examined the debates and hearings which accompanied the passage of the three Federal antimargarine laws, the first in 1886, the second in 1901, and the third and last in 1931. They confirmed something which has been apparent all along—that the antimargarine laws are class legislation; that they were intended to kill one domestic product for the benefit of a competitive domestic product, and that they have failed in their purpose. Margarine has increased its production in spite of the strenuous efforts to legislate it out of existence. But the antimargarine laws have been costly. They have set a most vicious precedent. All through the years, they have forced the low-income groups to pay a higher price for their table spreads. Finally, the price of butter has risen to such fantastic heights that the majority of American families are low-income groups so far as butter is concerned. Almost everybody uses some margarine, but housewives, if they prefer to serve it yellow, as most do, are forced to waste time and effort in mixing in the color. It has been estimated that from sixteen to eighteen million pounds of margarine were wasted last year in the mixing process and that more than 88,000,000 hours were required to do the work.

As might have been expected, the enactment of the first Federal antimargarine law was preceded by a huge meeting of dairymen in New York City. As described by Representative Scott of Pennsylvania, the convention was composed of representatives from 26 States. They decided to seek legislation to remedy what Congressman Scott called the traffic in oleomargarine. As a result of this and similar meetings, Congress was flooded with memorials urging antimargarine laws.

Despite the pressure, the charges of fraud and unsanitary oleomargarine had to be repeated over and over again to get the measure through the House by a 177 to 101 vote.

For example, listen to Representative Scott in the House on May 24, 1886:

> Within a period of less than 10 years a gigantic traffic has grown up which has already displaced one-fifth of butter and substituted therefor an article, the ingredients of which are acknowledged to be not only offensive in their original character to human taste but positively injurious to the public health. * * * The genius which has succeeded by the application of chemical fluids and compounds in transferring a mass of loathsome and unwholesome ingredients into an article of food at a trifling cost does not hesitate to impose the produce upon the public and receive in the way of excessive profits the difference between the cost and the price of butter.

Although the oleomargarine bill was, on its face, a revenue measure, it was never seriously considered as a money-raising bill during congressional debate.

> I have no desire—

Senator Miller, of New York, said—

> to introduce such a bill for taxation. I want no money from this bill in the Treasury. I want protection to the dairy industry of New York. I want it to go as far as to exterminate the rival industry, if necessary.

This brings to mind that an editorial on June 18, 1941, in the Dairy Record, a magazine representing the dairy industry, said:

> The dairy industry must set as its goal the complete extermination of oleomargarine. It must never rest until the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine have been outlawed in this country.

Senator Miller admitted frankly that—

This—

The 1886 statute—

doubtless is a new species of legislation, or largely so, in this country and under our system. But the exigencies of the occasion seem so great that this body cannot afford to ignore them.

I am indeed thankful that the precedent established by this first law has been confined to margarine. Otherwise, there would have been economic chaos in these United States long ago. Cotton would have placed a tax on rayon, lard a tax on vegetable shortening, and so on, through an endless list.

Time and time again in the 1886 debate the assertion was made that margarine would not sell if it were known as margarine. This apparently was taken for granted by even the defenders of margarine.

Representative Frederick, of Iowa, said:

The fact is, as shown by all the testimony, that it—

Margarine—

will not sell when known.

President Cleveland expressed a similar belief in signing the bill. The foes of margarine felt that they had put the quietus on margarine, butter's competitor, and were satisfied.

It looked for a time as if they had succeeded. In 1887 the production of margarine dropped to approximately 20,000,000 pounds. It had been estimated that at least 200,000,000 pounds of margarine annually were being manufactured before the law went into effect. Despite that first sharp decrease, the production of oleomargarine by 1889 had increased to 83,000,000 pounds.

The butter interests saw they had not killed margarine. In 1901, they again took their case to the Federal Government. This time they attacked margarine on the grounds that it should not be allowed to be colored yellow.

The fact that there was almost no reference to the color issue in 1886 did not deter them. When the first Federal margarine law went through Congress there was no claim that butter had any preemptive right to use yellow to the exclusion of oleomargarine. I could find but one reference to color in the 1886 debates. Representative Henderson, of Iowa, did propose that oleomargarine be colored pink. His argument, however, was that this was necessary to prevent fraud. He set up no claim that butter had an exclusive right to yellow.

The 1886 statute imposed a tax of 2 cents a pound on all oleomargarine, but it did not differentiate between the colored and uncolored product. In addition, it defined butter as the product of the cow and defined all other table spreads as oleomargarine. License fees were placed on manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers, and there were various labeling and packaging requirements and requirements also for the keeping of records.

The 1901 Federal statute reduced the tax on uncolored margarine to one-fourth cent and levied a tax of 10 cents a pound on colored margarine. There was a section which applied the laws of a State with regard to oleomargarine to oleomargarine shipped into the State. At the time, 32 States prohibited the sale of colored margarine, most of these statutes having been enacted after the butter industry saw that the 1886 Federal statute and other State laws would not kill their competition.

In 1901, the health argument figured very little. By that time, admittedly, most margarine had become a healthful and nutritious product.

By and large, the proponents of an amended law centered their case on alleged frauds. They claimed that most oleomargarine still was sold as butter. The majority report from the House Agriculture Committee said that four-fifths of the colored oleomargarine made was so sold despite the legal prohibition against such sales. This statement was challenged in a minority report, signed by six members and the gentleman from New York, Chairman Wadsworth. The gentleman from New York, Representative Wadsworth, stated that that fraud practice was largely done by retail dealers in butter. The gentleman from Mississippi, Representative John Sharp Williams, quoted the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, charged with enforcement of the 1886 act, as saying that no more than 5 percent of oleomargarine was sold as butter.

The minority report, read by the gentleman from New York, Representative Wadsworth, flatly charged that the real object of the legislation was to destroy the oleomargarine industry. He quoted a statement by a Mr. Adams, pure food commissioner of Wisconsin, before the

House Agriculture Committee, which said:

There is no use beating about the bush in this matter. We want to pass this law and drive the oleomargarine manufacturers out of business.

He quoted also a statement by Charles Y. Knight, secretary of the National Dairymen's Union, in a letter to the Virginia dairymen, dated March 18, 1900:

Now is the time for you to clip the fangs o' the mighty octopus of the oleomargarine manufacturers who are ruining the dairy interests of the country by manufacturing and selling, in defiance of law, a spurious article in imitation of pure butter.

The gentleman from New York, Representative Wadsworth, also called attention to an utterance by W. D. Hoard, ex-Governor of Wisconsin, and at that time president of the National Dairymen's Union, before the House committee. Mr. Hoard said:

It is provided that a tax of 10 cents a pound shall be imposed on all oleomargarine in the color or semblance of butter. In plain words, this is repressive taxation.

Representative Wadsworth's reaction to this confession was as follows:

Just here the minority of the Agriculture Committee parted company with the National Dairymen's Union, for we do not believe that the Congress ought to ruin one American industry to benefit another. And that is just the object sought by these men by their own confession.

The objective of the bill also was summed up boldly by Representative Grout, of Vermont, sponsor of the House measure. He said:

Most of the 38 oleomargarine factories now running will make room for 1,000,000 additional cows and the butter maker whose business now suffers from this competition will feel the relief as from a nightmare and will rejoice that he is at last permitted to reap the fruits of honest toil and the whole American people will be thankful that they are released at last from this oily monster which now lurks for entrance into every household, and for a place at every table.

It—

Oleomargarine—

may suit the stomach of the average workingman but it is true that it is not assimilated by the delicate.

From the fact that 700,000,000 pounds of margarine was consumed in this country in 1947, it is evident that Representative Grout did not have the gift of prophecy.

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The minority report clearly summed up the heart of this issue in a statement which is as true today as it was almost 50 years ago. The report said:

Congress is being asked to ruin one industry to benefit another and this, in the opinion of the minority is the thing Congress ought not to do. The minority believes it to be class legislation of the most pronounced kind and it would establish a precedent which, if followed, would create monopolies, destroy competition and militate against the public good.

As I have stated previously, it is indeed fortunate that the precedent has not been followed. Nevertheless, the legislation, most unsavory in character, remains. It is time to get rid of it.

I told the House previously that the color issue, the chief talking point today of the butter lobby, was not raised in 1886. The butter spokesmen embraced this line of reasoning after they discovered that taxing and labeling oleomargarine left it still very much alive. The 1901 discussion has a strangely modern sound and I would like to quote some pertinent passages. It shows that butter's claim that it has an exclusive right to use yellow is as full of holes as the most perforated piece of cheese.

The case for butter was made by that champion of the dairy industry, Representative Grout. He said:

The trouble all comes from giving it—

Margarine—

a color not its own, but the color of butter—always yellow. The oleomargarine men complain because butter is sometimes colored but the coloring of butter only intensifies a little its natural color—the color that belongs to it, the color by which the world knows it, the color that this false product seeks in order that it may palm itself off for butter. * * *

We know that to meet a varying taste coloring matter is introduced into butter. I, myself, think it a foolish practice. I think that the taste of anyone which requires artificial coloring matter in butter is an abnormal and perverted taste.

Representative Wadsworth replied to Representative Grout in words which I cannot hope to improve. Anyone who really believes that butter has some sort of sacred claim to yellow will read his words closely. They are as true today as they were almost half a century ago. This is what Mr. Wadsworth said:

It is claimed by the extreme butter men that yellow is the natural butter color and that practically no other food product has the right to use it. If that claim is true,

what shade of yellow is it entitled to? * * * It is only in the months of May and June, and I speak as a practical butter maker myself when I make the assertion, that creamery butter, and that, of course, is the butter of commerce, has a decided yellow color or tint and that color disappears entirely or almost so when the fall and winter sets in. * * * Here are samples of butter purchased by me this morning and no two are alike. As a matter of fact, every sample is artificially colored. * * *

I deny that butter has the copyright, patent right, or any other right to any particular color, whether yellow or otherwise. * * * If coloring oleomargarine a shade of yellow helps to perpetrate a fraud, then the coloring of butter is actually a fraud because it makes the consumer believe, and necessarily, that fall or winter or white butter of any season of the year is June butter, which is generally considered the best.

Representative Williams, of Mississippi, who became nationally known for his wit and ability when in the Senate later, summed it up trenchantly:

Now what is butter color? Why, it runs all the way from a pure white in the hill country of Mississippi and the piney districts of the United States—almost as white as this piece of paper I hold in my hand—to as red a color as that which used to be the glory of the Goshen butter manufactured in Pennsylvania, the butter which had the widest reputation and the largest sale of any in the country and which everybody who was able to secure, desired for his table. * * *

If they are going to tax uncolored oleomargarine why do they not tax uncolored butter and if they are going to tax colored margarine out of existence, why do they not also tax colored butter out of existence and let everything stand on its own basis of color without artificial incentive to the buyer and without any sort of attempt at deceit?

Despite the convincing arguments of those who held that no food product holds an exclusive right to any particular color, the dairy lobby again prevailed. Butter, by action of Congress, was in effect, granted a preemptive right to yellow as against margarine.

Once again it seemed that butter had dealt margarine a fatal blow.

In 1901, per capita consumption of margarine had been 1.6 pounds, according to the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Department of Agriculture. In 1902, it fell to nine-tenths. The following 3 years it was constant at six-tenths—or slightly more than half a pound a person.

But this decrease in margarine consumption was not accompanied by a corresponding rise in butter consumption. The low-income groups decreased their purchases of margarine but they did not increase butter purchases, probably because they could not afford to.

In 1902, butter consumption was 17.5 pounds per person as compared with 19.9 pounds per person in 1901, a decline of more than 2 pounds per capita. During the next 3 years, when margarine was being consumed at a little more than one-third of its 1901 rate, butter consumption still showed no compensating increase. As a matter of fact—and I hope those gentlemen who have been influenced by the contention that it is necessary to keep these laws against margarine in order to protect the dairy industry from ruin will follow me closely—not once, not in one single year, since the drastic antimargarine legislation of 1901 was passed has per capita butter consumption reached the peak it achieved in 1900—the year before the legislation was passed. In that year the American public consumed 20.1 pounds of butter per person. It has never been that high since.

Today, nearly a half a century after the passage of this most drastic of the antimargarine laws, butter consumption is estimated at less than 12 pounds per person per year.

As time went on, two processes were developed for manufacturing a naturally colored margarine which, inasmuch as it was free from artificial coloration, could be sold at the one-fourth-cent tax rate per pound. In 1929 the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, charged with enforcement of the antimargarine legislation, ruled that palm oil and soybean oil could be introduced into margarine without paying the almost prohibitive 10-cents-a-pound tax. These naturally colored oils gave the margarine a yellowish tint.

And then the butter interests moved in again.

They had, they thought, established an effective monopoly on yellow as the color of their table spread. They know that housewives prefer their table spread yellow, just as they prefer oranges yellow. Color tastes, so far as foods are concerned, are matters of conditioning and habits. We want certain foods colored certain ways and, knowing this, food manufacturers use artificial color, if that is necessary, to give the customer what he wants. But butter is the only food

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which seeks, by law, to prevent a competitor from using a color.

In 1931 butter again attempted to drive margarine from the competitive market, by seeing to it that margarine could not be colored, naturally or otherwise, without payment of a penalty.

A bill was passed amending the 1901 act, which had placed a tax of 10 cents a pound on artificially colored oleomargarine. It provided that, thereafter, all margarine should be held to be yellow in color when it was a tint or shade containing more than 1.6° of yellow, or yellow and red collectively, and subject to the 10-cent tax. By this amendment colored margarine produced from oils naturally yellow, as well as artificially colored margarine, was brought within the more drastic taxing and licensing provisions of the Federal margarine law.

Henceforth, domestic cottonseed and soya-bean oil—both of which contain some yellow color in their natural state—would have to be bleached before being used in the making of margarine.

Butter was now, it seemed, to own yellow as a table spread color—or at least 98.4 percent of it.

Now, in 1886, as we have seen, the butter interests established special privileges for butter as against margarine by claiming that they were thereby protecting the public from fraud and from an unhealthy food product. In 1901, their charges of impurity against margarine having been dissipated, they advanced once more behind a smokescreen, crying "fraud."

In 1931, their original purpose—to drastically curb or eliminate butter's competition—as strong as ever, they shifted ground once more. Margarine was being made with foreign oil, they said, to the detriment of American farmers. The fight was described as a battle between United States dairy farmers and "the coconut cow" referring to oil made from coconuts.

It was true that large quantities of palm oil and coconut oil were at that time being imported into the country and used in making margarine. But it is also true that considerable quantities of oleo and cottonseed oil were also going into the manufacture of margarine.

In 1931 the butter industry came out into the open. Their spokesmen said frankly that their first purpose was to protect the butter industry.

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Senator Townsend, of Delaware, summarized the whole history of antimargarine legislation when he said:

> The record of the proceedings of Congress during the debates of this act will convince any reader that the intent of the enactment was to protect the dairy interests.

Then he went on to mention Alexander Legge, Chairman of the Federal Farm Board, who, in testimony before the Agricultural Committee, he said, "was especially insistent that palm oil be embargoed on the ground that it displaces American dairy products."

However—

Senator Townsend continued, with what, I am happy to say now, was considerable foresight—

> it is my opinion that an embargo or a tariff will not relieve the situation permanently, for science will discover something that will take the place of palm oil unless the law is strengthened with respect to color in oleomargarine.

Science, as you know, did just that, even though "the law was strengthened." Margarine was further improved and fortified with vitamin A until today it is the nutritional equal in every way of butter.

It is hard to put a halter around ingenuity and enterprise as the butter interests have found out. In our economy it is hard to stifle competition. But the butter lobby tried again, and again, and again.

With a frankness matching that of the Senate sponsor, Representative Brigham, of Vermont, said:

> The unrestrained sale of oleomargarine, costing as it does less than one-fourth the cost of dairy butter, will drive dairy farmers out of business.

There was, as has so often been the case, nothing in the record to support this oft-reiterated assertion. Restrictive legislation against margarine, as we have seen, had not helped the dairy industry. It had merely hurt the margarine industry and the people, mostly in the low-income groups, who use margarine.

Today antimargarine legislation is simply one more factor in adding to the high cost of living and in promoting inflation.

What happened after the passage of the 1931 act? Margarine consumption dropped again. Agriculture Department figures show that the per capita consumption of margarine declined from 2.6

in 1930 to 1.9 in 1931 and 1.6 the following year. Butter consumption fluctuated within narrow limits. It rose from 17.2 in 1930 to 18.0 in 1931 and 18.1 the following year. Then it dropped to 17.8, rallied briefly to 18.2, and the following year, 1935, it was 17.1—one-tenth of a pound lower than it had been in 1930, the year before the last Federal antimargarine law was passed.

After 1935 per capita butter consumption dropped to 16.4, where it remained until 1940, when it rallied briefly, but then it fell steadily again. In 1946 it was around 10½ pounds per person. Last year butter consumption is estimated to have been approximately 11½ pounds per capita. Compare this figure with the high of 20.1 pounds of butter consumed per person in 1900 and the all-time high of 22.2 pounds in 1896, and ask yourselves again if protection—however drastic—has really benefited the butter industry.

I see no indication that the production of butter will rise at any time in the near future. More and more, dairy farmers are realizing that the most profitable sale of their product is as fluid milk. A sale as butter is the least profitable, a point which I hope to develop at greater length later on.

Butter is not the only industry which has tried to use the law to kill off its competition. There are similar instances on record. The English wool industry secured legislation against calico years ago. I want to digress here a moment to tell you what happened in this instance, for the case has many aspects similar to the butter-margarine controversy.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially, wool was the great English industry—more important even in that country's economy than the dairy industry has ever been in the United States. Thousands of sheep, grazing on the green English countryside, produced the finest wool in the world and this was spun and woven into cloth of the highest quality by the cottage weavers. And then the Government, jealous of the superior quality of English wool, moved to protect it from any possible competition by forbidding the export of raw wool. It was feared apparently that foreign hands might prove as skillful in the weaving of the cloth as English hands, and that the finished product would then compete with English woolens. To increase wool's use, a law was passed that funeral shrouds must be wool.

Thus, for more than 120 years—

Leggett tells us in his Story of Wool—

it was illegal to bury a person in any other shroud or covering than pure English wool.

Not everybody liked this kind of legislation. As was said at the time: "This law forces our dead to consume what the living were inadequate to purchase."

Late in the seventeenth century calico prints began to appear in the English market. They were not hand-woven in a thousand scattered cottages as was English wool. They were machine-made—by primitive machines, it is true, but nevertheless the products of imagination and enterprise. The cloth was poor in comparison with wool. At first only the very, very poor bought calico.

But where the wool growers were complacent, the calico makers were enterprising. The quality of the cloth improved. More people bought the cheap cotton substitute for wool. And then calico began to be manufactured in England.

The Government moved to protect its greatest industry. It placed a tariff upon imported calico and a heavy tax on its domestic manufacture. It was a discriminatory tax—like the tax on margarine—favoring one domestic industry at the expense of another. This kind of internal tariff is a rare thing in Anglo-Saxon history, almost unprecedented. Its two most painful examples, and saddest failures, are the tax on calico to favor wool and the tax on margarine to favor butter.

What happened in the latter instance also happened in the first. Wool, like butter, won little or no advantage; the calico and printed-goods industry, like the margarine industry, was hurt, but it did not die. And then, in 1700, Parliament acted again in behalf of its "petted and pampered trade," as a contemporary critic referred to the wool industry. It prohibited the selling of cotton goods in England and, 12 years later, it forbade the weaving of cotton goods and placed a fine of $25 on the weavers and $100 on the venders.

But enterprise is hard to kill, and, try as they would, the wool industry could not kill calico.

The woolen manufacturers went so far as to hire Daniel Defoe, the great

novelist, as a public-relations man. Defoe's assignment, for which he was well paid, Leggett says, was "to prepare a pamphlet making sport of chintz and calico."

Defoe assumed the task with all the ardor of a dairy spokesman attacking margarine.

Chintzes—

He said—

were advanced from being upon the floor to the backs, from footcloths to petticoats. * * * We see persons of quality dressed in India carpets which, but a few years before, their chambermaids would have thought too ordinary for them.

Another law, passed by Parliament in 1720, was a measure of the failure of the earlier restrictive legislation in behalf of wool against calico. It was the most drastic of all and prohibited the purchase and use of "printed, painted calicoes, the wearing of which manifestly tends to the great detriment of the woolen manufacturers of the Kingdom."

It would appear that this should have been enough, once and for all, to kill the competition of cotton with wool, and hence, as its proponents thought, to save the wool industry.

But, as Leggett points out, the wool industry "while sheltered from the economic stress of foreign competition, was to a large extent stagnant at home. For many decades no new fabrics or designs were developed. As late as the eighteenth century woolen yarn was still being spun and woven by hand in the homes of weavers."

Wool, like the butter industry, was too complacent, too content to rest on the mythical protection of restrictive laws against its competitor. It was old fashioned. It had been slow to develop new processes and new techniques. It suffered accordingly.

But neither the wool industry nor the manufacture of cotton cloth perished in England. There was a place for both; a market for both. Eventually the costly wasteful, prowool, anticalico laws were repealed and that place and that market were found, both for wool and for cotton.

The woolen manufacturers, faced with vital competition, replaced the cottage industry with factories and developed new machines. And cotton, at long last, won the same right to be worn by the living—and even the dead in shrouds—as wool enjoyed.

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I sincerely hope that this Congress will write the same ending to the discriminatory antimargarine laws as the English Parliament long ago wrote to the anticalico laws.

I have already stated that dairy farmers are more and more coming to realize that the most profitable sale of their product is fluid milk and that the least profitable is butter.

This realization upon the part of the farmer is shown by the decline in butter production and a corresponding increase in milk production during the past 10 years. Butter production dropped from a prewar—1937-41—annual average of 2,200,000,000 pounds to 1,500,000,000 pounds in 1946. During the same period, milk production increased from a prewar—1937-41—average of about 108,000,000,000 pounds to about 120,000,000,000 pounds in 1946.

Despite the increase in the production of whole milk, the United States Department of Agriculture reports that there is still not nearly enough milk to supply the people of this country at the high level of consumption of 1941, a level which nutritionists say is highly desirable. To achieve this health goal, 657 pounds of milk or its equivalent per capita is required, compared to the estimated 1947 supply of 430 pounds, of which 403 pounds is fluid milk or cream. To fill the gap of 227 pounds per capita approximately 5,800,000 additional dairy cows would be needed at the 1946 high rate of production per cow.

What caused the dairy farmer to divert more and more of his product from butter production to whole milk?

It was the simple fact that he got more money for one than for the other.

The average price paid for milk sold as fluid milk or cream during the 10-year period, 1936-46, was about 74 cents per pound; for butterfat, about 37 cents per pound. The prices paid for milk for use in ice cream, cheese and other products fell between these two levels.

In other words it was twice as profitable during this period for the dairy farmer to sell his milk for whole milk use as it was for him to divert it to butter manufacture.

As a result butter today is a minor factor in farm cash income and in the income of dairymen themselves. Farm cash income amounted to $24,519,000,000 in 1946. Butter and butterfat contributed about 2 percent of this amount.

Farm cash income from all dairy products in 1946 amounted to $3,716,000,000. Of this total, butterfat and farm churned butter accounted for $549,000,000, or 14.7 percent. It is interesting to compare this last figure with the percent of their milk which dairy farmers diverted to butterfat use, which I cited earlier. This comparison shows that, although dairy farmers in 1946 disposed of 23.35 percent of their milk for butterfat, their income from that amount was only 14.17 percent of their total income from milk.

An examination of the use of dairy products as milk or butterfat throughout the country reveals that in certain sections butter is such a minor factor in the dairy industry as to make the claim of the butter lobby that the industry's continued prosperity depends upon the suppression of margarine an absurdity.

In 1946, for example, the northeastern region, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the New England States—produced over 18,000,000,000 pounds of milk. Of this amount, only 3.61 percent was disposed of as butterfat.

All indications are that butter will become increasingly less important in the over-all dairy picture. I have read recently a very significant speech by W. A. Wentworth, vice president of the Borden Co., at a meeting of the Minnesota Ice Cream Manufacturers Association in St. Paul. Mr. Wentworth dealt in figures, not emotion and prejudice, and these figures clearly indicate to me that butter is likely to become less and less important to dairymen.

Mr. Wentworth pointed out that in the prewar years, 1935 to 1939, an average of 58,515,000,000 pounds of milk was used in the production of fluid milk and cream, cheese, ice cream, evaporated milk, condensed milk, and whole milk powder. In 1947 approximately 84,640,000,000 pounds of milk were used in the production of fluid milk and cream, cheese, and the other whole-milk products mentioned. To state it another way, 56 percent went into the whole-milk products before the war; 70 percent of the milk produced is being used for the listed products now.

On the other hand, Nation-wide butter production in 1947 will approximate 1,700,000,000 pounds, which is 22 percent less than the average annual production of 1935–39. If the population increase is taken into account, the per capita consumption of butter is 31 percent less than that of 1935–39; or in other words, only about two-thirds as much butter per capita was available in 1947 as in the prewar period mentioned.

Mr. Wentworth points out that if sufficient butter were produced to make prewar per capita consumption possible, that 13,500,000,000 pounds more milk would have gone into butter in 1947. This is nearly one-fourth of the expected sales of fluid milk and cream. He points out that if the 13,500,000,000 pounds were diverted into butter that the total volume of milk for fluid milk and cream sales would have to be reduced to the volume consumed annually in 1935–39. On a per capita basis, consumption would be substantially lower now than in the prewar years.

From a nutritional standpoint and from the standpoint of the dairyman, this shift from fluid milk and cream sales into butter production is undesirable.

What the trend away from butter production and increase in the consumption of fluid milk and whole milk products means is strikingly emphasized in Minnesota. Ten years ago, approximately 77 percent of Minnesota's milk production went into the manufacture of creamery butter. But in 1946 only 42 percent of the milk produced in Minnesota was used in the manufacture of creamery butter.

The proportionately large production of butter in prewar years indicated in reality a waste of milk—a huge quantity of skim milk being fed to animals—to the loss both of the consumer and the dairyman.

There still is entirely too much thinking in the terms of scarcity economics in some dairy industry circles. Some people still regard butter production as a possible refuge for the industry if income declines and people are forced to curtail milk consumption. On the other hand, the increasing awareness of the value of milk from a nutritional and health standpoint would tend to keep milk consumption comparatively high even if there should be a business recession.

The real interest of the dairy industry lies in expanding its market for fluid milk and in selling its extremely valuable products in ever increasing quantities at reasonable prices. This is in the best interests of the industry and of the Nation as a whole. It is evident, therefore, that dairymen no longer are dependent upon butter and that butter will be less and less important to the industry.

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There will continue to be, of course, a market for butter. It is preferred by many people and always will continue to be regardless of the fact that margarine is as good nutritionally and will sell for a cheaper price. But the dairy industry as a whole will not be hurt if margarine greatly expands its present market. In fact, it will be helped if it pursues a statesmanlike course and also expands its markets in its most profitable field, that of whole fluid milk and whole milk products.

It is interesting to observe that, for the most part, the greatest butter production is in those areas where the soybean industry represents an increasingly important part of the farmer's income: Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and Kansas—to mention a few.

Are the gentlemen who represent the people of these States going to say to the soybean farmers, who produce almost 45 percent of the oil used in margarine, "This food, into which so much of your product goes and upon which your livelihood so largely depends, is not worthy to compete in a free American market with butter. We are going to continue to restrict it and curb it and hamper it."

For more than a half a century that is what has been said by this Congress to the cotton farmers of the South whose cottonseed oil was used in margarine.

The cotton farmers protested in vain. Their protests were drowned out by the clamor of the butter interests demanding protection and special privilege for their product. The butter interests were well organized and they threatened vengeance on any Congressman who wanted to do the fair and right thing.

And so butter, like wool in England, remained a "petted and pampered" industry. But the butter industry was not the gainer. There was no gainer. There were only losers—the low-income consumers, the workingmen, the cotton, soybean and livestock farmers and the country as a whole.

What this vicious discrimination against margarine means to the poor farmer of the South has been well stated by Oscar Johnston, president of the National Cotton Council, in testimony before a Senate Agriculture Subcommittee in June 1944. He pointed out that it was the poorest farmers, the sharecroppers and the tenants, upon whom these antimargarine laws laid the heaviest burden. The mortage against the tenant's crop, drawn to assure payment of funds advanced him to make the crop, ordinarily did not cover cottonseed.

The seed, he testified, frequently provided the source of income on which the farmer lives.

The discrimination against margarine has curtailed the use of cottonseed, has decreased their value and thereby has taken millions of dollars out of the pockets of the neediest farmers in America.

The butter industry would have you believe that the fight over margarine is still largely a fight between the cotton producing South and the dairy industry. The consumer of course has been ignored because he was unorganized.

But, as I have indicated, this is no longer a struggle between the cotton South and the butter interests, even if we do not take the consumer into account.

The soybean farmers, many of them living in the Middle West, are in this fight, too, standing side by side with the cotton farmers, demanding that these unfair antimargarine laws be wiped out.

Ersel Walley, president of the American Soybean Association, recently made this statement:

> Modern margarine is a clean, nutritious, widely accepted product of American farms. It is the only food product on the American market upon which specific discriminatory taxation has been levied. This discrimination should be removed as quickly as possible.

In the 10-year period between 1936 and 1946, soybean production in the United States rose from 33,000,000 bushels to 196,000,000 bushels. In 1936, the value of soybeans harvested for beans was estimated at $520,000,000. In 1946 the value was even higher.

In Iowa, a leading dairy State, cash receipts for soybeans produced in 1946 were two-thirds of all dairy products. The Iowa crop of harvested soybeans sold for $82,182,000; all Iowa dairy products, for $123,752,000.

The value of soybeans produced in Illinois in 1946 amounted to $183,243,000; dairy products to $146,022,000. In Illinois the value of the soybean crop is $37,000,000 greater than the value of dairy products.

The Indiana soybean crop was worth $56,897,000; the Missouri crop—$34,290,000; and the Minnesota crop—$22,172,000.

I do not think all the Members of this House are fully aware of the tremendous importance of the soybean industry to this country, of its amazing development

and growth, and of its value to the farmers of their own and other districts. I have assembled some of this information and will be glad to give it to any Member who is interested in it.

There are districts I could cite in the so-called heart of the butter country where soybeans are a more important source of income to the farmer than butter. And without a profitable market for the oil which comes from the soybean, the farmer cannot economically produce that crop. I shall only add that in 1946, soybeans contributed $600,000,000 to the farm income of the Middle West alone.

Soybeans are very important in the whole food picture. For example, soybeans are an important source of protein feed—essential for the production of meat, dairy products, and eggs.

Soybean oil meal, as Mr. Walley points out, today leaves the processing plants at approximately the same price per pound as is paid for wheat or corn by live stock feeders.

Yet—and it is important that the Members of this House understand this fact—one pound of soybean oil meal will replace from 3 to 4 pounds of corn in the livestock ration, and will, therefore, help alleviate the critical grain shortage.

The expanded use of soybean oil meal by livestock feeders thus offers a way to meet the needs of the hungry peoples of Europe and of our own people, and, at the same time, benefit the American farmer.

But—and I want to stress this point—in order to get the soybean meal to the chickens and the cattle economically there must be a profitable market for the oil which is crushed out of the bean before it becomes meal.

The ability of the soybean industry to produce protein meal on an efficient basis—

Mr. Walley says—

is contingent upon profitable usage of soybean oil. This means that soybean oil, unhampered by outmoded restrictions, must go into food products in increasing quantities over a period of years.

I said earlier that the interests of the consumers had been largely ignored on this question in the past because consumers were unorganized. But I am sure no Member of Congress believes today that, with butter selling around a dollar a pound, that consumers are indifferent to the situation created by these discriminatory laws. If anyone doubts what I say, make your own poll of housewives. You will find that they are overwhelmingly in favor of legislation which will enable them to buy margarine already colored.

These taxes and license fees on margarine are direct levies upon the consumer's pocketbook. They add to the high cost of living at a time when one of the country's chief concerns is inflationary prices.

Since 1939 the over-all cost of living has increased 60 percent. In 1939, according to the Department of Agriculture, the weekly food bill for an average household amounted to slightly more than $6. In October 1947 it was more than $12. Today it is even higher.

It is little wonder that housewives, anxiously trying to stretch their food budgets are demanding margarine at the grocery stores of the country. And yet, due to these Federal—and State—anti-margarine laws, more than half the grocery stores in the United Statse do not sell margarine, either colored or uncolored.

These are mostly the small independent stores, operating on little capital, afraid or unable to pay the fees and meet the other restrictive requirements of the law. And these are, generally the stores patronized by the lower-income groups whose need for an economical supply of vitamin-giving fat foods is greatest.

Margarine or butter is essential in the individual diet. The same Federal Government that tries to strangle margarine with taxes and fees lists it as one of the seven basic foods. And yet combined margarine and butter consumption for 1947 is estimated at only 16 pounds per person, considerably below previous nutritional levels.

Only one retail grocer in a hundred sells colored margarine; this is due, it is true, to State as well as Federal laws. But even in those States where only Federal fees and taxes operate to restrict the sale of colored margarine less than 1 store in 20 sells it.

The housewife wants to serve margarine yellow. This is a matter of food tastes and food habits. Butter meets the consumer preference by using artificial coloring without penalty. The housewife has to mix the coloring and margarine herself.

This is a time-consuming and wasteful process. From 2 to 2½ percent of the margarine is lost in the process of mixing, thus about sixteen to eighteen million

pounds were wasted in 1947. It is also a totally unnecessary process. There is no reason, except these discriminatory laws, why all margarine should not be colored in the factory and sold to the consumers as they want it.

Yes, the antimargarine laws have their place in the total inflationary picture.

And right here, I want to repeat my hope that the leaders of the Republican Party will not, as they have generally done in the past, make a party issue out of this struggle to repeal the antimargarine laws. In the past, efforts to get legislation to repeal the antimargarine laws have met the united opposition of the Republicans. This state of affairs could not happen if the Republican leaders had been sympathetic to repeal. This effort to give long overdue justice to the farmers who produce domestic oils, and to the makers of margarine, and to the consumers, should be bipartisan. I do not see how either the Republican or Democratic leadership can afford to identify themselves as standing against the repeal of vicious, inflationary, un-American class legislation.

Unfortunately, some of the measures taken by the Republican leadership of this Congress have, in my opinion, contributed materially to the rising cost of living. This is not the place or time for a bill of particulars on this subject. I repeat that in this instance where the issues are startlingly clear once they are examined squarely, I hope that right-thinking men in both parties will join together. The Eightieth Congress will bring credit upon itself and do the entire country a service if it tears out these antimargarine laws by the roots and flings them where they belong—upon the scrap heap of oblivion.

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1949

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

November 13, 1947

Dear Milo:

Many thanks for yours of the 10th and for your comments on the food situation. I am right now in a frenzy of preparation for a trip to London the end of this week, but I am looking forward to reading your notes when I return.

As ever yours,

Mr. Milo Perkins
1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

"Comments" in "Reports" file.

E. R. M.
F. 115

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

November 10, 1947

Mac — tell him many thanks

Mr. Edgar Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It seems to me that we <u>might</u> do the job of helping to feed Europe with less inflationary threat to our own economy than now exists. I have put my thoughts on this subject in memorandum form and a copy is enclosed for your information.

With all my best wishes.

Sincerely,

Milo

Enclosure.

Dear Ed-

For whatever personal use, without attributing ideas to me, you might care to make of this -

Yours -

Milo

Milo Perkins

Comments on the Food Situation in the Western World

with Some Suggestions for Action

November 4, 1947

The international food situation has been one of the most important subjects under consideration in Washington during October, both because of the inflationary threat here at home and the desperate needs in Europe.

While a great deal of information as to food supplies has been available from governments and through the press, I think it might be well to give a few simple statistics regarding the production situation for the major foods; to comment on the food outlook for the Western World, and to suggest certain steps which might improve the situation.

1. The current production situation. Supplies of food for the world as a whole will be somewhat less this crop year than last and below pre-war production, particularly in those areas of Europe and Asia where the need is greatest. World wheat production, for example, while about the same as the pre-war 1935-39 average, is very badly distributed. North American production is about 64% above pre-war, but production in Europe is now estimated at the disastrously low level of only 68% of pre-war. (See table attached.)

Oats and barley, important fodder grains and in some sections of the world very important food grains, are both about 6% below the pre-war average. Rice production is down about 5%, but some very important export areas, such as Burma, Siam and French Indo-China show such low production that it appears there will be very little rice available for shipment from these important exporting countries this year.

Potatoes, very important in the diet of Europe, show a world production of about 16% below the pre-war average, but the tragedy in this situation is that most of the reduction has taken place in Europe, the area least able to afford the reduction from the standpoint of its over-all food position. Persons recently returned from a tour of Europe and Germany inform me that, in

Germany particularly, the potato crop is very poor both in volume and quality. Fats and oils still remain in short supply.

In appraising the statistics given above, it must be remembered that there has been an increase in the population since the beginning of the pre-war average period, hence the situation per-capita is worse than indicated on the basis of the gross production figures. Further, competent observers report that the distribution of the available food supplies in Europe is spotty. A large portion is either being retained on the farms or moving into the black markets, resulting in an unequal distribution of the available food among the populations, with the worst effects in the cities.

2. The outlook. It is too early to secure any information that would warrant an estimate of the food position, production-wise, for next year. However, I wish to point out certain sore spots in the world agricultural situation that indicate little real chance for large-scale improvement in the production for quite some time, perhaps for several years. We all know that there has been a crying need for fertilizer, farm machinery and other tools of agricultural production, particularly in Europe, since the middle of the war. Lack of adequate fertilizer and good cultural practices tends to be cumulative in effect. The production machine in Europe, if it does not actually deteriorate further, may be barely able to hold its own. The insecurity of governments and the fiscal uncertainties both within countries and between them have aggravated a situation already made desperate by war's destruction.

Here in North America, we have been blessed with an unprecendented period of fine crop years, but there are ominous signs that our luck may be running out. It has been eleven years since there was a major drought, and merely on the basis of statistical history, we should expect a major drought before many more seasons are past. As a matter of fact, the Southwestern winter wheat belt has been very dry at a most crucial time--that of seeding next year's crop. A few more weeks will tell more of the story in this area. There are not many factors pointing

to optimism in the food production outlook for next year.

3. Current U.S. Government operations. There is little to add to the comments in the press and on the radio by prominent officials with reference to the program for alleviating the critical food situation in Europe by voluntary measures. This program will no doubt have some effect, but I believe the effects will be limited.

Truly effective action to stop the price inflation which we are experiencing is not likely during the emergency session of Congress beginning November 17. Price and rationing controls, by all means the most effective war-time devices for the control of inflation, are not likely to be instituted except as a very last resort in the event of threatened crop failure next spring. That might be too late and yet if they were instituted earlier they might discourage production, thereby increasing our inflationary pressures. The Congress, quite aside from political considerations, will face a real dilemma when it meets to consider this matter.

4. An action program. This does not mean that the situation is hopeless. A small group of informed people has been working on the problem. They have developed an action program, the highlights of which are as follows:

A. Convene the Secretaries of Agriculture of the Western World immediately so that Western civilization can tackle the job of feeding itself on a truly cooperative basis. In a tight situation such as this, there are no panaceas, but there are a long series of concrete steps that can be undertaken with the promise of good results if each nation will contribute all it can to the common job.

B. Buy more foods other than wheat within the U.S. There are some foods here that are in relatively heavy supply such as raisins and prunes, canned vegetables, and eggs, particularly dried eggs. These foods could be sent to

Europe, with very little tendency to increase inflationary forces here. True, they would cost more than the grains, but the question here is how to supplement the amount of grain we can send to Europe without increasing to any marked extent the inflationary trends now so evident in this country.

Of the $350,000,000 appropriated for relief to Europe when U.N.R.R.A. passed out of the picture, about 80% of the money is being spent for food, and of that amount approximately 80% is being used to purchase wheat and flour. The State Department and the Army feel that Europe needs at least 570 million bushels of wheat, while the United States Department of Agriculture feels that it would be quite unwise to commit more than 470 million bushels at this time. Although we produced the largest wheat crop on record last year, our production of all cereals was down by about three-quarters of a billion bushels due largely to our shorter corn crop.

When wheat was $2.50 per bushel, it was calculated that every increase of fifty cents per bushel would add two and one half billion dollars to the cost of living in the United States. An advancing wheat market, therefore, can produce considerably more inflation here which would be compounded if we should have a drought next crop year. Continued inflation gives the labor unions a very persuasive argument for increasing wages, thereby adding substantially to the possibilities of a boom-bust cycle.

From a point of view of the operating agencies responsible for feeding programs in Europe, the primary emphasis on wheat and other bread grains these last two years has been quite understandable. They felt it was justified by the over-all fiscal position. Wheat and flour gave these organizations the highest caloric measure for the least money. With limited funds, it is but natural that the various agencies, including the foreign governments involved, were interested in spending as much of their money as possible for bread grains.

With the declining availability of cereals, however, we may well have to turn to more expensive goods for foreign relief. This will not only help to

curb inflation at home but it will provide for a more balanced nutrition in Europe.

C. Stop extravagant use of grains on European farms. Part of the food problem in the Western World has to do with understandable hoarding by farmers in Europe who would rather convert grain into livestock and sell the livestock on the black market than take paper currency for bread grains when no consumer goods are available. Or they would rather keep their food on the farm for a higher level of family consumption. This represents a terrible waste of grain right in Europe where the need in their cities is going to be critical this winter. The War Assets Administration has over 100 million dollars of surplus consumer goods which European farmers want. Stock includes such items as shoes, rubber boots, axes, etc. If these surplus goods were sent to Europe and bartered to farmers for bread grains before winter sets in it could help considerably.

D. Buy all surplus stocks of food available outside the U.S. Some surpluses of food exist in the Western World because the holders want dollars rather than weak currencies for their products. Stocks of tinned fish in Norway and Iceland fall in this category and their procurement would not increase inflation here. Fishing fell off during the war. Large catches could be made in southern waters off the coasts of Peru and Chile, in the Carribean and off the coast of West Africa. It is not too late to develop such programs now.

Other supplies of food, such as copra from the Netherlands East Indies, are not now entering world trade because of political difficulties. These islands pre-war exported a large volume of copra. Coconuts represent a source of scarce fats and oils that can be had without raising a crop. Pending the establishment of a stable peace, a truce in the Netherlands East Indies should be arranged solely to permit the gathering of copra. Consumer goods such as textiles should be taken in so that native labor would receive something tangible for its work.

An outstanding job of rehabilitating the copra industry has been done in the Philippines. A program designed to meet the basic needs of the natives for trade goods was inaugurated and good cooperation between our government and the Philippine Government has resulted in an output of copra for this calendar year now estimated as the largest on record. This was done by a well integrated program of furnishing workers with needed supplies, of furnishing needed transportation which is an important factor in a country seriously damaged by recent fighting, and by full cooperation between the Philippine Government and the business firms involved.

E. Contract now for crops abroad to be harvested next spring. The worst problem of hunger in Europe may well come next spring and early summer before the 1948 crops are in. Certainly that appears to be the best forecast now. This danger can be partially lessened by a determined effort to secure supplies from areas where the production season is the reverse of that in the Northern Hemisphere, such as South America.

If the United States Government would offer now to buy any unsold parts of such crops at good prices and if it would agree to take delivery next spring when they are harvested, it is highly probable that a large amount of additional food could be secured. Crops such as beans and rice from Brazil come to mind. These purchases should be in amounts which would avoid further inflation in Latin American countries.

Argentina presents a special problem, but at a conference of the Secretaries of Agriculture of the Western World, some program could surely be worked out for tapping this rich source of supply. It might even be possible to persuade the Peron Government to modify some of its present agricultural policies, which at this time appear to be discouraging planting. It might also be possible to work out a more reasonable basis for releasing present stocks in Argentina to Europe before winter. It would pay us to put in dollars for this purpose.

This foreign procurement of foodstuffs on the part of the United States

might have been difficult from the political point of view two years ago, since farmers would have felt that our Government was stimulating foreign competition. The threat of further inflation within the U.S. on the food front is now so great however, that I think there would actually be political support for such a program at this juncture.

General Comments.

When the shortage of fertilizer and farm machinery is taken into account, it looks as though there will be food scarcities within the Western World for many years even without crop failures. This is the sort of situation in which virile efforts to step up production in all countries can be undertaken with a minimum of resistance from nationalistic minded groups of producers.

Quite aside from the problem of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, the shift in that area toward a more diversified type of agriculture means that Western Europe will have to count much more upon the Western Hemisphere for its food in the years ahead than it has ever done in the past.

There are well-founded rumors coming from European sources that the Soviets plan to offer some grains and meats from Poland, the Balkans and the Ukraine, to Western Europe later this winter with a tremendous amount of propaganda designed to discredit U.S. efforts to help Western Europe. The great amount of propaganda emanating from the Soviets last winter when they shipped a dribble of wheat to France comes to mind. They cashed in on that move politically within France.

Their operation this coming year may far surpass that of last year insofar as wringing the last iota of propaganda value from small help is concerned. If a session of Secretaries of Agriculture of the Western World were called at this time, they might publicly ask Russia to join in help for Western Europe now with food. Such an invitation, if ignored or rejected, could discredit any Soviet effort next winter to play politics with hunger in Western Europe.

Incidentally, we do very little in the U.S. to secure any propaganda value from our foreign aid. We turn wheat and flour over to European governments at

U.S. ports and the average housewife on the Continent has only the vaguest notion of our assistance. We aren't even imaginative enough to send millions of narrow paper wrappers to put around the long loaves of bread baked from our own wheat in a country like France with some such wording on them as:

"This bread was made from wheat grown partly on French farms and partly on American farms. Recovery in Western Europe is our common goal."

As much food as possible should be sent to Europe in packaged form, both to avoid spoilage and pilferage from bulk shipments and to get the maximum awareness of U.S. aid on the part of individual recipients. The excellent C.A.R.E. program has proved this point.

Even at this late date a driving singleness of purpose which put the procurement of additional food supplies above political considerations could accomplish a great deal. Two goals should be the basis of the program; a minimum of inflation within the U.S. and the maximum contribution from every nation of the Western World tackling a common job together.

Table 1.- WHEAT: Production in specified countries and areas, 1935-39 average, 1946, estimated 1947, and percentage that 1947 is of the 1935-39 average.

Country and area	Production (000,000 bushels)			Percent 1947 is of average
	1935-1939 average	1946	1947	
Canada	312.4	420.7	358.8	115
U. S.	758.6	1,155.7	1,408.6	185
No. America	1,086.0	1,590.0	1,785.0	164
France	286.5	250.0	150.0	52
Italy	279.0	238.0	210.0	75
Germany	147.0	---	---	---
Spain	158.0	133.0	125.0	79
Europe	1,588.0	1,300.0	1,085.0	68
China	750.0	869.0	905.0	120
India	370.7	331.6	305.0	82
Asia	1,483.0	1,546.0	1,505.0	102
Argentina	221.8	206.3	175.0	79
So. America	281.0	262.0	235.0	84
Africa	143.0	141.0	130.0	91
World Total	5,998.0	5,865.0	5,975.0	100*

*Rounded to nearest whole number.

Source: USDA, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, FG7-47, issued September 15, 1947

1947

Ways in Which Point Four of the President's Inaugural Address Might be Implemented

In making the fourth point of his Inaugural Address on January 20, the President said, "We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." Actually, the opportunities for increased investment and higher production are very great in the developed areas of the world as well.

Several government departments are now studying specific ways in which the President's proposal might be put into action. Some of the thinking is in the direction of reliance upon government-to-government credits. In other official quarters there are high hopes for what can be achieved by sending American technicians abroad to help foreign peoples develop and enhance their own resources and skills. The need for private capital in the less developed areas is recognized. So is the desirability of getting American business to participate in this long-term program. Just how all of this can be achieved in action is still unclear.

Many business men dislike seeing government go any further into programs touching business, while many government officials are wary of giving too much support to business abroad because it might lead to charges of imperialism. It seems to me that both extremes can be avoided and that Point Four embodies a long-term objective of real worth which can best be realized through both government and private effort.

We have more to contribute to other countries than capital and skills. We also have a "spirit" to contribute. It's our enthusiasm for the building of more plants to make more things for more people. It's our belief that <u>any</u> individual should be able to climb to the top and that he should have every chance to do so. It's our faith in <u>competition</u>. Neither labor nor management in many countries shares this faith. Competitive enterprise as we know it has never been <u>tried</u> in much of the world. Changing attitudes is a tougher job than building factories but it's worth trying.

On February 16 the Executive Committee of U.S. Associates, which is the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce, announced that it was undertaking a study of five means through which the President's objective might be reached:

1. By working to create a business "climate" in other countries more attractive to private investment.

2. By sending U.S. technicians abroad on carefully selected projects.

3. By using government loans to develop basic resources in such a way as to increase the opportunities for private investment in the borrowing countries.

4. By increasing the production of strategic materials in foreign countries .

5. By selling some form of insurance to U.S. business to cover the non-commercial risks on private foreign investments, chiefly in the field of currency convertibility.

As a basis for further discussion, I would like to make these observations.

1. Climate. In his comments on the President's fourth point, Secretary Acheson said, "There is also in many places a failure to understand that unless the conditions are created by which investors may fairly put their money into that country then there is a great impediment to development."

Neither the proposed I.T.O. Charter nor the Bogota Agreement with its many reservations provide even the minimum assurances necessary to encourage increased private investment. There are many things our government can do to work with other countries for the improvement of the present climate. The first step is to get a reciprocal investment code signed which is fair to both sides. These negotiations should be conducted bi-laterally in the beginning. Business men of both nations should sit in as advisors. The International Chamber of Commerce is now working on such a model code and expects to have it ready for consideration by governments early in June.

We should seek no preferential treatment for U.S. nationals. All we want is reciprocally fair treatment - as good a break for our citizens in other countries as we give the citizens of those same countries in the U.S. We believe in reciprocity in trade and tariffs; why should we not advocate reciprocity of opportunity? We can afford

to be firm. Our resources won't permit us to go very far in any one year. Countries which discriminate against U.S. private investment should not expect continued aid from our government over the longer pull. We shall be respected for being clear on this point.

2. Technical Missions. By sending these abroad on specific assignments and by giving technical training to foreign nationals in the U.S.A., a great deal can be accomplished over the years. There won't be any miracles, but there can be slow and steady progress. Technical assistance is especially appropriate in agricultural fields and in the development of small industries.

When it comes to government missions connected with large-scale industrial development abroad, I believe we should proceed with caution. Even in countries where there is an economic base for large-scale enterprise, the problems of co-operation will have to be thought through carefully. American business, for example, has billions of dollars invested in its "know-how". There are conditions under which we can share part of this with foreign countries, but we have to consider our own self-interest and judge each case on its merits. The important thing is to be sure that there are mutual advantages to be gained from each individual project.

3. Government Credits. There is an important field for these, especially in transportation, roads, communications and to some extent, electric power. This kind of development is often outside the scope of private financing and non-competitive with American business. Soundly, handled, such credits can increase private investment opportunities and result in higher production. Business and labor in the borrowing countries would benefit even more from this expansion than U.S. investors. Part of our job is to make this clear to all the citizens of such countries. After credits are extended, we should take steps to be sure that the funds are being used efficiently and economically. This is essential if higher living standards are to be realized.

4. Strategic Materials. We need all of these at fair prices that the world will sell us. I'd rather store copper and zinc and lead and tin above ground in Kentucky

than bury gold beneath it. We need these materials to keep a rising level of production going year after year in our own country and we'll need them still more if we ever get into another war.

Their production is not being stepped up abroad as it should be. Part of the fault is ours. We have been unwilling to make long-term contracts with escalator clauses and with reasonable anti-dumping provisions. Part of the fault lies with certain foreign countries which feel that E.R.P. appropriations will be cut by the amount of any increase in production which is sold to us for dollars. Of course it will be and it should be if E.R.P. is accepted as a self-help program. Part of the fault lies with some politicians and some business men in other countries who don't want U.S. investments on their soil.

None of these hurdles is insurmountable. Here's an area where other nations can earn dollars for exports of strategic materials from their overseas territories and use those dollars for goods they need to buy both from us and from other countries. It's time to work out specific contracts for specific materials from specific areas in increased amounts.

5. Insurance. Government-to-government loans cannot of themselves bring about a lasting recovery in the Western World. Private investment is also needed. When U.S. business goes abroad it should assume every normal commercial risk, including that of going broke. These risks have always been greater in foreign countries than they are at home and business expects to assume them. It's the non-commercial risks that worry business today. These stem mainly from actions by foreign governments and no single business can cope with them.

There is the risk of another war with its destruction of physical properties. There is the risk of losing a foreign plant through nationalization and not being paid for it in dollars. There is the risk that if profits are made abroad, they cannot be converted into dollars and brought home for dividend payments to stockholders.

These extraordinary risks deter many of our largest corporations from building plants abroad; they virtually stop any smaller businesses from such ventures. If insurance could be bought to cover these non-commercial risks, business would certainly buy it since it would then be assured:

1. That it could get dollars for the loss of its plant through war or internal revolution.

2. That it could get dollars for the loss of its property through nationalization.

3. That it could convert into dollars that part of its depreciation reserves set up in local currency which might be needed to replace equipment from dollar supply countries.

4. That it could convert into dollars any part of its foreign profits it cared to bring home and include in its U.S. taxable income. The surer business is that it can get its profits out of a foreign country, the less eager it is to do so on other than a routine, business basis.

The proposed insurance should be available for both old and new investments at the option of business. Otherwise, established investments abroad would be at a disadvantage compared with new and insured investments. Established business need be under no obligation to take this insurance, but it should be privileged to buy it if it cared to do so for competitive reasons. Although premium rates would have to vary by countries, an average rate of 1% per annum seems possible. This would be a very high rate if war is somehow avoided.

Who should sell such insurance? Lloyds of London will issue specific policies to cover some of these risks, but no combination of private American insurance companies is likely to set up such a venture on the broad scale outlined. It might be possible to do so under private management if our government would underwrite 90% of the potential risk. One advantage in this approach would be that private management could vary premium rates by countries more gracefully than a government agency could. Or it might be done by having our government itself sell the insurance directly to business as one way of strengthening our foreign policy.

Precedents exist for such an insurance program. Bank deposits are now insured by the FDIC and real estate mortgages are now insured by FHA. Both programs have worked well for over ten years. Many of us forget that no accurate actuarial basis existed for premium rates at the time either of these programs was launched. There is no reason why the proposed insurance should involve any more government interference with private business than the two systems already established. If it did, I would be opposed to it.

Congressman Dirksen of Illinois proposed an insurance program along these general lines in an article in the February 1948 Atlantic Monthly. Eric Johnston has suggested a billion dollar guarantee fund for these broad purposes without yet having spelled out details. Another suggestion is to amend our tax laws to permit U.S. corporations to depreciate their foreign plant investments in from one to five years at their option. This would help larger business more than smaller business but the idea is worth exploring. Still another suggestion is that foreign countries set up a guarantee fund out of their dollar earnings to assure the dollar servicing of U.S. investments in their countries. Obviously, much additional study of mechanics is required.

I lean toward the proposal that our government sell this insurance directly to business. Government would then have a stake in minimizing the non-commercial risks in other countries. It would also have a stake in giving American business interests abroad more active diplomatic support. In such a situation, I think foreign governments would be less likely than they now are to nationalize American properties or to otherwise discriminate against us. Government insurance could make the difference.

Our government, which is supported by taxes collected from a competitive enterprise economy, does have a stake in the success of American investments in other countries. This is not imperialism; it is responsible finance and nothing to be ashamed of in public. Our government needs the full contribution which business can make to the industrial strength of other countries. And business needs the full support of government in minimizing the non-commercial risks now facing it. There was never a time in our history

when government and industry needed each other more than they do right now. Neither can succeed abroad single-handed.

By moving along the five roads outlined, we should be able to transfer an increasing part of the burden of foreign aid from government to private shoulders. We should be able to increase the relative strength of the West as compared with the Soviet sphere. We can hope that a strong Western World will ultimately become a magnet to draw some of the countries in the Soviet orbit closer to us.

By broadening the area of industrial expansion beyond our own borders we shall increase the markets for heavy goods. A search for more customers is nothing that needs to be hidden. Customers are essential to our prosperity and our prosperity is the hope of the world. There can be no stability without it.

More importantly, we shall be working with the citizens of other countries to raise production and therefore the living standards of people. They will be learning new skills, both with their hands and with their heads. There will be many partnership arrangements between our business men and those of other countries. There will be a helpful exchange of ideas between our labor leaders and those of other nations. These closer working associations of a mutually satisfactory nature can furnish "the tie that binds".

The Western World needs these "show pieces" of democracy in action. To move in this direction is to take the offensive against communism rather than trying to "contain it". And it's still true that the offensive always wins.

Rickover, H. G.

U. S. S. JOHN C. CALHOUN (SSBN630)
CARE OF FLEET POST OFFICE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 09501

At Sea
North Atlantic
29 July 1964

Dear Ed:

We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the USS JOHN C. CALHOUN, our twenty-sixth Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation twenty attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of forty-six. The CALHOUN was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company of Newport News, Virginia.

This ship is named for John Caldwell Calhoun (1782-1850). The pattern of Calhoun's life was not unlike that of the Founding Fathers. Of him and his two great political antagonists--Webster and Clay--James Bryce wrote in 1888 that they were "the ornaments" of their generation, "not indeed rising to the stature of Washington or Hamilton, but more remarkable than any save one among the statesmen who have followed them."

Calhoun belonged to the second generation of American political thinkers and public men; men who had never known life in a colony. He was born in the year when the Nation had attained de facto independence--though it took another 18 months for the treaty of peace to be signed at Paris. Like the Founding Fathers, Calhoun was well-educated, graduating from Yale with distinction. Subsequently he studied law, was admitted to the bar and practiced his profession for a brief while. But nearly all his adult life--some forty years--he spent in elected or appointed office: as state legislator, member of the Congress, Senator, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, twice Vice President and almost President. His family--of Scotch-Irish ancestry from Pennsylvania--had settled in the Carolina uplands. Calhoun thus grew up in the pioneer West; for half his life he was indeed its spokesman. But marriage into the Piedmont planter aristocracy changed his views and he became the voice of the deep South--its political theorist, master logician, impassioned orator. It has been said of him that he "welded the South and divided the Union."

Calhoun's adult life spanned almost the whole of that turbulent period in American history when, after an early era of good feeling, the young Nation had to come to grips with ever deepening regional conflicts between industrial North, pioneer West and plantation South--conflicts which time and time again brought on crises that threatened to tear the Union asunder, as indeed they did in the end. But prior to the fratricidal war that finally established this Nation as an indivisible Union, the Senate

reverberated with constitutional debates that "transfixed the Nation." Calhoun, Webster and Clay were the principal antagonists. Of their debates, Charles A. Beard wrote that they were memorable forensic contests, "worthy of a place in the annals of oratory beside the noblest intellectual tourneys of ancient and modern times." The men who participated, the "eloquence and cogency of their arguments" and not least "the results that flowed from their deliberations," make these debates a part of our history with which every American should be acquainted. Not only do we profit by studying them, for they vividly illuminate the travail that went into the building of the Union we so lightly take for granted today, but also they teach us that men of intelligence, education and integrity, alike in their deep devotion to our political Covenant, may yet differ bitterly because to each it has a different meaning.

Two important political innovations occurred in Calhoun's life: the evolution of the American party as we know it today, and the unique American system of choosing nominees for the Presidency in national party conventions. Though not mentioned in the Constitution or envisaged by the Founding Fathers, these two cornerstones of our political life are today as firmly established as any part of the written Covenant. Still worth reading is Calhoun's "A Disquisition on Government" which contains a lucid exposition of the American political party: how it is formed, how it operates. Written near the end of his life, the book reflects half a century of American experience in much of which Calhoun participated.

Of Calhoun's many quotable statements, one seems singularly appropriate today: "We are greatly and rapidly--I was about to say fearfully--growing. This is our pride and our danger, our weakness and our strength."

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Washington, D. C.

Rickover, H. G.

USS CASIMIR PULASKI (SSBN 633)

CARE OF FLEET POST OFFICE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

At Sea
North Atlantic
29 June 1964

Dear Ed:

The USS CASIMIR PULASKI, our twenty-fifth Polaris submarine has just completed her first sea trials. With the PULASKI we have in operation a total of forty-five nuclear powered Polaris and attack submarines.

This ship is named for a man whose all too brief life was dedicated to the fight for freedom. First for the freedom of his native country, Poland, and when this fight was lost for the freedom of our own country. Born a Polish nobleman, he died an American Revolutionary War hero.

Pulaski was an active participant in the last desperate efforts of Polish patriots to preserve their country's freedom from Russian encroachment. When the Polish cause was lost he fled, his life and property forfeit. With Benjamin Franklin's help he reached our shores and joined Washington's army. He was one of a small band of foreign officers who, though of aristocratic birth, made the cause of the American Revolution their own and fought valiantly for it. Their names are part of American history--Pulaski, Kosciuszko, Lafayette, Du Portail, De Kalb, Von Steuben.

Pulaski's signal military exploits at the Battle of Brandywine won him the commission of Brigadier General from the Continental Congress. A brilliant cavalryman, he awakened American generals to the need of a better cavalry. He became a favorite of General Washington and with his approval formed "Pulaski's Legion," an independent force composed primarily of European trained cavalry and infantrymen.

Pulaski was mortally wounded leading his legion in a cavalry charge at the Battle of Savannah, October 11, 1779, a day which has been proclaimed, "Pulaski Day" by Congress.

General Washington wrote to him:

> "I assure you Sir, I have a high sense of your merit and services and the principles that influenced the part you have taken in the affairs of this country. The disinterested and unremitted zeal you have manifested in the service gives you a title to the esteem of the citizens of America, and have assured you mine."

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Washington, D. C.

Rickover, H. G.

U. S. S. JAMES MADISON (SSBN-627)
CARE OF FLEET POST OFFICE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 09501

At Sea
North Atlantic
16 June 1964

Dear Ed:

We have just successfully completed the first sea trials of the USS JAMES MADISON, our twenty-third Polaris nuclear submarine. We also have in operation twenty attack type nuclear submarines, making a total of forty-three. The JAMES MADISON was built by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company of Newport News, Virginia.

In naming this ship the JAMES MADISON, we honor the memory of one of the founders of our Nation and its fourth President.

Each member of the small band of gifted and patriotic men who shaped the American political system made his own unique contribution to the great Constitutional task. Madison had the brilliantly logical mind that made him the Chief Theoretician of the principles of republican government; he is rightly called the "Father" of the Constitution. He was also that rare man of intellect who knows how to persuade men by appealing to their reasoning capacity rather than to their emotions. His essays in THE FEDERALIST are as pertinent today as when he wrote them. No one has stated more clearly than he that in a democracy the people are the sole source of all political power--that a free society pivots on the autonomous citizen whose essential human rights must be forever inviolate. No more persuasive case for our system of government has been made than Madison's words in THE FEDERALIST:

> "It is evident that no other form would be reconcilable with the genius of the people of America,...with the fundamental principles of the Revolution..."

Today freedom is on trial over vast areas of the world. Even in our own midst there are faint-hearted and impatient men who question the ability of democracy to survive. Let us ponder Madison's words written when he was President:

> "...the American people...have had experience of their... Constitution, the offspring of their undisturbed deliberations and of their free choice;...it is found to be capable, without losing its vital energies, of expanding itself over a spacious territory with the increase and expansion of the community for whose benefit it was established."

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Washington, D. C.

Rickover, H G.

USS JOHN ADAMS (SSBN 620)
Care of Fleet Post Office
New York, New York 09501

At Sea
North Atlantic
6 April 1964

Dear Ed:

We have just completed sea trials of the USS JOHN ADAMS, our twentieth Polaris type nuclear submarine. Completion of the JOHN ADAMS brings into operation a total of forty nuclear powered Polaris and attack type submarines.

This ship is named for two great Americans: John Adams, our second President, and his son, John Quincy, our sixth President. It is fitting that so powerful a guardian of our freedom be named for these American founders of that very freedom. During John Adams' administration our Navy was born. And it was John Quincy, aware of the potential of sea power, who in 1823 as Secretary of State was principal architect of the Monroe Doctrine which has provided this hemisphere with a measure of security from threats of foreign nations.

"Education," in John Adams' view, made "a greater difference between man and man than nature has made between man and brute. The virtues and powers to which men may be trained, by early education and constant discipline, are truly sublime and astonishing....It should be your care, therefore, and mine," he wrote to his wife, Abigail, "to elevate the minds of our children and exalt their courage; to accelerate and animate their industry and activity; to excite in them...an ambition to excel in every capacity, faculty and virtue. If we suffer their minds to grovel and creep in infancy, they will grovel all ther -."

John Quincy Adams taught:

"Always vote for a principle, though you vote alone, and you may cherish the sweet reflection that your vote is never lost."

A verse written in 1842 expressing his hope for the future is valid today:

"This hand, to tyrants ever sworn the foe,
For freedom only deals the deadly blow;
Then sheathes in calm repose the vengeful blade,
For gentle peace in freedom's hallowed shade."

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Rickover, H. G.

9503 La Jolla Farms Road
La Jolla, California
April 2, 1964

Dear Rick,

Never did I think to imagine you at sea in the North Pacific in our eighteenth Polaris submarine, wearing a Daniel Boone hat!

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in writing.

We are anchored here in La Jolla until about May 1st, when we shall be returning to Washington.

Casey, that future Yale man by the grace of Admiral Rickover, is here with us for his Easter vacation.

My entire family joins me in sending you best salute.

As ever yours,

Edward R. Murrow

Admiral H.G. Rickover, U.S.N.
Department of the Navy
Washington, D.C.

ERM:ana

U. S. S. DANIEL BOONE (SSBN 629)
MARE ISLAND NAVAL SHIPYARD
VALLEJO, CALIFORNIA 94592

At Sea
North Pacific
17 February 1964

Dear Ed:

We are returning from the first sea trials of the USS DANIEL BOONE, our eighteenth Polaris type submarine. The ship successfully completed all tests, including full power operation, surface and submerged. In addition to the eighteen Polaris submarines, we have twenty attack submarines, making a total of thirty-eight nuclear submarines in operation. The DANIEL BOONE was built by the Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Vallejo, California.

This ship is aptly named for a man who in many ways typifies our American heritage:

Of Quaker parentage, and peaceful, he was however prepared to fight when this became a necessity;

Of limited education in terms of schooling as we know it today, he nevertheless became superbly trained for life and survival in the wilderness--just as we must learn to live and survive in today's international wilderness;

He "...did not...find himself the leader of a host of armed followers, impelled by fear...to obey his commands.... His followers were his voluntary comrades; and the source of his authority was the affection they bore him and the confidence they had in his sagacity and fortitude;"

He expressed the feeling of Americans toward war: "What thanks, what ceaseless thanks are due to that all-superintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into peace... May the Almighty Goodness banish the accursed monster War from all lands."

And may Providence help this ship to be a means for answering the prayer of the illustrious American whose name she bears.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
5171 Manning Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

H. Rickover

January 12, 1961

Dear Hyman:

My congratulations on your award. Sorry I can't be with you at the ceremony on January 17th.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover
The Pentagon
Washington, D. C

ERM:gw

Regrets –
Write Rickover too

The Secretary of the Navy
cordially invites
Mr. Edward R. Murrow
to attend an award ceremony honoring
Vice Admiral H. G. Rickover
United States Navy
on the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary
of the world's first nuclear powered submarine
USS Nautilus
on Tuesday, the seventeenth of January
Nineteen hundred and sixty-one
at eleven o'clock

Pier D
General Dynamics Corporation
Electric Boat Division
Groton, Connecticut

Reception immediately following
Commissioned Officers' Mess
U. S. Naval Submarine Base
New London, Connecticut

R. S. V. P.

H. Rickover

U.S.S. SHARK (SS(N)591)
Care of Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

At Sea
8 January 1961

Dear Ed:

I know you will be interested in learning that the USS SHARK our sixteenth nuclear powered submarine has successfully completed her first sea trials and is returning to Newport News, Virginia. During her trials she steamed at full speed on the surface and submerged; she also dived to her maximum depth.

With the SHARK we now have four Polaris, one radar picket, one Regulus missile, and ten nuclear attack submarines in operation.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover
H. G. RICKOVER

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Hyman Rickover

LT
VICE ADMIRAL HYMAN RICKOVER
PENTAGON
WASHINGTON

YOU REQUIRE NO MEDALS TO EMPHASIZE A JOB WELL DONE BUT ONE

CIVILIAN DESIRES OFFER YOU SPECIAL SALUTE

ED MURROW

514-70
gw
1-17-61

Rickover

December 20, 1960

Dear Admiral Rickover:

Since Mr. Murrow is traveling much these days, I have given him the contents of your letter by phone.

He has asked that I extend to you his belayed "Congratulations" on your return to San Francisco Bay from the first sea trials of the USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Murrow has asked that the Season's Greetings also be dispatched.

Sincerely yours,

Rosemary Mullen,
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
United States Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

U. S. S. THEODORE ROOSEVELT (SSB(N)600)
CARE OF FLEET POST OFFICE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

At Sea
December 12, 1960

Dear Ed:

We are returning to San Francisco Bay from the first sea trials of the USS THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the third nuclear powered submarine built by the Mare Island Naval Shipyard and the first Polaris ballistic missile launching submarine built on the West Coast.

The THEODORE ROOSEVELT is our fourth Polaris launching submarine and the fifteenth nuclear powered submarine to join the United States Fleet.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Admiral Rickover

November 22, 1960

Dear Admiral:

Please pardon my delay in answering your cordial note of October 14. As you may know, a bout with pneumonia put me out of commission for awhile.

Thank you very much for sending me the plate as a memento of the launching of the U.S.S. Enterprise - it was most thoughtful of you.

I know you never watch television, but you might care to look at HARVEST OF SHAME, our Migrant Labor show this Friday between 9:30 and 10:30 P.M. I believe you will not find it a waste of time.

Sincerely yours,

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
United States Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

Lc

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

14 October 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I thought you might enjoy having this plate as a memento of the launching on September 24, 1960 of our first nuclear powered aircraft carrier, the USS ENTERPRISE.

I have heard from many people how much they enjoyed the POLARIS program. It was thoughtful of you to include me in it.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Hyman Rickover

U.S.S. TULLIBEE (SS(N)597)
Care of Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

3 October 1960

Dear Ed:

We are returning to New London, Connecticut, after successfully completing initial sea trials of the small hunter-killer submarine TULLIBEE. With this ship the United States now has fourteen nuclear submarines in operation; three Polaris type, one Regulus missile type and ten Attack type.

The TULLIBEE is the first to be designed specifically as an anti-submarine submarine, and so is fitted out with considerable detection equipment. In order to obtain quiet operation she has electric drive instead of the geared turbine drive used in all other nuclear submarines.

Thank you for your encouragement and help.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

H. G. Rickover

U.S.S. ROBERT E. LEE (SSB(N)601)
c/o Supervisor of Shipbuilding, USN
Newport News, Virginia

At Sea
August 2, 1960

Dear Ed:

We are returning to Hampton Roads after completing sea trials of the Polaris Submarine ROBERT E. LEE, the first nuclear ship built by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company.

With the LEE the United States now has thirteen nuclear powered submarines; three of these are Polaris type, the remaining ten are attack submarines.

Thank you for your encouragement and help.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. RICKOVER

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

H G Rickover

U.S.S. SCORPION (SS(N)589)
Care of Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

June 27, 1960

Dear Ed:

We are returning to New London, Connecticut after completing the first sea trials of the U.S.S. SCORPION. With this ship the United States now has 12 nuclear powered submarines in commission; two of these are Polaris type, the remainder are attack submarines.

Thank you again for your encouragement and help.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, N. Y.

Adm. Rickover

March 15, 1960

Dear Admiral Rickover:

Thank you for your letter of March 9th written from the USS PATRICK HENRY. I have forwarded it on to Mr. Murrow, who is still traveling abroad.

Sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
USS Patrick Henry (SSB N 599)
c/o Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

U. S. S. PATRICK HENRY (SSB(N)599)
Care of Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

At Sea
9 March 1960

Dear Ed:

We are finishing the first sea trials of the USS PATRICK HENRY, the second nuclear powered submarine designed to launch Polaris ballistic missiles. The ship performed her trials succesfully, both surfaced and submerged. We were at sea for two days, during which we steamed 509 nautical miles, of which 252 were submerged.

I am writing you from this ship because I know of your interest in our nuclear navy.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, N.Y.

December 3, 1959

Dear Mr. Schnapper:

Thank you for your recent letter and for your enclosures.

As you may know, Mr. Murrow is on a year's leave of absence and will be traveling abroad for the next six months. However, I shall send your letter on to him as soon as I have a new forwarding address.

Very sincerely yours,

Gabrielle Wachsner
Secretary

Mr. M. B. Schnapper
Executive Director
Public Affairs Press
419 New Jersey Avenue, S.E.
Washington 3, D. C.

LIncoln 4-3024

Public Affairs Press

419 NEW JERSEY AVE., S. E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

(Almost adjacent the United States Capitol)

November 12, 1959

Mr. Edward Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Permit me to call your attention to the enclosures and to invite your advice on the following points:

Did anyone tell you about any of this when you were asked to write the foreword to Admiral Rickover's "book"?

Does this situation look "kosher" to you?

Would you have been willing to be part of the same undertaking if you had known about Admiral Rickover's shenanigans in this connection?

Your views in this matter will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

M. B. Schnapper
Executive Director

MBS/w

THE TAMPA TRIBUNE
MORNING AND SUNDAY

V. M. NEWTON, JR.
MANAGING EDITOR

PUBLISHED BY THE TRIBUNE COMPANY
BOX 191
TAMPA 1, FLORIDA

November 2, 1959

Judge Alexander Holtzoff
U. S. District Court
District of Columbia
Washington, D. C.

Dear Judge Holtzoff:

I am writing this letter as chairman of the national Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalistic fraternity, which has 16,000 publishers, editors, newsmen and television and radio newscasters as members.

This is to state that your decision as judge of the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, handed down on October 23, 1959, which upholds Admiral H. G. Rickover's plea to place copyright restrictions upon his public speeches, has disturbed the free American press no end.

Therefore, I protest your decision for the following reasons, which you did not discuss in your opinion:

1. Your decision very definitely abridges the Constitutional principle of free speech in that it permits Admiral Rickover to restrict legally the inherent privilege of the American people, who pay his salary, who pay the expenses of his research and who made possible his distinguished scientific career, to quote from, and thereby to discuss intelligently, his public utterances about the American people's business.

2. Your decision very definitely abridges the Constitutional principle of the free press in that it also permits legal restriction on the press in quoting from, and thereby in discussing intelligently for the benefit of the American people, Admiral Rickover's public utterances on the people's business.

3. Your decision very definitely abridges the inherent right of the American people to know about their government and thereby it also very definitely affects adversely the free flow of an informed public opinion, which is the very life-blood of a free, democratic society, and particularly of the free American government. The titles of Admiral Rickover's speeches - "Nuclear Power", "Metallurgy in Atomic Power", "The Challenge of Nuclear Power" and "The Naval Revolution" - support this. The very position of Admiral Rickover in the American Government, made possible only by the American people, establishes him as the one person in government who

can speak authoritatively on these matters and if he utilizes your court's decision to bar free flow of his public utterances to the people, then the people are deprived of their rightful knowledge of their government.

4. Your decision very definitely abridges the free American forum and its precedent may well be the beginning of the complete destruction of this forum. You dwell at length in your decision on Admiral Rickover's literary rights as an individual. You largely ignore the rights of the people in association with their public servants. In the matter of literary rights, there can be no reasonable comparison with the public speeches of Admiral Rickover with the public speeches of, say, a Hemingway. The American people are not employing Admiral Rickover as a literary genius. They are employing him in the scientific development of our Navy. And when he is invited to address groups of American citizens, at their expenses, he is invited as a learned public servant to speak on affairs of his particular domain of the people's business and not on his gems of literature. And when a public servant climbs upon the public oratorical stump, his aims always, based purely on the past experience of a million such speeches, are (1) to inform his audience on his department of the government, (2) to sell his department of government to the people, and (3) to sell himself as the able public servant in that department of the government. In short, Admiral Rickover's speeches belong in the realm of political oratory and not in the field of literature. His past record of ups and downs in government proves this conclusively and to say otherwise is to defy history.

It is just as farcical in free American government for Admiral Rickover to assert his claim to copyright privileges on his public utterances as it would have been for Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln and even Presidents Roosevelt and and Eisenhower to have told the American people: "I'm sorry, boys, but my literary genius demands that I restrict quotation from my speeches so that I can pick up an honest dollar."

Your decision disturbs the free press because it is one more case wherein the free American courts have acted in support of the gradual establishment of an American bureaucracy which is beyond the restraint of the American people, even though this bureaucracy, appointed to government and not elected by the people, is beholden to the people as public servants through heavy taxation. The very future well-being of the American people depends upon the exercise of restraint through an informed public opinion upon this bureaucracy.

Let me outline for you in brief this gradual development of this autocratic American bureaucracy, as follows:

1. In the last 25 years, the bureaucracy, through one means or another, has draped a thick cloak of secrecy not only over their actions and meetings but also over the records of the

expenditure of the billions of American tax dollars. Most of the information the American people receive on the actions of their Federal public servants and on the expenditure of their tax dollars is in the form of hand-out statements from some 5[illegible],000 Federal government press agents, which in many cases are nothing more than propaganda designed to prolong the political lives of their political bosses.

2. In 1958, after other devices to withhold information of government earned the righteous wrath of both the people and the press, Attorney General William P. Rogers announced to Senator Hennings' Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights his ridiculous "doctrine of executive privilege." That ridiculous doctrine, given sanctimoniously by Attorney General Rogers as the legal excuse for withholding information of government from the Congress, the people and the press, is nothing more than a self-proclaimed privilege of the American bureaucrat to do as he chooses in the domain of the people's business, without any restraint whatsoever. Gone from the Federal picture apparently is the inherent American "doctrine of the people's privilege."

3. Your decision of June 2, 1959 in the case of Mr. Vance Trimble, of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, versus The Congress, to which you, in effect, upheld the "privilege" of Congress to withhold from the American people the record of its expenditures of the people's tax funds in Congressional business, and which also in effect, upheld the "doctrine of executive privilege."

4. The July decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, which held that the American bureaucrat cannot be sued for libel, regardless of how he may pummel the American taxpayer over the little matter of the taxpayers' business.

5. Your decision of October 23, 1959, in which you placed in the legal record the somewhat dubious right of the bureaucrat to shut up both the free American people and the free American press on the public utterances of the same bureaucrat through the legal subterfuge of the copyright.

So today we have the somewhat sorry picture of the American bureaucrat, appointed to office and not elected by the people, established in a position of glory, wherein, through the "doctrine of executive privilege" he does not have to answer to the American people in any way, even though the American people pay his salary; wherein, by edict of the Supreme Court, he cannot be held liable for his words; and wherein, by edict of your court, his public utterances cannot be quoted, or discussed by either the free American people or the free American press, regardless of the circumstances.

Need I remind that Communistic Russia is nothing more than a gigantic bureaucracy, wherein the bureaucrat is the glorified dictator, beyond the reach of anyone, and free speech a sham

and all other freedoms, so cherished by the American people, a farce.

Believe me, speaking from both the heart and the mind, I sincerely feel, as a free editor of the free American press and as a free citizen in the free American government, that all of us should discuss these matters before it is too late.

I will be grateful for a reply.

Sincerely yours,

V. M. Newton, Jr.

VMNJr/bb
cc to Messrs: James Byron
Victor Bluedorn
M. B. Schnapper
Carl Brandt
James Pope
Miles H. Wolff
Alan J. Gould
Vance Trimble
Senator Smathers
Senator Holland
Admiral Rickover
Senator Thomas C. Hennings
Rep. John E. Moss

VIEWS OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS ON ADMIRAL RICKOVER'S COPYRIGHTS

I have never seen any justification for Admiral Rickover's copyrights.

James S. Pope, Chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of American Society of Newspaper Editors and Executive Editor of the Louisville Courier Journal

No wonder other Pentagon officials are forming in line to copyright their brain children...It is another example of the bureaucrat's growing assumption that he is not the servant of the people so much as the owner of that bit of the people's business of which he happens to have charge.

Herbert Brucker, Editor, Hartford Courant

Judge Holtzoff's decision very definitely abridges the Constitutional principle of the free press in that it permits legal restriction on the press in quoting from, and thereby in discussing intelligently for the benefit of the American people, Admiral Rickover's public utterances on the people's business.

V. M. Newton, Jr., Chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi and Managing Editor of the Tampa Tribune

The issues that your suit has raised, I completely agree, are of very great broad general importance...The case undoubtedly does have disquieting implications.

James Russell Wiggins, President of American Society of Newspaper Editors and Executive Editor of the Washington Post

Regardless of other questions I should think it might be contended that delivery of speeches to a general audience constitutes...abandonment of copyright. Aside from this there has been a recent accumulation of events to indicate the extent to which the federal government bestrides us like a colossus and enjoys freedom from judicial review.

Harold L. Cross, Counsel for American Society of Newspaper Editors

Fortunately there is a good chance that the issue of whether a public speech by a public official is public property--and not subject to copyright--will finally be decided by the Supreme Court...M. B. Schnapper, Executive Director of Public Affairs Press, deserves a citation for daring to take on Admiral Rickover.

Ted Lewis, New York Daily News

I am firmly convinced that the public utterances of any public official, relating to any aspect of public business, are not the property of the official, but of the public and should not be covered by copyright, or any other device to prevent or restrict their wide and free discussion. The reason was plainly stated by Thomas Jefferson: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be."

Gerald W. Johnson, Historian and Editorial Writer for Baltimore Sun

Washington Post:

Wild Legal Yonder

The seven Mercury Astronauts seem already to have flown into uncharted space by hiring a lawyer to protect their literary rights. M. B. Schnapper, a Washington publisher who has gone to court to challenge Admiral Rickover's right to copyright his speeches, is now questioning the propriety of the Astronauts' action. The same basic question is at issue in both cases: Is everything that a public official does in his official capacity in the public domain? We think it ought to be, even though we have no brief for those who may be attempting to exploit such work for their own private gain.

Although Government policy on this question as it affects patents has long been settled, apparently no attempt has ever been made to draw the line between public and private considerations in the publication of speeches, personal accounts or even memoirs of Government officials and employes. The Navy has tried to avoid taking issue with Admiral Rickover's unprecedented decision to copyright his speeches, obviously not wanting to challenge the controversial Admiral on a seemingly minor grievance. The Admiral's stipulation that newspapers and magazines may quote freely from his copyrighted speeches or reproduce them in their entirety does not settle the question his action has raised. The Defense Department tried to make a distinction between official reports of the Astronaut project and personal accounts of the experiences of the seven men involved, but the Department avoided a direct ruling.

A Government employe has no rights in an invention that he has developed as part of his official duties. This rule extends to devices which the employe develops on his own time but which are clearly related to his Government work. All rights in such patents belong to the Government, which is pledged to show no favoritism in the release of the patents to the public. If such regulations were extended to speeches of public officials Admiral Rickover would be unable to copyright speeches which he prepared and delivered as part of his official duties. Any writings or addresses which had no bearing on his Navy work could of course be copyrighted. As for the Astronauts, all their personal accounts will be a direct result of their official experiences and could not be copyrighted under an adaptation of the patent regulations.

The Government obviously cannot control a former employe's actions after he leaves Federal service, but any material which a person developed as part of his official duties surely is in the public domain. Should not the Government extend the sound principles of its patent rights to speeches and other material which can be copyrighted?

The Hartford Courant:

A Fast Private Buck From the Public Purse?

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, without whom we would have had no atomic subs, is a man to whom the American people owe much. Most of the time what he says, even though it may seem offbeat, makes penetrating sense. But now comes an extracurricular activity in which the Admiral has gone too far.

Last December 1, in what is believed to be the first such move in history, Admiral Rickover took out a copyright on a speech he had given. Hitherto free American citizens have taken it for granted that speeches are in the public domain. Anybody can go and listen, and anybody can reproduce them in any way he chooses from a one-paragraph news account to a full text—and why not a book thereafter? But all of a sudden the Admiral contends that his speeches are for "contemporaneous press use" only, which sounds as though they were in the public domain when uttered but thereafter mysteriously transformed themselves into the Admiral's private property. No wonder other Pentagon officials are forming in line to copyright their brain children, while a Navy official is moved to say that this practice is a little bit of all right.

What a government employe does that is the public's business, and what his private business, has always been a nice question. For a long time Presidents, Governors, Senators, and a host of lesser fry devoting their lives to the public interest (or is it dining at the public table?) have written articles or books and sold them for cash. But this business of transforming directly into private property some of the public's business is something else. It is another example of the bureaucrat's growing assumption that he is not the servant of the people, so much as the owner of that bit of the people's business of which he happens to have charge.

Clearly, if the Admiral were to write a novel, even say of life on an atomic sub, that would be his private property as much as any literary production written by any man. But what is in question here, speeches made by the Admiral as our boss atomic Admiral, look less like literary productions than part of his job. Often those speeches have been run off by Pentagon employes on government mimeograph machines, or have been printed and distributed by the government under the seal of the Department of Defense. What's private about that?

Fortunately, this issue is going to be tested in court. The Public Affairs Press in Washington was miffed when it sought, in the course of its business, to include in a publication some of the Admiral's material, only to be forbidden by him to do so. So it filed a suit that should lead the courts to trace a proper borderline. There is a growing need for such a line. Without one, first thing you know, the taxpayer will be left with no rights at all in the government he pays for.

Navy Says Federal Officials May Copyright Speeches

By RICHARD FRYKLUND
Star Staff Writer

Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, father of the atomic submarine, has a full right to copyright his speeches, according to the opinion of a Navy spokesman, made public today.

Admiral Rickover is being sued by the Public Affairs Press of Washington, which challenges his right to copyright the speeches. The suit claims the Rickover speeches were public acts by a public official and therefore public property—and not subject to copyright.

But the Navy's opinion, written by A. H. Helvestine, of the Office of Naval Research, by direction of the Chief of Naval Research, is that a Government employe retains rights to his "original written or spoken material" and may copyright it if the material "is not prepared at the direction of the official superiors of the author or as a part of his official duties."

Others Request Right

Since Admiral Rickover took the unusual step of copyrighting a speech last December 1, other Pentagon officials have asked the U. S. Copyright Office if they, too, can register their speeches. The Copyright Office has said it has no power to rule on this subject.

But obviously the Navy opinion can be regarded as a go-ahead for the copyrighting of more Pentagon speeches.

The last word will not be heard, however, until the Public Affairs Press suit is decided in the courts. For no solid body of law exists to define which words of a public official are public and which are private.

M. B. Schnapper, executive director of the Public Affairs Press, says he intends to find out if he has to take the case to the Supreme Court. Admiral Rickover says he owns his own "brainwork" and will defend it to the last ditch.

Many Questions at Issue

If the case is carried through to a final ruling, it can answer many arguable questions:

If a public official writes or speaks on the subject of his official specialty, are his words public or private property?

How far can an official go in restricting the use of his writings?

To what extent can a newspaper, magazine or book publisher reproduce an official's pronouncements without his permission?

Copyright Office officials cannot recall an instance where a Government worker tried to copyright his speeches before Admiral Rickover did it.

How Case Began

Why did he take this step?

It goes back to October 29 of last year when Mr. Schnapper wrote the Admiral, asking permission to quote from his speeches in a book to be prepared by the Public Affairs Press. Mr. Schnapper said he had published the speeches of several public officials in the past, including Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, on the assumption that the speeches were public property.

But Admiral Rickover said, "No." He refused to permit quotation of any kind. The speeches were his private property, he said, and he had made arrangements with another publisher to have them printed.

"If he had merely turned me down because he wanted a different publisher," Mr. Schnapper said, "I would have dropped the matter. But he said I had no legal right to even excerpt from them. He even ordered me not to use them.

"I decided this was a clear test of a practice I have seen before in Washington—of a Government official selling rights to his official writings. So I set out to prove that Admiral Rickover's speeches were public property."

Mr. Schnapper said he had some hestitation about appearing to "attack" a respected and valued public servant, such as the Admiral, but he said he thought it was necessary to establish the principle. So he went ahead with plans to publish a group of Rickover speeches without permission.

Controversy Develops

Then there followed a public controversy in which Admiral Rickover said the speeches were not official or public. They were prepared on his own time and at his own expense, he said, and were mostly on the subject of education. Mr. Schnapper, he charged, merely wanted to profit himself from the publication of someone else's speeches.

"Appropriating people's brainwork is the worst crime you can commit," he said. "There is too little brainwork as it is. People who try to help this country should not have their work taken away from them. The copyright and patent idea was intended to protect people who do brainwork."

Mr. Schnapper, however, charged that the speeches were prepared on Government time, printed on Government materials and were largely on subjects Admiral Rickover is assigned to work on: Atomic power, submarines, education of Naval personnel, etc.

Copyrights Two Volumes

But the Admiral applied for a copyright on the next speech he delivered. At the same time he collected together 22 other speeches made over the previous four years, wrote a preface for the bundle and copyrighted the "preface and compilation."

Then, last month, Admiral Rickover copyrighted some of those same speeches—mostly the ones relating to education—in the book published for him by E. P. Dutton & Co. of New York.

This book carries a warning that the entire contents are copyrighted and that no quotation may be made without the permission of Admiral Rickover. In fact it takes the unusual step of including two copyright notices.

Now Mr. Schnapper has in galley proofs his own collection of the Rickover speeches—mostly those on technical and naval subjects. He said, however, that only the preface, which he will provide, will be copyrighted. "You cannot copyright the speeches," he insists.

Mr. Schnapper says that if the Admiral sues him for infringement of the copyright on the E. P. Dutton book, then that will make just one more good test case.

Asks Court Ruling

Not waiting to be sued, Mr. Schnapper filed suit himself in District Court January 16, asking for a "declaratory judgment" from the court that the Rickover speeches cannot be copyrighted and asking for a determination of just what restrictions can be put on a public official's writings.

Admiral Rickover was to have replied formally last Monday, but he said he had to leave the city on official business, so the date of his appearance was postponed 60 days.

Seeks Navy Reaction

Meanwhile, Mr. Schnapper had asked the Navy if it approved of Admiral Rickover's action in coyprighting the speeches. The first formal reply, from Secretary of the Navy Thomas S. Gates, jr., said that "Admiral Rickover has obtained his copyright as a private citizen, not in connection with his official capacity. Therefore I do not deem it proper for the Department of the Navy to render a legal opinion as to its validity."

Mr. Schnapper asked for more information in a letter of January 24. He told Secretary Gates that he had received an anonymous letter raising questions about one Rickover speech. The letter read:

The sptech was written during Government time, on Government paper, on a Government typewriter, and reproduced on Government mimeograph machines. All clerks, including one warrant officer employed in that office, have served notice that they would tell the truth about the entire matter if required to do so in court."

Two Differ on Claim

The reply to this Schnapper letter came from Mr. Helvestine, a patent expert in the Office of Naval Research. He did not go into the question of the anonymous letter and confined himself to the one speech copyrighted separately by the Admiral.

Mr. Helvestine said Mr. Schnapper had "in effect" claimed that "no Government official or employe has the right under any circumstances ever to acquire proprietary rights in his original written or spoken material.

"No theory could be more detrimental to the recruitment or retention of competent personnel than to advise them that all their time and thought are the property of the public and no conceivable mental effort on their part can be rewarded with any recognition of their rights under any circumstances."

Mr. Schnapper said that in his suit and his letters to Admiral Rickover and the Navy—he had made no such extreme claim. He contended only that the Rickover speeches in question were official acts and that their use could not be restricted.

It will be up to the court to decide whether the acts were official, and if so, whether the material can be copyrighted.

There will not be much legal precedent for the court to ponder. Copyright specialists can recall only three cases testing a Government worker's right to copyright material. In one, in 1929, an Army officer was ruled within his rights to copyright a drill manual prepared on his own time, even though the Army had reproduced and used the manual.

In 1942 a court ruled against an Interior Department employe who tried to copyright a map he had drawn while on duty. And in 1914 it was ruled that a booklet prepared from Government material could not be copyrighted.

So there will be an important question of whether the Rickover speeches were prepared on Government time with Government facilities. The subject matter could also be an issue. Could the speches on education be copyrighted? How about those on nuclear undersea propulsion, Admiral Rickover's official speciality?

Law Not Specific

The law itself is not specific in this case. The only reference found by one copyright specialist said, in Section 8, Title 17 of the U. S. Code, that there can be no copyright "in any publication of the United States Government."

Most of the Rickover speeches were printed and distributed by the Government before he delivered them. Some carry the official seal of the Department of Defense and the words: "News release. Department of Defense, Office of Public Information." Was this "publication" by the Government?

Interestingly enough, the Admiral might have caused his suers more legal trouble by copyrighting his speeches as "lectures." A lecture is an unpublished work and does not therefore come under the copyright ban placed on a "publication" of the Government.

Evening Star
WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S.S. GEORGE WASHINGTON (SSB(N)598)
Care of the Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

16 November 1959

Dear Ed:

I am writing you from the USS GEORGE WASHINGTON, our first of nine nuclear powered submarines designed to fire Polaris ballistic missiles. We are presently returning from her first sea trials during which she operated at depths greater than 400 feet and successfully passed her full speed trials, both surface and submerged.

The GEORGE WASHINGTON now joins our nuclear submarine fleet which gives our Navy anti-submarine, Regulus missile firing and fast radar picket capability.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

H. G. Rickover.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, N. Y.

Spec. Pgm.

May 15, 1959

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
United States Atomic Energy
Washington, D.C.

Dear Admiral:

This is a belated note to thank you for participating in THE EDUCATED WOMAN. From the mail we have received, it looks as though the program made some impact and your part in it was to a large extent responsible.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Rickover, H. G.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for having Paul Hoffman send me the check for the United Nations Children's Fund.

You appear to be making out better for the United Nations Children's Fund than you are for the T. V. industry.

Keep up your good work.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Rickover

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

PERSONAL

January 7, 1957

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was certainly kind of you to send me the records. I have been waiting to write you until I had had time to really listen to them, and finally did so during the Holiday Season. I consider them to be of definite historical value, and I hope you continue with your "project" of getting statements from all of our living Presidents.

With all good wishes for the New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Rickover, Hyman

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for your letter of October 23 requesting an advance copy of the speech which I am to deliver before the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation Institute on November 20.

At the present time the speech is still not in final form. However, when copies are available, I will send you an advance copy.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for your thoughtfulness in having a copy of "Gallipoli" sent to me. While I have not yet had a chance to read it, I look forward to doing so.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover
Rear Admiral, USN

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Rickover, Hyman

October 23, 1956

Dear Admiral Rickover:

I have not yet had an opportunity to see all of the film we exposed in your office the other day, but I have seen enough to know that we have in the making one of the most effective comments on American education that I have ever seen. We are all most enthusiastic about it and we are deeply grateful to you for taking time to do it.

Would it be possible for you to have someone send me an advance copy of the speech you are to deliver at the Hotel Suburban in Orange, New Jersey on November 20th.

Respectfully yours,

Rear Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
Assistant Chief of Bureau for
Nuclear Propulsion
Bureau of Ships
Washington 25, D.C.

rh

Rickover, 4

THIS SPEECH REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF THE AUTHOR AND DOES NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY OR THE DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY.

FOR RELEASE AT 8:30 P.M. (EST)
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1959

Remarks prepared by VADM H. G. Rickover, USN
Assistant Director for Naval Reactors
Division of Reactor Development
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
and
Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships
for Nuclear Propulsion
Navy Department
for delivery at
Joint Meeting of
The Yale Club of Washington, D. C.
and
The Yale Law School Association of Washington, D. C.
Washington, D. C.
and also at meeting of
The Yale Club of New York City
New York City, New York
March 16, 1959

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ILLUSIONS COST TOO MUCH

When athletes enter a race, they come prepared to the best of their ability; as near to physical perfection as native endowment and rigorous training can make them, their bodies lean, their dress adequate but light. Each has assessed his own strength and weakness and measured them against his opponents'; few indulge in illusions about their own or their competitors' competence.

The world today has become a gigantic stadium where races for supremacy in economic, cultural, scientific, political, and military competence are run every day. Since the end of World War II, power has polarized in two giant combinations constantly competing with each other. In the foreseeable future there is little prospect for permanent lessening of tension between the two; hence the race promises to continue for years, with now one side, now the other ahead. This is an unhappy prospect for us who wish only to live in peace and tend to our national concerns, but one we cannot evade. The contest is a fact of international life which we must face intelligently and courageously so that we may make the right decisions and take the proper actions.

The first prerequisite is that we look at ourselves and at our opponents with the eye of an athlete who wants only to know the truth so that he may profit from it. This is assuredly not a time when we can afford to give ourselves over to complacent satisfaction with our present wealth and power. What we need is critical self-analysis so that we may detect any weaknesses we may have and rectify them-- any traits or attitudes which might have been appropriate in the

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past when most Americans lived in rural communities and the United States was isolated from world events. Now that we occupy the center of the stage in world affairs such traits and attitudes may have turned into disabilities. The present is an age of lightning change in the fortunes of nations; when one major scientific discovery could alter long established power relationships; when one wrong step could upset the present equilibrium and plunge the world into nuclear war. In these parlous times we cannot afford to indulge in illusions about ourselves or allow our judgment to be clouded by the distaste we feel for our opponents' way of life. Illusions are a form of excess weight that hampers action and diminishes fitness. At this moment in history, when every ounce of strength is needed, illusions cost too much. They could cost us survival.

An illusion may be defined as a belief that has lost contact with reality. Illusions persist because they are ready-made substitutes for thought and, as James Bryce remarked, "to the vast majority of mankind nothing is more agreeable than to escape the need for mental exertion". All nations have illusions. Some cannot bring themselves to face the fact of their political and military weakness, and delude themselves about their real power; thus deluded they may then be tempted into aggression. Other nations underestimate the difficulties of managing a modern technological society and imagine it can be bought or begged from abroad and imposed ready-made upon an ancient and archaic way of life. When this fails, as it nearly always will, a disappointed and frustrated people may find solace in the illusion that it is being grievously wronged by other nations and, thus deluded, embark on disastrous foreign adventures. Our own illusions at least do not endanger the peace of the world, though they are harmful enough to ourselves and to our friends who depend on us for wise and strong leadership.

One does not have to be particularly perceptive, or exceptionally well-informed, or unusually intelligent, to discover, after some research into this matter, that certain of our national beliefs do not accord with reality. By clinging uncritically to these illusory beliefs, we needlessly handicap ourselves in the race that is being forced upon us by the totalitarian bloc. We persist in our illusions because as everyone else, we dislike having to rethink matters which we believe to have already been settled once and for all. The inertia of matter is no greater than that of the human mind — with both, the natural condition is rest; to move either produces friction and heat. With us, this general dislike for change is reinforced by a national trait that is becoming a liability — our habit of subjecting critics to opprobrium because they violate our unwritten convention that everyone ought to stick to his last and not "butt into the affairs of others."

This convention was not unreasonable when our country was sparsely populated and everyone depended upon himself alone, except in emergencies which were handled by voluntary community assistance rather than by government action; the citizen was then hardly conscious of his government. But today most of us live in crowded urban environments; our society depends increasingly on a well-ordered meshing of all human activities and hence on more and more government

controls and services. These are consequences of technology and human crowding and have little to do with political theory. In the manner we live today, many activities once considered private are now involved in national issues. I need hardly say that in democracies all citizens are legitimately concerned with such issues. They have both the right and the duty to criticize what they consider harmful to the national interest.

What we sometimes forget is that the critic in a democracy occupies a position that is quite different from the place he would hold in authoritarian countries. The minority that rules there without the consent of the people cannot tolerate any social criticism for this amounts to censure of its conduct. Criticism, if allowed, would in time undermine the power of the minority. The ruling minority therefore appropriates for itself the majesty of the sovereign state and brands all criticism as lèse-majeste. Its personal desire to escape censure is thus camouflaged by making the voicing of popular discontent an unpatriotic act. At times something of this kind is attempted in democracies by groups claiming to speak for the nation — a false claim on the face of it for it is we, the people — all the people — who are the sovereign nation. In consequence, all social criticism in democracies is in essence self-criticism. Criticism and controversy do not endanger democracy; they are inherent in the right of a free people to discuss national issues; hence they are an essential part of the democratic process. The process is weakened if we are intolerant of those who question our beliefs; if we retain toward the critic an attitude that may have had its place in pioneer societies but that is no longer appropriate.

This attitude makes it particularly difficult to dislodge illusions in which various pressure groups have acquired what one might describe as a "vested interest". In such cases, the lonely critic confronts powerful and wealthy organizations who fight unscrupulously for their favorite illusions. Illusions obfuscate national issues; they prevent the people from seeing the issues clearly. Were the issues fully understood, action might be taken to put the national interest above the particular group interest. But one of the main objectives of pressure groups is to prevent this from happening. Seldom do these groups realize that ultimately everyone suffers if the national interest does not prevail. Their eyes are fixed on the short-run advantages to be gained at all cost for themselves; not on the country's long-term interest. The most difficult problem in any democracy, as Madison clearly saw, was how to "break and control the violence of faction". And Theodore Roosevelt, greatest teacher of democracy this country ever had, reserved his most biting censure for special interest groups who tear the nation apart by their determined effort to prevent the people from putting national above special interests.

In the long history of mankind, short and rare have been the periods when people were privileged to govern themselves. Most of the time, man has been subject to government by the few who claim to possess superior knowledge of how to govern. Even now that democracy is accepted by many countries and has the secret allegiance of millions who are still suppressed by self-imposed

minorities — even now democracy's friends are not certain that in any real emergency, when great knowledge, wisdom, and self-sacrifice must be demanded of a democratic people, they will justify their privileges and rise to the challenge.

Today democracy is being put to the test — perhaps the final and decisive test. An old authoritarianism in new clothing now claims that it alone can handle the problems of this technological and scientific age. The uncommitted world watches the contest. Upon us, as the strongest democracy, rests the responsibility of proving that a democratic people can govern wisely, act promptly, and voluntarily accept necessary sacrifices. In the contest between totalitarianism and democracy, we defend our Western way of life and not only our own freedom but that of all free peoples in the world.

In the hope that it will serve a useful purpose, I should like to explore with you some beliefs that — in my opinion — have become costly illusions. No more can be done in a short speech than to probe around the circumference of this large subject and essay a partial and tentative statement. It is not as important to list all our illusions as it is to recognize the need to take stock periodically and, if necessary, to readjust beliefs, habits, and attitudes to the realities of a rapidly changing world. I shall limit myself to a discussion of illusions that arise from what I believe to be misconceptions about our high standard of living.

To raise this standard year after year appears to have become our nation's highest objective. It is widely believed that we have answered every question one might raise about the progress, power, or international position of the United States if we can but show that this year's Gross National Product exceeds last year's — never mind that this year's dollars have depreciated in value! I should like to state emphatically that I regard the belief that our high standard of living guarantees political and military supremacy — automatically, as it were — as potentially our most dangerous illusion.

The inference we draw is in the nature of a non-sequitur, or at least one that needs to be qualified in important respects. The proper conclusion to be drawn from the premise is that a high standard of living guarantees an exceedingly pleasant and agreeable life. It may also, provided proper action is taken, insure political and military supremacy. It all depends on how the nation's industrial productivity is utilized. Of course, without such productivity no nation can today be powerful, for power depends upon ability to produce large amounts of complicated military hardware. But there the relationship between productivity and power ends. When industrial production is largely devoted to consumer goods and services, even a very productive country may find itself outpaced militarily by another whose over-all productivity is smaller but concentrated in the military sector. It is now no longer possible quickly to convert manpower and industrial plants from civilian to military production when war threatens or has already broken out. Not only will there not be time enough to do this, but today's armaments must be produced in plants designed specially for the purpose. This is a

consequence of a revolution in military technology that has enormously increased the complexity of armaments.

The nature of modern war gives an edge to totalitarian countries since they need not persuade their people to forego comfort for preparedness. The decision to do so is made by the small group who have arrogated to themselves the lifelong job of ruling over their voiceless compatriots. It is natural for this group to look upon their country as a personal possession to be carefully developed so as to enhance its value. Given their avowed aim of world conquest, the development of military and political strength will necessarily take precedence over all other developments. Only insofar as it contributes to this strength will the desire of their people for goods and services take on importance. Ordinarily, modern methods of propaganda are sufficient to keep the civilian standard of living at a low level, for propaganda can delude people into believing that they are better off than others, or that sacrifice is necessary to defend the fatherland against imminent attack. Thus deluded they will work obediently for small personal gain.

We used to think that a totalitarian economy could never be as productive as a free one. We must now revise this belief. Such an economy can be more productive in items that enhance political and military power; it will probably never be as productive in items that enhance the people's comfort and well-being. It is the former, however, that counts most in the race for world supremacy.

In democracies the people decide--through their voting power--how much of the national product shall be collected in taxes and invested in the public sector of the economy; how much retained to support a high material standard of living for themselves. Except in periods of national emergency, it is hard for all the people to feel that their personal fate is inextricably involved with that of their country and that in any conflict between personal advantage and national strength, enlightened self-interest must choose the latter. On the other hand, for a small group of totalitarian rulers this sense of involvement with their country comes without conscious effort. Then again, it requires self-sacrifice of a high order for a democratic people to decide voluntarily that they will forego some of the fruits of their own productivity in order to safeguard the right of future citizens to live in freedom and decency, whereas it is easy for totalitarian rulers to demand sacrifices of their people since the rulers themselves do not share in these sacrifices. This is only another way of saying that in a democracy the state exists for the people, whereas in a totalitarian country the people exist for the state. This fundamental difference must be factored into all our attempts to compare the technological and productivity levels of democratic and totalitarian societies.

What counts then is not productivity per se but how a nation's productivity is used. Strange as it may seem to us, at the present state of technological development, our high civilian standard of living may prove an actual liability in the contest with the totalitarian powers. And for the following reasons:

First, by combining a high technological level in the scientific and military sector with an almost preindustrial standard of living for the mass of their people,

modern totalitarian countries in wartime get the best of both types of civilisation—the technical advantages of an industrial nation with regard to ability to wage war, and the hardihood and resilience of a preindustrial society with regard to ability of the civilians to fall back upon their own resources if need be, and to survive under hardships that might break a more civilized people accustomed to modern amenities.

Self-sufficient communities, used to a simple and frugal life, give a country at war great civilian strength. To illustrate, let me refer to a book on Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age by Raymond L. Garthoff. He reports that, although Russia in but a few months during 1941 lost control of 40% of her population, 60% of her coal, iron, steel and aluminum production; 40% of grain production; 95% of key military industries; 4 million soldiers and nearly two thirds of her tanks and aircraft, she was not beaten but survived and eventually returned to the attack. This is not to minimize the importance of the help she received from us. It is merely to point out that Russia was able to bear destruction comparable to that of a nuclear war and rally again. We must not underestimate the military advantage that totalitarian countries possess because they combine advanced levels of technology in the public sector with frugality in the private sector of their economy.

It is true that people used to an affluent life have individual possessions on which they can draw when war cuts off or reduces the supply of civilian goods. But they have also become so used to comfort that they may have trouble maintaining morale and efficiency if wartime shortages lower their living standards too drastically. It would seem prudent to play it safe and count the low civilian standard of living in totalitarian countries as a plus factor for them which we must counterbalance in some way.

A second reason why our high standard of living may prove a liability is that the intricate system of interlocking economic relationships that maintains our affluent society can easily be disrupted by the breaking of but a few links. To illustrate this point, take the family car, a key item in the American standard of living. Because we prefer to ride to work in our own car, mass transportation is not commercially profitable and has therefore not been adequately developed. Obviously, transportation by private car costs a great deal more in oil and service than mass transportation, especially transportation by rail which utilizes fuel far more economically than automotive transportation. If the oil supply were shut off or limited by the enemy in wartime, some American communities would find themselves without adequate means to transport workers from home to plant or office.

Most Americans now live in huge metropolitan belts which are spreading across the countryside. When population density reaches a given point, there is simply not enough room within the modern megalopolis to accommodate both man and his private car. Flight from urban centers into the suburbs is no solution; it merely aggravates the morning and evening rush. Transportation by private car becomes increasingly costly in time and money. In peacetime this can be borne but in wartime our dependence on private transportation by automobile could prove a liability.

So far we have not drawn the conclusion that when mass transportation becomes a vital necessity it must be provided, if need be at public expense. Certain national attitudes, abetted by those interested in the status quo, prevent our facing this very real problem and dealing with it effectively. A return to public mass transportation would indeed lower the standard of living somewhat but more on the side of prestige than on that of real comfort and efficiency. Yet this lowering of a single prestige factor would give the economy greater strength to meet emergencies.

It is advisable that we study the subject of transportation in the light of the population shift to urban centers. The totalitarian countries appear to have solved the problem in their usual ruthless but efficient way. We cannot copy them. We must devise our own solutions. The urgency of our problem is high lighted by the totalitarian solution of the problem for it gives them presently an advantage. Russia's industrial complexes are spread all over the country whereas ours still remain centralized, though we are conscious of the vulnerability of this centralization and are trying to disperse. Each Russian complex is designed to be self-sustaining, with workers living close to the plants, and farms further out. This eliminates, or at least reduces, the cost of transporting the workers to and from their places of work. If need be, they can cover the distance on foot.

An even more decentralized, self-contained system of industrial-farm-residential communities is now being established in China whose rulers are planning to go much further than Russia along this line. China's 650 million people are being organized into "people's communes" in which absolute communism prevails and everyone works at his assigned industrial or farm task—even family kitchens are being replaced by communal mess halls. This anthill existence must surely be the lowest standard of life to which any human society has ever sunk. But the advantage to the state is obvious. Each of these communes will be small enough to need little in the way of mechanical transportation, but large enough to be agriculturally and industrially self-sustaining.

So much effort and so large a part of a country's natural resources must go into modern transportation systems that the housing of workers close to their places of work gives Russia and China an advantage. One can readily see that their communities are less vulnerable in wartime than the American metropolis surrounded by its bedroom suburbs, with the worker linked to his place of work by a car moving along highways that become inadequate almost the moment they are built.

The third reason why our high standard of living may become a liability is inherent in the nature of today's technological civilization. Ours is the first civilization in the history of mankind which rests upon utilization of resources that do not renew themselves; the first that consumes its very foundations and does this faster the more it succeeds in raising the material standard of living of all its people.

Everything nonliving is finite unless it is recreated by the power of the sun's rays. This we have trouble believing, for in all his past experience man

was a puny Lilliputian whose impact on nature was insignificant and who felt lost in what seemed to him a vast, empty world. Previous civilizations were based on consumption of renewable resources—crops, trees, wind, water, and muscle power. They used nonrenewable resources either not at all or in such minute quantities that hardly a dent was made in nature's store of these treasures. Seventeenth century England, for example, consumed but 360 tons of steel annually! It is only in this latest second of man's hour on earth that a small percentage of the world's people have ceased living entirely off income and have begun using up resources capital.

Few of us are willing to accept the consequences of this revolutionary change in man's dependence on nature. We twist and squirm to avoid admitting that we must accommodate ourselves to a world finite in size and limited in resources. And so we delude ourselves by dwelling with satisfaction on the recurrence of raw material gluts on world markets and profess to see in them proof that resources exhaustion is a fable. Temporary surpluses are of course irrelevant to the basic fact that sooner or later even the largest store of capital will be exhausted if one keeps drawing from it. Market surpluses merely show that we have been overactive in scooping raw materials out of the earth, and have therefore collected them faster than we were able to transform them into machine-made goods.

Realists that we imagine ourselves to be, we have nevertheless invented a modern American fairy tale: The Curves that Never Cross. One is our population curve mounting upward in geometric progression—presently doubling in forty years, tripling in sixty-five, quadrupling in eighty years; the other is our nonrenewable resources curve, descending even more rapidly. We believe that in science we possess a genie in the bottle who will keep these two curves from ever crossing!

I am constantly astonished to what extremes intelligent people will go to avoid facing the limitations of mankind. I have seen it seriously proposed that the United States at one stroke solve its problem of population growth and resources exhaustion by packing ten thousand people a day off into space, there to dig for minerals which will then be sent back to earth. Like the suggestion that we can feed an infinite number of human beings on seaweed--which personally I find a most distasteful prospect!—this "solution" to resources exhaustion disregards man's biological needs and limitations. He does not, after all, live on bread alone, or excuse me, on seaweed alone. He needs enough space around him to retain a sense of individuality and freedom; he needs contact with nature, and he will deteriorate as a human being if these necessities are denied him.

Even should we decide that man is to be reduced to but two functions, tending his machines and consuming their products, the "space solution" overlooks the fact that to supply the army of space-borne emigrants with enough food, oxygen, water, and fuel and to clothe them in the proper space suits would make such tremendous inroads into our resources capital that the whole thing strikes me as a highly fanciful venture. I don't believe we know as yet just what we must provide to make sure these latter-day pilgrims will safely land on their space targets and be able to return to earth, should they wish to do so, but we can get an inkling when we remember that merely to get them into orbit will require about 100 pounds of fuel per pound of pay load!

We cannot realistically appraise our position relative to that of our totalitarian opponents unless we eschew science fiction and accept the fact that we live on a finite earth; unless we are fully aware of our dependence on nonrenewable raw materials and understand that these resources are like uninvested capital—capital which draws no interest. We must fully comprehend that the rate at which this capital is used up is an exponent of population growth and the increase in living standards. Under these circumstances, the rate of capital consumption is obviously an important factor in the relative position of competing nations. For when national rates of capital consumption differ significantly, the nation that uses its capital faster than its opponent will in time be in a less favorable position; the long-run advantage lies with nations whose austere standard of life conserves their resources capital.

Our high standard of living makes such heavy inroads into our capital of nonrenewable raw materials that, because of it, we bequeath to future generations of Americans a diminished national inheritance, thus placing them in a weakened position in the contest with the totalitarian powers. Of course, we have a perfect right to do this for we are a free people. There is nothing to prevent us from emulating Madame de Pompadour and shrugging off responsibility with the frivolous phrase: After us the deluge. But let us not delude ourselves. Let us face up to the fact that when we use up the nation's capital in nonrenewable resources we mortgage the future for the sake of the pleasures of today.

Russia and the empire over which she exercises control now possess all the fuels and minerals needed for their industries. Our own raw materials position has been worsening in the last few decades.

From an exporter of copper, lead, zinc, petroleum, iron, oil, and lumber we have become an importer of these materials. Though two world wars have made great inroads, the main reason for this change from exporter to importer has been our lavish consumption of resources to sustain a continuously rising standard of living for our rapidly growing population. At mid-century we consumed annually 18 tons per person in materials; including 14,000 pounds of fuels and the metals winnowed from 5,000 pounds of ores. According to the Paley Report, "there is scarcely a mineral or fossil fuel of which the quantity used in the United States since the outbreak of the First World War did not exceed the total used throughout the world in all the centuries preceding." Not only are we consuming our own resources capital, we are also making heavy inroads into the resources capital of the rest of the world. Robert C. Cook in the symposium Perspectives on Conservation remarks: "we appear to have grievously impaired the rights of the people of many lands. The fantastic increase in the levels of living in the United States has been at the expense not only of our own resources, but of those of the rest of the world as well. The gargantuan scale of this drain of the world's resources was set forth by the Twentieth Century Fund in 1955." According to the Fund, with but 6% of the world's population, the United States consumes today as much of many raw materials as all others combined. This means that per capita we deplete irreplaceable natural resources eight times faster than the rest of the world.

Of course, we pay for these resources but this may be small consolation for the more thoughtful citizens of backward countries who watch this drain on their national resources. It cannot be halted because the money it brings is needed to keep the wolf from the door. But logic and reason have little impact on strong emotions. The native reaction is apt to be that here go the resources that might in the future have supported a higher technological civilization in their own country; they go to enrich still more what is already the richest country on earth. In a world where the majority of the people are undernourished and ill-housed, where most of them own fewer possessions than the average American family discards, the spectacle of our affluence is more likely to win us enmity than friendship. Our loss, of course, is Russia and China's gain. Their own standard of living is not so high as to cause envy, yet high enough relative to conditions in most backward nations that it can be made to seem effective proof of communism's alleged efficiency.

One might say that our very success in realizing man's age-old ambition to escape poverty and backbreaking toil works to our disadvantage because it arouses envy. This is true but it is not the whole picture. Our material wealth is also resented because we seem to have carried it to excess. But most of all, perhaps, because we have been using our high material standard of living to support a claim that Americans are more intelligent, better educated, and all-around more competent than other people. As a nation we thus take an attitude that is quite similar to one that used to prevail in class societies where the handsome, the rich, and the wellborn looked complacently upon the misery of the masses, firmly convinced that the misery was well-deserved and that their own favored circumstances were but the just desert due superior human beings.

In our personal lives, few of us would take this attitude. It runs counter to everything America stands for. The ancestors of nearly all Americans came here because they were certain that poverty was no sign of inferiority, nor wealth one of human excellence. It is strange that in judging nations we now tend to feel that superiority is proved by ownership of more cars, telephones, or TV sets than are found elsewhere. We pay lip service to American ideals, but what has us virtually mesmerized is the sheer quantity of all the material objects we possess. It is difficult for us not to be smug about this and to urge the poor countries of the world to do as we do so that they too will become as rich and advanced as we are!

Yet when one seeks for the causes of our affluence one is struck less by our alleged superiority than by our extraordinary good fortune. Three factors are mainly responsible for our standard of living—ample natural resources, a mass market, and modern technology.

Our wealth in resources is a fortuitous circumstance for which present-day Americans can take little credit. No other emigrants from Europe, setting forth across the seas, found so large and rich and virtually empty a land as those coming to the United States; nor one so favorably situated geographically and climatically. In taking the country from the Indians we concluded the most advantageous real estate deal in the history of mankind.

Our mass market comes through population growth and the historical accident that 17th and 18th century relations between England, France, and Spain were such as to preclude the carving up of this continent in the manner that Africa was carved up in the 19th century. When we won independence, this was already a huge country. The ease with which we expanded across the continent was a result of the weakness of the countries whose colonies we absorbed.

The third factor which produces our rich society—modern technology—is of European origin. To be brought to maximum use, technology needs a resources-rich area with a mass market. We were the first country large enough to make maximum use of technology. The European countries were too small to benefit fully by their own technical inventiveness. Not until Russia began to apply technology to the exploitation of her own vast land were we faced with competition on something close to equal terms. I need not remind this audience that for some years now Russia's industrial productivity has grown at a rate faster than our own. It remains to be seen whether Western European productivity will not catch up with ours once the European coal, iron, atom, and common market community is fully established.

Modern technology is thought by many Americans to be a unique American achievement. This illusion is nourished by our mass media, advertising having made of bragging a fine art. To look at the splendid color layouts and the jubilant reports of new discoveries, inventions, gadgets, and nostrums, one would never guess how much we owe to Europe in basic research—that fountainhead of technology—or how impressive is Europe's scientific creativity —the most important human talent in this scientific age.

What would you consider the single most important modern technical development? It is utilization of electric power. Our present way of life would grind to a halt if electricity ceased to flow. We have no other energy that could take over all the functions performed today by electricity. Europeans developed it. What are the other principal forms of energy we use?—steam, internal combustion, atomic energy. The first two were invented and developed by Europeans; in nucleonics they did nearly all the theoretical work. What are our most important modern weapons? The list is long but let me remind you that the tank, the jet fighter, and the guided missile originated in Europe; the atomic and hydrogen bombs were developed here, it is true, but largely by European-educated scientists. Or take transportation. Steam and diesel-driven locomotives, refrigerator cars, and the automobile—all came from Europe. Among means of communication, wireless, radar, and sonar were invented abroad. Most of our great medical discoveries came from there—more vaccines and inoculations are European than American; more antibiotics, too—such as the sulphas and penicillin. Reading the list of Nobel prize winners in physics and chemistry is a sobering experience. During the first half-century that these awards were made, England received in proportion to population 2½ times; Germany, 3 times; Holland, 4 times; and Switzerland, 5 times as many awards as we. In the field with which I am most familiar—physics and nuclear power—nearly all the important theoretical work has been done by Europeans. In theoretical physics, Europe has produced some 15 to 20 men of high originality in the last hundred years against one American; of twelve important discoveries

that contributed to our understanding of the atom and nuclear fission, eleven were made by Europeans, one by an American. Between 1934 when Fermi published his epoch-making report on fission and 1940 when war closed down many European universities and laboratories, 133 major scientific papers on atomic fission were published--only half a dozen of these by Americans.

Our contributions to basic research and invention have been relatively small because we have concentrated our efforts on applying modern technology to the production of more and better goods. We have done this so successfully that poverty has ceased to be the lot of the mass of our people. It survives among persons who have had exceptionally bad luck or who are mentally, emotionally, or physically handicapped to such an extent that they cannot meet the problems that normal people are able to handle. Having accomplished this, we ought to cease our intense preoccupation with production of material things and turn to other unsolved problems. There are many of these.

A good case could be made for using our surplus productive capacity and leisure to develop a mass culture on a level as high as any previously attained by privileged minorities. It seems doubtful that this can be accomplished on a commercial basis alone, even if private help is added. We may have to follow the example of other Western democracies where public support of cultural activities, notably universities, theatres, art galleries and music, has long been accepted as the only means of supporting high level cultural activities.

Oscar Wilde once remarked: "Civilization requires slaves. The Greeks were quite right there. Unless there are slaves to do the ugly, horrible, uninteresting work, culture and contemplation become impossible." Modern technology supplies each of us with hundreds--even thousands--of mechanical slaves to whom we are shifting more and more of the world's dirty, debilitating, and routinely boring work. This gives us the means and the time for a vast upgrading of our nonmaterial standard of living. Instead we keep on collecting--squirrel-like--more and more goods. And so we miss the marvelous opportunities modern technology could give us, perhaps because of ancient fears rooted in centuries of human want and insecurity. It is as if we were the Sorcerer's Apprentice who forgot the word which would stop the magic broom.

Our machines keep grinding up the nation's capital of irreplaceable resources and turning them into a flood of goods which overwhelms us. We no longer produce to supply what we need; we now consume in order to clear away what the machine produces--a topsy-turvy state of affairs. To dispose of the flood of machine-made goods we have had to create a new industry; a ten billion dollar industry to service the machine by persuading us to buy its products. We have the strange situation where gifted men devote all their time and their considerable talents in the art of communication to creating artificial discontent in others and to stilling the voice of prudence so that we will mortgage our children's and our country's future to buy more than we need. By investing articles designed to be of practical use with a spurious prestige value, these talented people induce us to discard what is still perfectly satisfactory and buy new models--planned obsolescence is the term for this bit of modern witchcraft.

Today thrift has become not only old-fashioned but antisocial; disinterest in material possessions is made to seem a kind of treason to the American way of life because it puts a brake on the speed with which we use up our resources capital and throw last year's models on the scrap heap. To do both as rapidly as possible has come to be considered a major objective of our native genius. Thus have we carried the noble aim of plenty for everyone to such excess that men become the servants of their machines.

Meanwhile two vitally important tasks are neglected; tasks that in my opinion are far more important than producing new gadgets, new models of existing gadgets, better packaged goods, and more and still more material things. These tasks are conservation of the material foundation of our civilization and development of our human resources. The first involves less wasteful utilization of raw materials and the invention of substitutes for vanishing resources; the second better education for our children. We must not delude ourselves into believing that because we were able to create the wealthiest society in history, we shall have no trouble solving these two other tasks as well. Quite different human qualities are needed and must be encouraged.

Today we still overvalue the producers of material goods and undervalue the preservers of the materials base of modern technology and the developers of our children's minds. Respect and wealth go to men who make their living using up our limited resources capital; we even favor them by tariffs and special tax benefits. But meager rewards go to men who by reason of their intellectual endowments and their long and arduous course of higher studies are able to help us find substitutes for exhausted resources. We support those who flood the market with unsaleable goods and neglect the institutions which train future scientists and engineers who may discover how to prevent future shortages of goods. The manipulator of our intricate machines is usually better paid than the inventor who built the machines. It is significant that we were one of the last great nations to join the International Copyright Union because for a long time we saw nothing wrong in a practical businessman making a profit by pirating the intellectual output of others. We have always favored those who know how to make money by <u>using</u> ideas and material over those who think up the ideas or create new materials.

Conservation, too, is something that rarely excites our interest. We shall not really buckle down to conserve efficiently and intelligently what is left to us until we face the fact that even this huge country is not limitless. Conservationists have been marshalling an abundance of facts to prove that we are running out of space and getting poorer in resources. But various groups who find that conservation measures make utilization of our resources less profitable to them have the contrary interest of perpetuating the illusion that we shall always have much space and vast resources.

Because we tend to measure everything by size rather than by quality, it is easy to convince us by quoting statistics. A good case in point are forestry statistics which are often cited to prove that we now manage our forests so well that we actually have a surplus of new growth over what we cut annually. Let us

not rejoice prematurely. What these statistics do not show is that our forests are still declining qualitatively—half a century after Theodore Roosevelt and Clifford Pinchot launched the Great Campaign to Save our Forests. The real test of scientific forest management is the softwood saw timber account. This remains well in the red. Moreover, it is still true that what we harvest is predominantly high quality saw timber cut from our few remaining virgin stands, while much of what we grow is the scrubby stuff that reseeds itself on cutover land and has little commercial value.

Nor do the statistics show the very large losses suffered by forest fires, insects and the like—at least partly a result of less than perfect forest management. True, some forests are well managed today but many are in poor condition. We have a long way to go. Statistics which leave out the element of quality prevent our recognizing how far we still lag behind forestry standards that have long prevailed in Europe. There is a forest in Leiria, Portugal, that was planted seven hundred years ago and has been cut, and carefully replanted ever since. It is as beautiful and valuable today as it was in the thirteenth century.

All statistics are tricky and must be used with caution lest we be misled. Outgo and input statistics on timber are better today than fifty years ago partly because we now use only half as much wood per capita as we did then. This reduction is a result of a shift from wood to fossil fuels and synthetics, that is from renewable to nonrenewable raw materials. It is part of a general trend that is symptomatic of modern technological societies. Similarly we have shifted from natural to synthetic rubber; from silk and cotton to "miracle" fabrics. These shifts to nonrenewable materials contribute to the rapid exhaustion of these resources and must be regretted from a long-range point of view, much as they may add to present comfort and pleasure.

Our tendency to disregard quality when we make comparisons has helped to perpetuate another illusion—the illusion that only this country educates <u>all</u> its children beyond grade school. Until recently, the deterioration of the quality of American public education has been hidden by statistics showing huge numbers of youngsters in their late teens still going to school and more of them obtaining diplomas and degrees every year. Had we given thought to the <u>quality</u> of the schooling they received and to the kind of scholastic performance represented by these diplomas and degrees, we should long since have stopped deluding ourselves that we have "the best schools in the world."

This has been an unfair and one-sided speech. There has not been time to give a balanced picture of our own and our opponents' strength and weakness. I have dwelt only on <u>our</u> illusions not on <u>theirs</u>. It has always seemed best to me to correct our own weaknesses rather than to look complacently on those of our adversaries.

I am convinced that our single-minded preoccupation with production and consumption of ever larger numbers of material things is a liability in the race that the totalitarians have forced upon us. I realize that the sanctity of the American standard of living is fiercely defended by a formidable array of groups

and organizations whose economic well-being depends on the continuation of today's frenetic production and consumption of manufactured goods. To question the validity of a philosophy of continuous material growth is not popular. Of course, no sensible man will go counter to opinions held by the majority of his fellow citizens unless he believes that the reasons that once justified these opinions no longer exist; that persistence in holding on to what has now become an illusion is detrimental. It is not admiration for our opponents that induces me to bring out their strong points, but simply the desire to seek the truth; in searching for chinks in our own armor, I do not advocate that we copy slavishly what our adversaries do.

There are different ways to express devotion to one's country. For some people, love expresses itself solely in fulsome admiration of every aspect of the American way of life; for others critical analysis is part of all true devotion.

I have criticized our illusions because, in the present period of intense rivalry between democracy and totalitarianism, they prevent our making the fullest use of all our potentialities. But, in closing I should like to affirm my conviction that our potentialities are so great that, if we would but divest ourselves of illusions, seek out the truth no matter how displeasing it may at times be, and set our goals high, there is literally nothing we could not accomplish. Let us take full advantage of the opportunities offered us by this great land of ours and by our democratic institutions that enable us to develop what is best in us. Let us make full use of our greatest asset—the free human mind—which can work wonders if it is permitted to embark on voyages of discovery beyond the frontiers of knowledge.

Rickover H. G.

March 16, 1959

Dear Admiral:

You are more gracious than most men and all Admirals.

I write to thank you for your letter from the Skipjack. Casey has already applied for permission to have it framed and put alongside the picture of the Nautilus you were good enough to autograph.

I am just off for a quick trip to Europe, but will hope to give myself the pleasure of coming to see you in late April. Please convey my warm regards to Mrs. Rickover.

As ever yours,

VADM Hyman G. Rickover
Assistant Chief of Bureau for
Nuclear Propulsion
Bureau of Ships
Washington 25, D. C.

EBM/hl

U. S. S. SKIPJACK (SS(N)585)
Care of Fleet Post Office
New York, New York

At Sea, Submerged
10 March, 1959

Dear Ed.

We are returning to New London, Connecticut from sea trials of the U.S.S. Skipjack, our first nuclear powered, streamlined, single screw attack submarine. The ship successfully met all her trials, surface and submerged, and attained the highest speed ever made by any submarine.

I am writing you because I know how interested you are and in gratitude for the fine friend you have always been to me. I want you to know ~~that~~ your help and understanding contributed to the creation of this revolutionary submarine

With warm regards

Cordially

H. G. Rickover

Rickover, Adm H.

FOR RELEASE AT 8:00 P.M. (EST)
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1958

Remarks prepared by VADM H. G. Rickover, USN
Assistant Director for Naval Reactors
Division of Reactor Development
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
and
Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships
for Nuclear Propulsion
Navy Department
for delivery at
The Harvard Club of New York City
New York, New York
December 11, 1958

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EDUCATION - OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

Since you invited me to discuss my views on American education, I take it for granted that you share my anxiety over its present state and that you believe with me that what goes on in the nation's classrooms is a matter of legitimate concern to every American which he has a right to discuss in public. Robert M. Hutchins warns that "an uncriticized culture will not endure," and Aristotle, writing in the twilight of Athenian democracy, reminds us that education is every nation's most important business. The education of youth, says this most famous of Plato's pupils, is not merely one among the many concerns to which the lawmaker must "direct his attention," but the primary one, "for the neglect of education ruins the constitution of the state."

Hutchins and Aristotle are separated in time by more than two thousand years but their thinking is close because they are both firmly rooted in Western civilization. Their two statements sum up the theme of my speech.

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It took the shock of Russia's Sputniks to bring us to full realization that today the rate of a country's technological progress depends on the quality of its educational system. Not until this shattering of our complacency did we face up to the reality of America's educational deficiencies and talk freely about them in public. We are only beginning to fully grasp the fact that education is our first line of defense which we neglect at our peril.

We might well ask ourselves why an external stimulus was needed to scare us into giving serious thought to the education of our children. Why had we previously paid no attention to those--and they were not a few--who deplored the deterioration of scholastic standards in our schools and warned that Russia's massive upgrading of her education presented a real danger to our position of world leadership?

I submit that we were caught by surprise because we did not accord education the place of importance it deserves in our private lives and in public affairs, and because we did not keep ourselves informed on current educational theories and practices through public debate of this all-important national issue.

Of course, in times of widespread material well-being, people tend to be apathetic about matters which do not seem to affect their personal comfort and security. This is natural. When things run smoothly, nobody goes around looking for trouble.

I believe, however, that we in this country are particularly loath to make national problems our personal business and that we are abetted in this--if not actually pressured into it--by diverse special interest groups which would like us to leave to the "experts" all matters that specially interest them.

We are easily intimidated by pressure groups. Some important issues are not freely discussed in public for fear of displeasing such groups. This is not a new thing in this country. As long ago as 1831, DeTocqueville remarked with astonishment that "freedom of opinion does not exist in America," and Theodore Roosevelt--the greatest teacher of democracy this country ever had--spoke in forceful language against minority groups and warned that we could not tolerate being torn apart by selfish group interests. Despite Roosevelt's warning, I doubt we have fewer minority groups today than existed in his time. Some have disappeared, but new ones have taken their places; many have shown great hardihood and seem to live on forever. Common to all these groups is dislike of public discussion of their particular interests; they realize they cannot win public approval by persuasion. Some groups seek to obtain selfish advantages which run counter to national interest. Others sincerely believe that they know best what is good for the people. Among the latter are to be found groups of professional experts whose work is of a specialized nature or who <u>think</u> that it is. Knowledge increases so rapidly today that extreme specialization

is inevitable. This could easily raise a barrier between the mass of the people on one side and numerous small groups of experts on the other; each little group of specialists seeking to silence public criticism on the grounds that the people are too ignorant to have a valid opinion. We ought not allow such undemocratic viewpoints to prevail. One does not have to be an expert himself to be able to judge whether the expert has done his job satisfactorily.

The American people are now thoroughly aroused about our schools and are forcefully expressing their concern, but powerful educationists are determined to maintain the Chinese wall which they have built around American education. The educational isolation of this country has no counterpart in other advanced nations of the West. Both official and non-official surveys of the educational systems of other countries are published regularly in European countries. We have a federal agency which is charged with disseminating educational data, but I am not aware of similar surveys being put out by them. The only exception seems to be the "Report on Education in the U.S.S.R." which was published by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in mid-1957. At that, the report was unaccountably delayed, according to its author. Disquieting evidence of Russia's educational progress had been accumulating for eight years prior to its publication.

Wholly erroneous views of the educational standards and

practices of other countries are unfortunately widespread among American educationists. Lack of interest in education abroad--which is dismissed as being aristocratic and hence unsuitable to this country--prevents our schools from benefiting by the educational experiences of others. What is done in schools elsewhere may be well worth our attention since it can often be adapted to specific American needs. Educationist parochialism becomes a positive danger to the country when it prevents the leaders of American education from keeping abreast of developments in Russia. Indeed they have been slow to perceive the challenge of Russian education and even slower to admit the threat it represents to our country. In no other way can one explain the amazement and shock publicly expressed by prominent professional educators who finally went to Russia this year to check for themselves.

As far back as 1954, people outside education had warned of the tremendous educational development in Russia and had urged that we put our own educational system in order. These warnings were airily dismissed as "hysterical" and the warners were told not to interfere in affairs about which they could know nothing--not having taken the prescribed credit courses in "education," one must presume! I suppose we should be thankful that at last there has now been a change of viewpoint among some of these recent travelers. "We were simply not prepared for the degree to which the U.S.S.R., as a nation, is committed to education as a

means of national advancement," said one of them. But not every member of this group came in quest of truth. Unfortunately there was present the type of truculent attitude which is represented by statements such as: I'm here to collect evidence that will prove American schools are superior to the Russian. This reflects the all too common educationist view that the schools are their private business which no one can be permitted to criticize. We have the right to expect of educators that they seek the truth and have the courage to face it. Once the truth is known, there is nothing to keep this country from surpassing any foreign educational system.

The attempt of leading educationists to keep public education a preserve of the "professional" educator lowers the tone of the great educational debate which has been going on since Sputnik. I believe one may fairly say that most critics of American education argue on a level of ideas and facts. They point out where the public, the parents, and the educators have gone wrong, for obviously there would be no educational crisis if there had been no human failures. But rarely do the critics make the educator the sole scapegoat. They do, however, point out what specific educational theories and practices must be changed if we are to bring excellence to American public education; and where educational reform has been blocked by educationists, they bring out this fact. How else are we to make a change for the better?

On the other hand, all too many educationists stoop to the level of personal invective in order to discredit the critics of American education instead of answering the specific criticisms. I have yet to see a well-reasoned, well-documented counterargument which takes up every point raised by the critics and attempts to prove them wrong. Instead, the whole issue becomes a duel between educationist and critic in which the educationist is concerned solely with his amour-propre and his job, and the critic is accused of being an ignoramus out to make a lot of money by irresponsible sensationalism. The rights of our children are lost in this undignified attempt to silence criticism at all cost.

What horrifies me is the apparent inability of many educationists to conceive the possibility that one may criticize American education for no other reason than because he is sincerely concerned with the future of our youth; that it is possible to criticize because one believes in American public education, not because one hates it, as educationists imply; that one may feel there are better educational philosophies than John Dewey's without necessarily being a crackpot or a reactionary. For me, our educational crisis is a matter of such gravity that the heavy-handed vulgarity, the clumsy jocularity to be found in some educationist repartee trouble me greatly. The future of our children is not a fit subject for dialect stories. What manner of men are these who degrade a serious

discussion into tasteless burlesque? There are fortunately not many who speak in this vein but it is surprising that no voice is raised from within the fraternity to castigate this deplorable levity. Debates serve a useful purpose only when they are conducted on the level of ideas and facts; then they help clarify the issues. Debates are useless when one side offers no reply to the arguments of the other, except to impugn the qualifications and motives of its opponent.

To an educationist, a person who is not a "professional" educator can offer no valid criticism since education is not his metier. This is not a sincere argument, for the leaders of American education are extremely intolerant of criticism by members of their own profession as well. A teacher jeopardizes his job if he exercises the right of free speech in a manner implying even mild criticism. I myself and most other critics have received many letters from teachers expressing their deep dissatisfaction with American education but begging not to be quoted by name. Virginius Dabney, Pulitzer prize winner and editor of the Richmond, Virginia Times-Dispatch commented editorially in 1954 on this tacit censorship by the educationist top command: "It is highly disturbing," he said, "that teachers in good standing feel that they cannot constructively criticize things that are happening in the schools...without risking their jobs. For such thought-conformity to be forced upon teachers, of all people--the very members of society who are supposed to be

promoting intellectual freedom and the healthful interchange of opinion--is doubly shocking."

Educationist interpretation of the term "professional educator" is extremely narrow. Criticism by colleagues on college and university faculties, for example, is not regarded as "professional!" The reason is not hard to find. The best-documented, most clearly reasoned and most interestingly presented--as well as the harshest--criticism of our public schools has come from the pens of academic scholars, and no wonder. To them the inadequacy of the public schools is daily made manifest by the educational deficiencies of students who must be given remedial courses in high school--sometimes even elementary school --subjects before they can be taught at the college level.

As one works his way through mountains of educationist literature one is impressed with the determination of public school men to be independent of the colleges. In this, they differ greatly from secondary school educators abroad. There, the universities set the standard for all education. The academic secondary schools must prepare students to pass the examination for the "leaving-certificate," without which students are not admitted to universities; in turn, the high scholastic standards of the academic secondary schools influence those of the non-academic secondary schools. In consequence, scholastic standards are higher all around than in this country. We should soon see marked progress if American colleges performed for

public education the standard-setting service which is performed by universities abroad, and if the men who run our public school system accepted these standards. At least our academically talented children might then receive a secondary school education which would not be wholly out of line with what is now being offered in European schools.

Educationist disparagement of criticism by college professors has rubbed off on some news commentators. For example, the remarks of one of our eminent scholars were recently reported by one commentator solely in terms of the shape and color of the scholar's socks! A debate on American education between one of our "professional" educationists and a college professor of unimpeachable scholarship was reported as follows: eleven lines were alotted to the professor; these slyly hinted that he had no doubt found criticism remunerative, but made no mention of what the professor had said in the debate. But the argument of his opponent was presented in great detail and with ample quotes. Since I have great admiration for the professor, I shall now stoop to personalities myself and say that I found the argument of the educationist extremely boring since it merely echoed the old party line. You know how it goes: There is nothing fundamentally wrong with our schools that could not be instantly remedied by more money; the public must supply this money but keep out of such "professional" matters as curricula, teacher certification, educational aims and objective, and so on.

Practically every educationist pronouncement contains the stereotyped claim that our schools are the most democratic and the best; that they are the envy of the world.

Parenthetically, it should be said that there is some evidence that the critics have not been entirely ineffective, in that this particular bit of bragging has of late not been heard quite so often. We are now merely assured that "our best schools are unsurpassed in the world." I wish I could bring myself to believe that continual invocation of these phrases, in the manner of a solemn incantation, will make them come true.

A favorite gambit used by educationists to discredit lay criticism deserves mention. The critic is asked: "Would you presume to tell your doctor how to do his job? Why then do you presume to tell the 'professional' educator how to do his?" This argument has superficial persuasiveness and seems to have won friends for the educationist viewpoint. Although the press as a whole eschews the type of biased reporting which is to be found among some commentators, it has not been entirely unaffected by educationist propaganda. Witness the monotonous repetition of the words "blast," "lambast," "rant," "lashes," and "attack" used by journalists when reporting the arguments of critics--no matter how even-tempered, reasonable, and factual these might be. This is a sort of semantic hitting below the belt which ought to be outlawed by new "Marquess of Queensbury Rules for Public Debates on Education!"

Most critics are pretty tough skinned because they are motivated by a deep concern for our children's future. Even so, making criticism unpleasant, even risky, can sometimes silence it.

In his essay On Liberty, John Stuart Mill tells of an interesting way in which this was accomplished by an ancient people--the Locrians. Being as fond as the next man of maintaining the even tenor of familiar customs and ways of life, but desirous of giving lip service to the noble concept of free speech, the Locrians devised a splendid method which allowed them to eat their free speech cake and have it too. At public meetings anyone could argue for a change in the laws and customs but not before a halter had been placed around his neck. The instant anything he said met with public disapproval, the rope was pulled tight. Thus were the frivolous faultseeker and the reforming crank kept in hand. There are times when I personally have felt a sense of kinship with the Locrian critic!

Since it has been effective in discouraging public debate, let us examine the educationists' "doctor gambit." The analogy between the "professional" expertise of our public school men and that of our physicians is so tenuous as to render the gambit pointless. One of our great educational deficiencies is the meager professional qualification which suffices in this country to admit anyone to employment in public education below the college level. It is, in particular, quite inferior to that

required of secondary school teachers in other Western nations who are almost as thoroughly trained as are members of other "learned" professions. In this country, the "professional" knowledge possessed by secondary school officials and teachers cannot be compared with the "professional" knowledge possessed by a licensed physician.

There is indeed a wide gap in medical knowledge between physician and layman. But the required courses in "education" which make up the American educator's professional study program are not such as to create a wide gap between him and the layman; not, at any rate, if the layman has taken the trouble to inform himself on educational theories, practices and objectives; not, if the layman by reason of being an employer has had practical experience with the products turned out by our schools! The subject at issue is not so difficult to understand as we are led to believe. Nor do we need to be overawed by academic degrees in education for, alas, many are granted for intellectual achievements which are not impressive.

Flexner, one of our most perceptive critics in the field of education, once made a random selection from the Chicago and Columbia University list of theses for M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in education; a devastating conglomeration of inane trivialities having no connection with true scholarship. There was little to choose ~~between~~ among the theses on his list but for some reason one in particular stopped Flexner in his tracks. "I pause for a moment,"

he writes, "to contemplate the thesis 'An Analysis of Janitor Service in Elementary Schools.' Why Elementary? There are reasons: first, obviously, the title suggests other theses--and new subjects are in demand, as students multiply--the duties of a junior high school janitor, of a high school janitor, of a college janitor, etc. 'Are these really different subjects?' I once asked a professor of school administration. 'Oh, yes,' he replied, 'the lavatory problem, for example, is with small boys quite different from the same problem at the high school level!'" Lest I be accused of talking about what happened in the past, let me give you a few samples of theses for which the degree of Doctor of Education was awarded last year: "School Camping in New Jersey," "The Predication of Baseball Ability Through an Analysis of Selected Measures of Structure and Strength," "A Study of Boating and Boating Education in Selected Schools, Colleges, and Universities in the United States."

Let us not be intimidated by the "doctor gambit." Public education is a subject well within the grasp of the layman, especially the educated layman. Moreover, it must be remembered that in this country--as in most advanced Western nations--education is for the most part a tax-supported enterprise and everyone in it is a public servant. One of the important differences between citizens of a democracy and subjects of authoritarian states is that the democratic citizen has the right as well as the duty to check and evaluate the performance

of public officials, and to express his dissatisfaction when they do not carry out the mandate of the people or when they discharge their functions unsatisfactorily. Sovereignty lodges in the people, and public servants--whether elected or appointed; federal, state, or local; career or civil service--are all agents of the people. They will be judged irrespective of whether or not the critic possesses vocational competence equal to that of the public servant. We criticize the police when it is derelict in its duties though we may have no criminological competence. We need not be tax experts to publicly--and loudly--express our views on taxation. My own work is of a highly technical character, but as a government servant my work is at all times subject to public scrutiny. It would be calamitous if things ever came to pass in this country where every self-styled "professional" expert could silence public discussion of his work, simply by claiming that no layman can understand what he is doing. That way lies censorship which in the past, also, arose from claims to infallibility, but which in civilized countries has had to make way for the right of free men to speak their minds.

The importance of free speech in a democracy cannot be overstated. It is a privilege which may be lost if it is not used. But more important, it is a necessity for insuring good government. In democracies public servants are not born to high office, nor do they hold it by dint of possessing absolute power; they are elected. They will be good or bad, depending on whether

the people who elect them are well-informed, independent in their judgment, and patriotic enough to put the national interest above personal or group interest. In some countries the national interest prevails by fiat of the few; here it must be maintained voluntarily.

Public debates on national issues are an important part of the democratic process. Through them the citizen is enabled to familiarize himself with facts which he might not have had the time or ability to dig up for himself. By hearing opposing "experts" give their interpretations of these facts and their solutions to the problem under discussion, the citizen discovers all aspects of the issue and is helped to make wise decisions. In any public debate, the more varied the viewpoints that are aired, the better. Let us disregard the "professional" qualifications of those who wish to talk about education and concentrate on <u>what</u> they say rather than on <u>who</u> they are.

Though I have never taken a course in "education," I have been running schools for years. Everyone in my atomic power group has taken a hand at some time or other at teaching what he has first had to teach himself about the new science of nuclear engineering. We have set up schools for our own engineers and for industry people, as well as for the officers and men who will operate our nuclear ships. In our post-graduate program we teach the exacting requirements of reactor design, construction, and management. We, too, have come across

deplorable lacunae in the education of our students; like so many colleges, we have had to give them "remedial" courses! My concern with education predates the Sputniks by several years and sprang from my dissatisfaction with the products of our schools. My work keeps me pretty busy and I am not looking for more things to do. Only a strong motive could have induced me to give up the little leisure I have in order to familiarize myself with our educational problem. I speak on education only because I am anxious about the future of our country, should present educational practices continue.

As any engineer would, I noticed many years ago that Russia, with her tremendous new educational program and her single-minded determination to outpace us in science and technology, was gaining momentum at a time when we were losing momentum. This ~~showed~~ SHOWS up in the constant lengthening of lead time in this country--from 2½ years during World War II to about ten years today--while in Russia lead time for military hardware ~~had~~ HAS been cut drastically and ~~was~~ IS now about half ours. Lead time as you know is the time which elapses from inception of a new idea to its utilization in the finished product coming off the production lines. As an engineer, engaged in pushing through a new engineering project, it has long been obvious to me that we cannot shorten lead times as much and and rapidly as we must to keep ahead of Russia, unless we find ways to remove the many roadblocks, both technical and non-technical, which delay <u>all</u> our attempts at technological breakthroughs. My own work in nuclear propulsion is merely <u>one</u> such instance. The same roadblocks hinder every one of our new development projects,

be they in jet engines, rockets, missiles, satellites, or attempts to obtain energy from hydrogen fusion.

Nearly all these roadblocks are caused by people whose education has not prepared them for the extremely difficult problems which arise when we seek to progress beyond present levels of technology. At bottom is to be found a too facile faith in the miracles of science which permeates our national mores and causes us to be overly optimistic. I believe it is necessary that we become somewhat more realistic; that we revise our thinking in this respect: a high standard of living is not a gift dispensed by a scientific fairy godmother but something which must be earned by upgrading of the total human personality. Whenever we make an advance in man's age-old effort to utilize the forces of nature, we must simultaneously raise our education, our techniques, and our institutions to a higher plateau. The civilized man has always had to meet higher demands on his total humanity than the primitive man living in an archaic society. Let me illustrate this by an example of past upgradings in a field with which I am familiar.

If you obtain your power from human muscle, wind, or water, you need almost no technical knowledge. To drive a gang of galley slaves, to manage a windmill or water mill does not even require literacy; but putting Faraday's invention of the dynamo to practical use in a central station power plant needed fifty years of engineering effort by well-trained people. The men

who run such plants use their minds a great deal more and they need much better minds than the quondam miller or slave driver. Similarly, from the splitting of the atom in the 1930's, to the bomb in 1945, to the first practical nuclear reactor in 1953, a vast amount of intellectual effort of a high order had to be expended. Everyone involved in research, development, construction, and running of nuclear power plants has had to raise his thinking and his performance to technical and administrative levels well above those required in conventional power plants. Our nuclear engineers had to be more broadly and more thoroughly educated; better grounded in basic engineering principles, in particular, than the average engineer. And, since our reactors were not laboratory models, since they were expected to propel ships and supply energy to central station power plants, our work also involved many people outside my own group--people in industry and in other government agencies--on whose cooperation we depended. The categorical imperatives of atomic energy demanded that they too raise their thinking and their actions to higher levels of competence. In particular, what was needed was an upgrading of administrative procedures and of standards of accuracy in industrial production.

It is no exaggeration to say that a major part of our time has been taken up with fighting for higher levels of performance which are resisted because their necessity is not understood. We have had great difficulty convincing outsiders that more

rigorous standards are essential if nuclear power is to be harnessed safely and efficiently. Resistance arises from what one might call an intellectual toryism--an inflexibility which has its roots in an educational system that does not prepare young people for life in our constantly changing world; a world subject to recurrent bouleversements which rapidly make old attitudes and procedures obsolescent and demand that we have flexible and versatile minds. If and when we obtain energy from hydrogen fusion, still greater demands will be made on the scientific, engineering, and administrative abilities of everyone involved with this new source of power.

It is obvious that the kind of American who thoroughly mastered his environment on the frontier, in a muscle, wind, and water state of technology, would be totally ineffective in the atomic age which is just around the corner and the fusion age which is still a way off. Even today, social workers in big cities into which people from our last frontier regions have been pouring are fully aware of the inadequacy of these human beings in an urban environment for which their simpler life has not prepared them.

One consequence of technological progress is that man must use his mind more and his body less. We still think in terms of a more primitive era; we tend to overvalue physical prowess and we most certainly undervalue intellectual competence. This has a profound effect on our attitudes toward education. The kind of

schools that once prepared young people adequately for life in a less complicated environment are of little use today. Nor do we now need schools which concentrate primarily on adjusting the children of immigrants to a new country; on helping them become Americans quickly and painlessly. Today we must have schools which develop all children--talented, average, and below average--to the highest level of intellectual competence which they are capable; schools which help young people to understand the complex world of today and how it came to be what it is. This means that our schools must return to the traditional task of formal education in Western civilization--transmission of the nation's cultural heritage, and preparation for life through rigorous training of young minds to think clearly, logically, and independently.

My personal experience in developing nuclear power has convinced me that our schools do not produce enough qualified people to run our complex technological society. We have a chronic shortage of trained professionals which is not limited to scientists and engineers but is all-pervasive. Nor do we have enough broadly and liberally educated people with qualities of leadership to administer the work of trained professionals. Because of these shortages, our most competent people often are greatly overworked, which is not a good thing. Worse still, a less qualified man must often substitute. The result is either unsatisfactory performance or costly delay. Our educational

system is simply not geared to the requirements of this scientific age. Much more education is needed today, not just by the future professional person and by leaders in government and in industry, but by everyone. All our children need education far superior to anything we in this country have ever had or have ever needed in the past. Only massive upgrading of the scholastic standards of our schools will guarantee the future freedom and prosperity of the Republic.

I began work on nuclear propulsion by setting out to find men of independent mind and venturesome spirit to make up my reactor group. From the start it was evident that no experienced men of this type were available. Before we could seriously tackle our work, we therefore had to find young people showing potentialities of growth whom we could then ourselves train intensively for work on reactor design. I have interviewed more than two thousand young men in the last twelve years, all top men in their college class. My naval reactor engineering group presently numbers about 150. Since the men who came to see me had already passed through a number of previous interviews where all but the best were eliminated, it is evident that those who could not meet the requirements of the nuclear power project--and hence inferentially of any new development project--vastly outnumbered those who qualified.

This experience made a deep impression on me. It led me directly to a study of why our educational system produces so

few men who are qualified to do the work which we must do if we are to progress. I found that our schools are the greatest "cultural lag" we have today.

When I read official publications put out by the men who run our educational system--booklets such as "Life-Adjustment Education for Every Youth" or "Education for All Youth" --I have a strange feeling of reading about another world, a world long since departed if it ever existed at all. I sense the kindly spirit, the desire to make every child happy, the earnest determination to give advice on every problem any young person might ever meet in life--and withal so complete a misunderstanding of the real needs of young people in today's world that it frightens me.

If I speak out against a mistaken concept of what twentieth century American education should be, I do so out of no desire to find fault with those who misread the demands of the times but from anxiety for the future of our children. I am worried about the chances which young people--who are so poorly equipped to deal with modern life--will have when things become more complex and difficult, as they surely will before very long. Today's big problems for young people are not how to choose the proper necktie, or how to be socially popular--these are minor problems which any mother can easily teach her children; which children can in fact pick up themselves as they associate with others.

It is quite incomprehensible to me why so much emphasis is put on teaching children to "adjust" to their "peer" group. A child's best learning time is short and should be put to better use. Let us help him to absorb real knowledge and not waste his time teaching him something that comes naturally to all children. Every parent knows that immature youngsters almost slavishly conform to the mores of their contemporaries. They certainly need no courses in how to become little "organization men." The danger is rather that they may grow up without learning to think for themselves. Overstressing group adjustment may lead children to pick the wrong group and join a juvenile gang. Members of such gangs are probably the most perfectly group-adjusted youngsters you can find anywhere!

If education is to have any value it must help the youngster to reach maturity; to develop his reasoning power; and, through the discipline of rigorous study, to strengthen his character. No one can predict what problems he will meet in this uncertain and changeable life. The only way to prepare him so he can deal with whatever challenge life may bring is to make sure that when he graduates high school, he will be a truly "educated" young person. By that I do not mean the same thing as some of our educationists. Witness the statement of a teachers college dean, quoted in John Keat's revealing book "Schools Without Scholars:" "An educated man is one who is well adjusted and helpful in his community." When the dean was asked "whether a man who was well

adjusted and helpful could be considered educated without also being able to count his fingers or write his name," the dean said, "Yes."

Our schools have done a fine job making Americans out of youngsters with diverse backgrounds and doing this in record time. But this job is finished. The schools must now tackle a different job. They must concentrate on bringing the intellectual powers of each child to the highest possible level. Even the average child now needs almost as good an education as the average middle and upper-class child used to get in college preparatory schools. The talented child needs special schooling to move him rapidly through the period of absorbing knowledge into the period when his fine mind can turn this knowledge into new ideas, new discoveries, new ways of life. We need creative thinkers in the humanities no less than in the sciences. Living in crowded areas demands more of us in tolerance, in consideration, and in acceptance of necessary rules than life on the frontier. Perhaps our grandchildren will have to live with fewer material possessions. It is not too early to turn to inner resources, which are limitless: to art, music, literature, good conversation; to cultivation of a more contemplative way of life.

Other countries have successfully carried through the most drastic of educational reforms. So can we once we recognize the need. There is much we can learn from the advanced nations of Europe which have always stood in the forefront of education.

By any pragmatic test, their education has proved its value. Crowded, resources-poor Europe still wields influence out of all proportion to its relative size; it still has the highest living standard, excepting only that of North America. These are results of her remarkable intellectual achievements. I invite you to read the roster of Nobel prize winners in physics and chemistry; the number of original thinkers produced in the last hundred years; the number of basic inventions for present-day technology; the discoveries in medicine which have made life happier and safer--in all these you will find Europeans outnumbering Americans several times over, measured in per capita performance.

At the other end of the human intellectual scale, you will find that the leading nations of Europe started to wipe out illiteracy long before we did, and have lower illiteracy rates than we. Free compulsory elementary education was established in several European countries before we achieved this goal. It is today cheaper in time and money to become a professional person in many European countries than in America. The impressive figures on school attendance of American teenagers lose their impressiveness when we compare the time actually spent in classroom studies here and abroad--theirs being 1/4 to 1/3 longer each year than ours; hence our longer schooling is merely a sort of stretch-out. We have nothing scholastically comparable to the European academic secondary school which is either free

or charges small fees tailored to the income of parents. Our youngsters have to get this kind of liberal education in college, losing precious time and having to spend more money to boot--even in the state universities, where incidental and boarding expenses exceed the cost of the secondary day schools of Europe.

Many of our school problems spring from erroneous conceptions of democracy and equality; from our unwillingness to recognize the vast differences in mental endowment and determination which are to be found in any representative group of children. We must not make shibboleths of "democracy" and "equality." National ideals are not realized in a set way which remains unchanged forever. Democracy is a growing force. It never reaches perfection. It ever finds new objectives. To achieve it in a small, homogeneous farming community is one thing. Where land is abundant and a man's success depends primarily on his physical strength and courage, inequalities of mental endowment are not very important. To maintain democracy in a highly industrialized urban society is far more difficult, for here man must use his mind more, and hence mental inequalities become manifest. We cannot eliminate mental inequalities by running our schools in a way which hides them, as when we admit students regardless of their qualifications, or hand out diplomas and degrees to everyone irrespective of scholastic achievement. We pride ourselves on being democratic when we thus eliminate

competition and reward from the most important activity a human being can engage in--brain work. But all we accomplish by protecting the lazy and stupid child and neglecting the talented is to impede technological progress.

This we could do with impunity so long as the choice was left to us whether to advance, stand still, or progress. Today we no longer have any choice at all. We are confronted with a country whose leaders have openly declared that "they will bury us;" a country that is larger and more populous than we; that possesses all the necessary minerals for a high level technology, many of which we must import; that is putting much greater effort and proportionately more money into producing well-trained scientists and engineers; and whose rate of industrial progress is greater than ours. In this situation, ability to progress technologically becomes an important element in relative military strength.

Our present situation is such that survival as a free and prosperous nation depends upon our being able to progress more rapidly. This we shall not be able to do unless we bring excellence into the schools; unless intellectual achievements are properly rewarded so that competition will again come into play. I doubt we can do this unless in some manner we set educational standards. The only practical way at present seems to be for American colleges to take on this responsibility. They are in a position to pick and choose among applicants.

If they got together and agreed to keep increasing admissions requirements year by year, they would gradually force higher scholastic standards on our public schools. The private college occupies a strategic position today. It is engaged in the nation's most important activity--developing citizens who can maintain our complex civilization and push it forward. Unless we have such citizens and enough of them for our needs, our country is in danger. For in truth and quite literally, education is our first line of defense.

I should like to close with a well-known quotation from Whitehead with which you must all be familiar but which is so prophetically true that it cannot be repeated too often: "The rule is absolute, the race which does not value trained intelligence is doomed. Not all your victories on land or at sea, can move back the finger of fate. Today we maintain ourselves. Tomorrow science will have moved forward yet another step, and there will be no appeal from the judgment which will be pronounced on the uneducated."

September 29, 1958

NOTES ON RICKOVER INTRODUCTION

Admiral Rickover is a man who loves to do battle with lethargy and barnacled tradition. He will occasionally admit that he is pleased with the performance of an individual or a piece of hardware but, so far as I know, he has never confessed to being satisfied.

I first met him in the course of doing a television program called REVOLUTION IN THE NAVY. This involved porpoising about for three days on the Nautilus, shooting an interview with Admiral Arleigh Burke on the Forrestal, the missile cruiser, Boston, the submarine Albacore and various shore installations. Near the end of the filming, I went to Washington to interview Admiral Rickover and began putting to him the usual questions about nuclear power and weapons and the effect of these on naval strategy and thinking. Early in the interview, the Admiral interrupted my questioning and said, "Why don't you ask questions about the really important things?" He then declared that "education is the most important problem that faces us today. It is even more important than atomic power or the Navy because if our people are not properly educated in accordance with the terrific requirements of this rapidly spiralling scientific and industrial civilization, we are bound to go down. The Russians apparently have recognized this." More than any man I have known, Rickover respects nothing but ability. Neither rank nor wealth nor tradition impress him. The only thing he appears to fear is that the Ship of Stqte will founder, as a result of an excess cargo of ignorance and from the rust and barnacles of indifference and waste of manpower and resources. He once said to me in another interview, "Another thing that possibly deludes us is the current belief that we can do everything better than everyone else in the world. We also have a tendency to do quite a bit of bragging. Other people are just as good as we are. I have seen no patent from the Lord saying that Americans are better than anyone else or that they have more brains than anyone else.

We do have more wealth than other people. We have greater opportunity to become better than other people. But I am not so sure that we are taking advantage of that opportunity as much as we could."

I certainly agree with your main contention, which is that Rickover reached his conclusions about education as a result of using, or trying to use, its products in developing a crash program in peacetime. I do not read him as having the scientist's contempt for the humanities. Basically, what he wants is to make intelligence and the disciplined mind respectable.

There is, as you know, no institution in the world that quite parallels the shop he runs. It is perhaps the best example of his respect for ability and his insistence upon the acceptance of responsibility.

Rickover

NOTES ON REAR ADMIRAL HYMAN G. RICKOVER'S DISCUSSIONS OF PROPOSED BOOK WITH BWK WASHINGTON, D. C. SEPTEMBER 2, 1958

Subject of book

It should be an expose which will touch the public. To be about the people involved in the government and how the government really works. It should be written in the third person, by a writer who must write about what he sees, not what people tell him, and it should set forth his and Rickover's conclusions. The book would be a source book, a case history, which would influence industry. The writer must be cleared in order to gain access to the most important facts.

Rickover feels that the exploitation of weapons is the main element in defense today. It would take very little exploitation to bring about the enemy's defeat. We must get on top of the situation through men of science and through cultural sources. A lot of "baloney" is going on today in Washington along educational, scientific and technological lines. We cannot alow the present danger of false premises to continue. If the truth is brought out something might be accomplished. At present there is too much publicity to the point that no one really knows what is going on. Defense is not getting enough money from the government. There are too many people involved in government operations. Rickover thinks personnel should be pared to a minimum, with the top people really doing the work. We must try to stop the draining of profits by eliminating unnecessary people and jobs. In our efforts to gain maximum efficiency there must be people involved who have imagination, artistic temperament in every phase of operations and the thinking must not be narrow. If we value our opportunity to be free we must be selfish and prevent our destruction. Our industry is not efficient. Everyone is fooling himself and the public through over-optimistic advertising.

Time involved in writing the book:

Rickover thinks it might take three years to do it successfully. He could time to a writer depending on how much time the writer could allow. Rickover feel the subject involves many subtilities and that much insight is needed on the part of the writer to look into the complexities. Government agencies are usually misleading in saying that projects take a short time. As a result of a writer's necessary research there would be many repercussions. For example, when Raymond Gram Swing talked to Rickover about doing a book he began to see it was a far vaster project than he, Swing, had expected.

Money involved in this book:

Rickover thinks this project will take more money than is ordinarily involved in a book. He will surely help in raising funds. Because of the technical aspects involved, Rickover thinks cost of book might be around $100,000.

Writers suggested by Rickover:

1. Max Lerner: First choice, although Rickover thinks a novelist would be idea, as he is apt to have more insight into people.

2. Robert Wallace: Did Life article on Rickover for Sept 6, 1958 issue.

3. John dos Passos: Suggested by Rickover aide, Rockwell.

Rickover, R. Ad

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

August 20, 1958

Rear Admiral H. G. Rickover, USN
Chief, Naval Reactors Branch
Division of Reactor Development
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Admiral Rickover:

I hereby spontaneously volunteer to lose twenty-five (25) pounds by February 1, 1959 and not to regain any of this weight for at least three (3) years.

If I do not carry out this agreement I will contribute $1,000.00 to the United Nations Children's Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Friendly

Copy to: Mrs. Fred Friendly
P. O. Box 484
Stockbridge, Massachusetts

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

FOR RELEASE AT 10:00 AM (EDT)
SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1958

Remarks Prepared by RADM H. G. Rickover, USN
Chief, Naval Reactors Branch
Division of Reactor Development
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
and
Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships
for Nuclear Propulsion
Navy Department
for delivery at the
Eighty-Sixth Annual Commencement
Stevens Institute of Technology
Hoboken, New Jersey
June 14, 1958

THE MEANING OF YOUR PROFESSION

We are here to celebrate the coming of age of a new generation of engineers and to wish them Godspeed and best of luck in their chosen careers.

With the travail of final examinations behind you and the challenge of your first job still ahead, you now have a moment to reflect, assess your prospects, and set your goals. Stevens has given you an excellent engineering education. What you make of it depends on your individual temperament and ambition and on your object in life. You may decide to use your engineering degree as a springboard for a career in business management, or you may choose to practice engineering as a profession. In the first case, your work will be administrative; in the second, creative. Before deciding for which of these you are best qualified, and which will offer you greatest satisfaction, it seems to me important that you have a clear understanding of what it means to practice a profession, particularly your own profession of engineering.

To practice a profession one must have acquired mastery of an academic discipline as well as a technique for applying this special knowledge to the problems of everyday life. A profession is therefore intellectual in content, practical in application.

The first definition of the term I could find goes back to the time of the Renaissance when Europe's universities became in essence training schools for professional men. The Oxford English Dictionary of 1541 says that a profession is "a vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others."

Traditionally, professions have been held in esteem because their esoteric content has been impressive - their usefulness patent to everyone; because of all callings, they required the longest and most costly period of preparation; and because they were usually practiced by persons of above average intelligence, education and character.

Until well into the nineteenth century, only members of the three "learned" professions, that is theology, law and medicine, and of university faculties were called professional men. But as human knowledge expanded, new fields of learning developed which could be turned to practical use through new professions or through subdivisions of old professions. Engineering is one of the newer professions.

Engineering had been a skilled craft since remote antiquity and necessarily remained a craft as long as no other sources of power except human and animal muscle, wind, and water were known. It developed from a craft into a profession when it acquired a body of systematic knowledge, that is, when scientific advances opened up vast new and complex sources of energy in nature for the

use and convenience of man. Today we have a body of organized knowledge and procedure which - as you well know - requires a long course of professional study. In consequence engineering now has professional status in most civilized countries.

The term "profession" today has a well-defined and widely accepted meaning. One might therefore expect that no vocation would lay claim to this appellation unless it had in fact become an intellectual pursuit monopolizing some department of higher learning. However, we live in a time of growing equalitarianism in all spheres of life. This has brought about a gradual blurring of the distinction between crafts, trades, and professions. Similarly, the indiscriminate granting of diplomas and academic degrees has tended to obliterate the traditional distinction between vocational training and higher education. Many people engaged in useful but nonintellectual or routine activities now call themselves professionals.

For example, you can attend a university and study the new academic discipline of "cosmetology," obtaining in due course a bachelor's degree in techniques for beautifying the ladies - God bless them. This is a thoroughly worthy undertaking and I am all for it. But does it become a profession merely because interested parties have endowed a chair in cosmetology?

Recently I heard of a university which offers courses in television and radio advertising and in gourmet cookery and which has now added to these pseudoacademic subjects a four-year course in trailer manufacturing, dealership, and trailer park operations. Upon completion of the course, students are awarded the B. S. They may also take postgraduate work in this fascinating field of higher learning and eventually receive a master's degree, in this way presumably becoming members of a brand-new "learned" profession.

The traditional hallmark of the professional person - his doctorate - may now be obtained by writing theses on subjects such as "Optimum Window Area for a Classroom of Twenty-Five Pupils in the Junior High Schools." A doctoral thesis, you remember, is supposed to climax advanced study in an academic discipline by making a contribution through original research in the subject!

These are examples of what some may consider merely a harmless aberration; one which happens because people like to acquire the symbols of status yet hate to do the hard work which the symbols are supposed to represent. But to my mind it is something more serious. Are we not all extremely indignant - and justly so - when a certain foreign power uses good old words like "freedom" or "democracy" and twists them around to mean their opposites, thus fooling some people into thinking they are what they are not?

One may even wonder whether institutions which mix salesmanship with science, fly-casting with philosophy, and homemaking with history can properly be called "universities" - a term which has a more restrictive meaning, as you will discover if you look it up in Webster.

Indiscriminate appropriation of words which traditionally have meant excellence of some sort is stated to be democratic. I myself cannot accept this view. Carried to its logical conclusion, each American baby ought then to be supplied at birth with a combination birth certificate, high school diploma, B. A. and Ph. D.! Actually, we are not consistent in this matter. We do not consider it "undemocratic" to respect and reward excellence in athletics, in art, or in business. It would, therefore, seem only just to reserve the honored word "profession" for vocations maintaining the traditional standards of the well-established "learned" professions.

These standards apply both to the content of a profession and its practice. The intellectual content of a profession, the field of knowledge it monopolizes, must of course be mastered before a man may begin to call himself a professional person. But it is not something learned once and for all in a prescribed course of study. Knowledge increases and a man must keep up with it, so he is never done with learning. In fact, he himself is obligated to carry forward the knowledge on which his profession is based and to insure that it is handed down to new members. In a very intimate sense, his own specialty is a professional man's personal concern and responsibility. Its continued advance can be brought about only by the efforts of present members of the profession who themselves are indebted to the contributions of past members. A professional man who cannot make original contributions to his field of knowledge, can at least enhance the prestige or standards of his profession. Above all, he can and must support the institutions which train future colleagues.

If professional standards of competence are demanding, so are the standards concerned with professional behavior - with the practicing of a profession. Traditionally, the professional man follows certain tacit or explicit rules of conduct which vary in detail as between different professions. Basic to all of them, however, are two rules: first, the obligation to reject lay direction in the performance of professional work - that is the duty to maintain professional independence; and second, the obligation to use professional knowledge and techniques solely for the benefit of their clients. A clear understanding of these two rules of professional ethics is particularly important for members of the newer professions.

Since engineering is a newcomer among the "learned" professions, its ideals and principles are not yet firmly fixed nor are they adequately stressed in engineering education. For this reason I felt that a discussion of the standards of professional practice in general and their application to engineering in particular would be a suitable subject at this graduation ceremony. Moreover what you yourselves conceive your calling to be and the way in which you practice it may exert no small influence on the conduct of future engineers.

As regards the obligation to maintain professional independence, Flexner - himself an outstanding expert on the nature of professions - remarked: "The essence of ... professions resides in the application of free, resourceful, unhampered intelligence to the comprehension of problems."

Service ceases to be professional if it has in any way been dictated by the client or employer. The role of the professional man in society is to lend his special knowledge, his well-trained intellect, and his dispassionate habit of visualizing problems in terms of fundamental principles to whatever specific task is entrusted to him. Professional independence is not a special privilege but rather an inner necessity for the true professional man, and a safeguard for his employers and the general public. Without it, he negates everything that makes him a professional person and becomes at best a routine technician or hired hand, at worst a hack.

To maintain this freedom, the professional man may have to refuse a lucrative case or relinquish a position with a good salary. In one profession - theology - independence has at times cost the professional his very life. Clergymen of all faiths have shown great courage in resisting the attempts of

ruthless governments to dictate to them in matters of religious belief and church administration. These are part of the clergyman's profession - if I may use the term - in which he cannot brook lay control.

Resistance to lay interference is of course easier when a professional man charges fees than when he works for a salary. For this reason, English barristers are professionally prohibited from becoming salaried employees; they must take each case for a separate fee, even if it is tacitly understood that they will accept all the cases of a particular client. British solicitors are under no such constraint, but then it is the barristers who are the top men in the legal profession and it is from their ranks that English judges are chosen.

Of the various professions which are indispensable in a civilized modern society, that of members of university faculties ranks high in importance. Professors and researchers are salaried professionals: in most European and in some American universities, they are paid by the state. The professional independence of these persons has long been recognized as vital to a nation's intellectual growth. I am speaking, of course, of the principle of academic freedom which is the term applied to the professional freedom of the scholar and the scientist to pursue knowledge wherever it may lead him - even if it leads to conclusions which are politically unpopular. Even so autocratic a country as Prussia understood that without academic freedom her universities would not be able to perform the scientific functions expected of them. Thus we have the strange phenomenon of an express grant of academic freedom in the Prussian constitution of 1850 - the only such incidence I have encountered. Sometimes authoritarian governments can recognize the inner need of the

scholar for this freedom more readily than democracies where egalitarian thinking may consider this to be an unwarranted special privilege.

We have evidence that Russian scholars and scientists are given some academic freedom in strictly limited fields which the government considers politically neutral. Since the Russian people as a whole enjoy no political, economic or social liberties, even such limited academic freedom apparently suffices to spur the creative abilities of their scientists and engineers. Freedom is a relative thing. The men who push beyond the frontiers of the known are seldom interested in any other freedom than their own driving need. Despite many restrictions, Renaissance scholars, for example, were able to launch a scientific revolution, highly destructive of much that had been implicitly believed for a thousand years and, therefore, bitterly resisted by the authorities. A famous Bolognese philosopher summed up how it was done: "We must speak as the many do, we must think as the few."

Each new profession must fight to gain this freedom for itself. Unless it wins this fight it will not be a real profession. Engineers must be particularly careful not to lose their recently acquired professional status inadvertently. This will usually happen when they accept managerial positions. In such positions the engineer-manager becomes a member of an administrative hierarchy where he must submit to lay superiors. His engineering knowledge then becomes incidental, on a par, let us say, with proficiency in a useful foreign language. He functions as an administrator and is no longer a professional engineer.

Even when he takes a straight engineering position in a corporate or governmental organization he has no guarantee that his professional status

will be respected. For the engineer often has more difficulty maintaining his professional independence than say a physician employed by the same organization. Yet both are experts in their respective fields - both are professionals. The difference lies in the determination of the medical profession to brook no lay interference. The engineering profession does not resist lay interference with equal ardor. Towards the physician, the layman is suitably humble in matters medical. Not so, as yet, towards the engineer. This is something for you to ponder and to work on, so that eventually your status may become as unquestioned as the doctor's.

Officials in governmental and corporate complexes wield power commensurate with their rank in the organization. They are accustomed to directing the activities of subordinates and they are convinced that their own rank is clear evidence of their superiority over those with less rank. But professional personnel are in a sense outsiders to the organizational hierarchy. Only rarely do their positions accurately reflect their professional abilities. There is in truth no such thing as rank among professionals. Each is "master of his fate"; he stands alone, and by his performance demonstrates his own worth; no organization can give him his true rating.

Professional persons are a rather troublesome anachronism in organizations although they are indispensable in a technological society. An executive honored by high position and impressive emolument will naturally find it extremely hard to admit - even if only to himself - that in certain matters he knows less than a young engineer to whom he pays but a fraction of what he himself earns. Such dispassionate assessment of one's own limitations is rare and calls for large-mindedness and imagination; for humility in the face of the vast powers with

which modern technology deals; for a great deal more understanding of science than is possessed by most laymen.

Perhaps the present scarcity of outstanding engineers and the keen competition for their services by government, industry and the universities may firm up the status of your profession.

A frank and perceptive editorial in a recent Dupont publication, entitled "The Great Talent Search," remarks wryly that in competing for qualified professional men, business is handicapped since the only incentive it has to offer is money whereas professional and academic life provide many intangible incentives. It is but a short step from recognition by business that there are other than monetary incentives to the realization that it, too, can provide such incentives.

American businessmen are noted for their ingenuity. They could, I am sure, educate their management people to understand that it isn't good business to pay for professional services and then downgrade all one's bright young men to routine technicians. In this connection, it is gratifying to observe the growing practice in industry of engaging engineers to manage engineering projects.

Today, most engineering is done in association with colleagues on joint projects. Supervision of such groups of engineers by a fellow engineer is professionally indispensable. As long as the man who calls the shots is a colleague, teamwork does not infringe on professional status. This sort of working together is practiced in other professions besides engineering. During surgical operations, for example, one man must be boss and the rest carry out his orders. But you can see what I am driving at if you try to visualize a surgical team working under a lay hospital administrator!

Eventually, I hope that the absurdity of putting an engineering team under a lay administrator will become equally obvious to those who run our huge corporate and government complexes. Its like setting a blind man to lead the seeing.

Creating conditions which will attract engineers and stimulate their productivity is important. But productivity is not the sole consideration; safety is even more important. There is great need for awareness in management of the nature of the forces which science and engineering are now harnessing for the benefit of mankind. These forces are far too complex and too hazardous to be manipulated by technological amateurs.

Long ago, a Greek physician sighed: "The life so short, the art so long to learn!" I commend this sentiment to all who supervise complex scientific and engineering projects without themselves possessing professional competence in these matters. It takes a long time and hard study to become a scientist or an engineer. How then can even the ablest executive expect to know and understand the details of technical work? Native wit, talent for leadership, even experience in running large organizations - none of these valuable qualities are substitutes for "the art so long to learn."

Perhaps as a people we lack respect for the laws of nature and hence for those who know most about these laws. In popular esteem, the manipulator of men outranks the manipulator of abstract laws and facts, and thus we tend to overpay the administrator and underpay the creative professional man. We then compound this error by evaluating the worth of a man's advice by the size of his salary. This lopsided scale of values can stand readjustment. Insistence on professional independence for scientists and engineers may eventually bring this about.

Of course, the professional person's insistence that he cannot accept lay control over the methods he uses to perform his tasks cannot be twisted into an excuse for incompetence or for blunder. To use the example of an operation again: the patient's relatives obviously cannot be permitted to lean over the surgeon's shoulder and direct where and how he is to make his incision. He must be completely independent of lay direction in the performance of the operation. However, he will most certainly be judged by the results of the operation. If too many of his patients die, the public will render judgment on the surgeon and he will soon have much spare time on his hands.

This distinction between dictation of method and judgment of results is not always clearly understood, particularly in callings which are still in process of developing into professions but have not yet achieved this status. At this stage, the prerogatives of professional status may loom larger than they actually are - they may even be visualized as a sort of divine right to escape all public censure for error or failure because of the layman's alleged inability to judge professional work. This would be a pretty nice setup if it could be put across to the public, but I am afraid people won't buy it.

Because the individual who seeks a professional service lacks the esoteric knowledge possessed by the man whose help he needs, he finds himself in an inferior position in his dealings with professional persons. Society has sought to offset this by requiring a license to practice and using its licensing power to control educational qualifications of professional people. Professional associations have done much to reinforce this protection of the client by setting up codes of ethics. Besides equalizing the client's position vis-à-vis the professional, these measures also protect the professional person against competition by quacks.

The practice here varies from country to country, depending on the degree of social importance ascribed to any given profession by the public. Thus in continental Europe, the title "engineer" is commonly restricted to persons who have proved their competence to the authorities; in Anglo-Saxon countries it is not so restricted. The professional person's standing in the community depends, in final analysis, on the public's insight of his work, that is, on the educational level of the man in the street. When specialized knowledge of professional people is incomprehensible to the average man, he is apt to flounder between frustrated suspicion and excessive awe, leading him either to interfere unduly with professional independence or to accept naively every claim made by anyone who calls himself a professional. The relation between the expert and the public is one of the central problems of our day.

This problem has been aggravated by a spectacular accumulation of specialized knowledge in the last four centuries. Since rediscovery of classical thought in the Renaissance, knowledge has been increasing rapidly. In part, this has been a result of the liberation of man's intellect. This has come about through acceptance of Greek intellectual techniques and eventual expansion of these techniques into our modern scientific methods. In part, it has come about simply as a result of the enormous expansion of population, particularly among the people of western civilization who have grown at about double the rate of the world as a whole. Since the people of the West also outdistance all others in scientific productivity, the sum of human knowledge has grown phenomenally. According to available estimates, it now doubles every fifteen years. In contrast, the doubling of population, even in such fast-growing countries as the United States takes forty years at today's rate of increase.

The outpourings of this intellectual horn of plenty are overwhelming. No longer can anyone "take all knowledge as his province."

Unfortunately, the average person is touched only obliquely by most of this new knowledge, as when he benefits from some new commodity or service which has grown out of an addition to scientific knowledge. These new things he usually accepts as just another gift from his fairy godmother Science, and he gives little thought to the manner in which they have been brought about: the chain of human effort which began in a remote laboratory where the germinal idea originated; the long process of applied research to verify its practicability; the detailed engineering to transform it into something useful; and the final step taken by industry and commerce to make it available to the consumer.

While the practical results of increased knowledge thus merge into our way of life, the knowledge itself seldom becomes part of our general culture. It remains the possession of small groups of experts, each owning that part which pertains to his specialty. This is so not because the experts are selfishly keeping knowledge to themselves but because most people simply have no taste for knowledge and do not want to spare the time for learning about this potent force in their lives. Thus we observe a widening gap between the experts and the public who depend for their well-being on the work of these experts. This disturbing cleavage exists in the humanities no less than in science. Thus most people are not well informed in such vital matters as the languages and cultures of the various peoples who share this earth with us; the historic, geographic and economic background of current events; the place of American civilization in the estimation of the world; and the real strength of our country in the shifting sands of power relations.

Speaking of the need to improve the physical fitness of our youth, the director of the President's Council on Youth Fitness, aptly described us as a people addicted to "spectatoritis." We have both physical and mental spectatoritis. We sit in the bleachers and let the game of life unfold before us. We accept the delightful rabbits which science keeps pulling out of its magician's hat without bothering to investigate how it is done. We accept our country's power and strength without worrying too much whether as citizens we are always conducting ourselves as the world expects the people of a great nation to act. We gladly accept all the benefits America has to give us but leave to others the responsibilities that go with them. We measure our own personal worth by the number and quality of material possessions we are able to buy, not by what we make of the God-given capabilities with which we were born.

This passive acceptance of life's benefits and unconcern for the great problems of our day could undermine our freedom subtly and almost imperceptibly. As citizens of a democracy, we are all rulers of this country and rulers cannot afford to be ignorant of everything beyond the narrow confines of their own small personal world. This was well understood by the upper and middle classes of past societies who knew that their rule depended upon comprehension of the world in which they lived. It was the reason why they made certain that their sons were broadly educated. Intelligence is not the special preserve of any particular class. Learning is hard for everyone. If the middle classes of old were able to push most of their sons through tough schools and universities where they received the liberal education which fits men for leadership, this was not because their sons had superior intellectual capacities but because

they were strongly motivated, determined to improve their inherent abilities by training mind and body to their utmost. This motivation came from home and school environments which fostered respect for excellence and emphasized the need of competence in whatever position one occupied in the world. Determination can offset average endowments, but without the desire to improve oneself, the highest native capacities count for little.

Today most Americans have more leisure than the middle and upper classes had in the past. Our country is rich enough to provide the same tough education for all our children which once only middle class parents required of their sons. But neither our leisure nor the obvious need of democratic citizens to know a great deal more about their world today than they needed to know in a simpler past - neither of these urgent reasons for giving every child a tough education have greatly influenced popular ideas about education. We have adopted middle class standards widely in our manners, our homes, our taste in clothes - in all the externals of life. But we have not as yet adopted traditional middle class standards in regard to education. In fact, Americans were more ambitious to better themselves through improving their minds when we were all poorer; when self-improvement meant going to night school after a long day's hard work. The desire for an education which will really stretch our minds is not yet dead but it is almost smothered by our soft and pleasant life. No longer is our national goal a life of adventure, of risk, of a chance to reach for the stars; instead it is a desire for comfort and security.

A high price must be paid for this comfort and security if the cost is ignorance of the powerful forces which control our destiny. Science is now

able to change our environment in ways which have never before been dreamed of. It is disturbing to watch the relentlessly widening gulf which separates the minority who understand and make use of science from the uninformed majority who passively accept whatever comes to them from the hands of the experts. That this gulf has not led to conflict or deep alienation - at least not yet - is due to two phenomena, unique to western civilization: political democracy and professional ethics.

Political democracy vests ultimate power in the average citizen - regardless of his intelligence, education or sense of responsibility; and professional ethics forbids professional men from taking unwarranted advantage of their own superior knowledge. Both of these safeguards we owe to the Greeks. Both were evolved by the Greeks in response to the then prevailing situation where knowledge was concentrated in small groups of experts and spread thinly over the mass of the people. We today are faced with somewhat of a similar situation. Let me explain:

At the dawn of western civilization, the general pattern of life in settled communities was one in which a small group, versed in esoteric knowledge, ruled over the rest of the people to whom access to such knowledge was denied. The legends of many peoples reflect the propaganda of the elite that aspiration to knowledge above one's own station is sinful and will call down the wrath of the Gods. Practical knowledge of the kind needed by the peasant, the artisan, the shopkeeper - yes, these the masses might learn. But knowledge of law, medicine, theology, astronomy, the ability to read and write and to govern, these were a sort of magic possessed only by the divinely ordained few.

Guarded jealously and handed down only within the group, this knowledge provided its possessors with power, wealth and comfort. In some parts of the world one can even today find people enslaved to experts who use their special knowledge to enforce subordination to their will - shamans, medicine men and the like.

The Greeks were the first to put the expert in his place. They tore away his mantle of mystery; they denied that knowledge was a special dispensation reserved by the Gods for particular groups of people. They threw open the door to knowledge and made its acquisition the supreme civic and human virtue.

They looked upon the universe and man's relation to it as a proper object of study for all men. They believed that everything could be understood by the right kind of intellectual technique. To know, man first had to observe, then to collect and order his observations; finally to discover what were the underlying, the basic principles in the mass of information on hand. Hard thinking was necessary, but it brought its reward; for once known, these principles could then automatically be applied to new problems. The result might be described as an intellectual chain reaction. It goes far to explain the amazing accomplishments of the ancient Greeks.

Their approach to learning was secular and intellectual; it was rigorous in its insistence on logical deduction from verifiable facts. All that was needed to transform this intellectual technique into our modern scientific method was ability to experiment, and the necessary tools. Experiments merely widen the sphere of human observation; they permit pin-pointing inquiry on specific objects and they bolster deduction through verification by "controlled" tests. Without laboratories and accurate scientific tools, the Greeks yet

were able to create sciences out of conglomerations of unrelated bits of knowledge which had been long possessed by many other peoples. Thus they founded a science of mathematics, of astronomy, of medicine, of history. They gave the West a scientific habit of mind.

Having thought their way out of the then universally prevalent custom of confusing knowledge with divinely sanctioned magic, the Greeks were bound to reject any claim by experts that their special knowledge justified a privileged position. In the political field, this meant rejection of the claim that certain persons had a divine right to be rulers. And so the Greeks were the first civilized people to establish popular rule. Their type of democracy was based on the belief that average Athenians, for example, were quite capable of governing themselves. Not only as legislators, but even as government officials. Greek democracy required direct participation in government by all adult males. Each was a member of the Assembly and took turns for set periods of time at serving his city as soldier, magistrate, judge and priest. The smallness of the Greek city-state simplified the art of governing, and the absence of a priestly caste in Greek religion permitted lay performance of religious functions.

But this would not have been feasible without a relatively high level of education. And indeed the Greeks were a literate people. For after all, free access to knowledge was the basis of their way of life which differed so radically from that of the people surrounding them; people who were enslaved by their own ignorance of any except purely practical knowledge. Though a Greek city-state such as Athens did not provide free schooling, the obligation of parents to provide for their sons' education was well understood and

accepted. Solon is credited with having hit on a clever device to give sanction to this moral obligation. He released sons from the filial duty to take care of their fathers in old age, if the fathers had not made provision for their sons' education!

Athens in 400 B. C. appears to have had fewer illiterates than many "advanced" nations in 1800 A. D. Moreover, almost anybody could broaden his mind by attending the theatre which in Athens had distinctly educational aims besides that of entertainment. "Recreation for the spirit" was available in abundance; one could listen to the philosophers as they wandered about with their pupils, discoursing learnedly and wittily on practically every question or problem known to preindustrial man; in this pleasant manner one could absorb ideas about truth and beauty which have inspired men ever since. Athens was permeated by a love of learning which most of us would consider excessive. There were eggheads galore and oddly enough the Athenians respected them. They even put up with a man like Democritus when he uttered the following weird sentiment: "I would rather discover one scientific fact than be King of Persia."

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Greek democracy was that it did not lead to a cult of mediocrity. On the contrary, education of the young was designed to bring all their faculties to fruition - the suppleness and beauty of their bodies through athletic games, the perceptivity and sharpness of their minds through dialectics - what we would call "public speaking." As Pericles expressed the Athenian ideal, government is in the hands of the people, the law secures equal justice for all and "as for social standing, our practice is that a citizen who has recognized ability in some field gets public preferment - IT IS A QUESTION OF HIS ABILITIES, NOT OF HIS RANK."

It is the fashion today to deprecate the value of classical civilization for modern man; but I myself am constantly struck with the lasting validity of so much of what the Greeks and Romans thought and wrote. These thoughts are at the origin of many of our most treasured traditions. Greek political ideas greatly influenced the founding fathers and helped them to devise for us a most marvelous constitutional framework. The Greeks paved the way for modern science, while the Romans still influence the law under which all the people of the West live to this day. It is not too fanciful to consider a modern engineering college such as Stevens a remote descendent of the Greek medical school at Cos or the Roman legal school at Beirut, or even Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum in Athens. If I had the time, I could make a pretty good case for this distant relationship.

It is true that Greek and Roman civilization was based on slavery and that some of their habits and practices were rather odd. Much is made of this by anticlassicist "progressives." And it is also true that outwardly, a modern technological society seems to have little in common with Rome - still less with the tiny preindustrial Greek city-state. Yet human problems have a way of persisting unchanged through the most revolutionary permutations of man's environment. The product of clear, logical thought has permanent value. It is, as Thucydides put it, a "possession forever."

Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the lasting validity of Greek thought about the role of the expert - the professional man - in society. The Greeks evolved the concept that, far from entitling him to a position of power, the possession of specialized professional knowledge actually imposed on the expert a special obligation, namely to use this knowledge solely for

the good of others. This concept is foreign to most other civilizations, except when they have deliberately adopted it from the West. It is, of course, basic to the position of the professional man in western civilization.

The Greeks founded the first true profession and the science which belongs to it - medicine. They formulated the professional ethics of this profession in the famed Oath of Hippocrates which we have not been able to improve upon. Young doctors embarking on their careers still swear this oath. Its fundamental creed of obligation and responsibility is basic to all subsequent professional codes. All are adaptations on what the Greeks originated.

In this country we have gone far towards cutting ourselves off from the broad stream of western culture. Rome and Athens are not for our children. Ancient history is supposed to bore them. So they are taught the essence of democracy by joining "smoke abatement campaigns"; they are shown the utility of simple arithmetic by paying a visit to City Hall to watch the clerks at work. As for learning the languages of the founders of western civilization, Heaven forbid! Far more useful is it to teach our youth how to drive an automobile and take its motor apart.

I am going to fly in the face of the opinions of all sorts of self-appointed experts on the needs of modern man by urging that in your spare time you make the acquaintance of the ancient Greeks and Romans - remarkably stimulating people and good company, I assure you. And as a guide to engineering ethics, I should like to commend to you a liberal adaptation of the injunction contained in the Oath of Hippocrates that the professional man do nothing that will harm his client. Since engineering is a profession which affects the material basis of everyone's life, there is almost always an unconsulted third

party involved in any contract between the engineer and those who employ him - and that is the country, the people as a whole. These, too, are the engineer's clients, albeit involuntarily. Engineering ethics ought therefore to safeguard their interests most carefully. Knowing more than the public about the effects his work will have, the engineer ought to consider himself an "officer of the court" and keep the general interest always in mind.

Since the engineer deals with metals and fuels of which the earth has but a limited supply, it will make a great difference to future generations whether or not he is fully conscious that every ounce of metal or fossil fuel he uses means a diminution of nature's capital stock we bequeathe to our descendants.

Engineers build structures which alter man's supply of pure air and water, of food and soil. A poorly designed factory may poison air and water; a dam or highway may needlessly rob our grandchildren of good farm land which by then may well be in short supply. Almost everything the engineer does has an effect on our materials base. His work is seldom purely an engineering task, though he sometimes acts as if it were.

For example, not long ago a bridge was being built across a body of sea water with valuable oyster beds. A small change of location would have saved the oysters. When this was pointed out by a marine biologist, the engineer in charge of building the bridge rejected the advice out of hand with the contemptuous remark: "What do you know about building bridges?" An irrelevant and rude reply. More to the point would it have been to ask the engineer: "What do you know about building bridges in this particular locality?" In this instance the livelihood of a number of people not in any way involved with the bridge or with hiring the engineer was adversely affected.

To give you another example I am familiar with: the design and operation of nuclear power plants. These involve questions of public health and safety which go far beyond those encountered in conventional power plants. For this reason we use every conceivable talent that can help in the design. And when the design is completed, it is gone over in detail by a committee composed of outstanding specialists in many technical areas. These men who are full-time professionals in their respective fields advise the Atomic Energy Commission on the safety of proposed reactor plants. Since reactor safety is a broad problem requiring knowledge of many subjects the members of this committee are selected not alone for their knowledge of reactors but because of their demonstrated competence in relevant areas such as meteorology, oceanography, nuclear physics, mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering, sanitary engineering, design of pressure vessels, explosives, industrial insurance, and so on.

Consultation with other experts ought to become as common in engineering as it is in medicine. A Venetian medical code of about 1500 A. D. made it mandatory for a physician to consult a colleague before prognosing a serious disease. Yet medical mistakes affect only one person, the patient; engineering mistakes can affect multitudes.

Within your own lifetime a profound transformation has taken place which has gone almost unnoticed by most Americans but which must strike any engineer forcibly. It is that we have ceased being one of the world's richest countries in mineral and fuel resources and a great exporter of raw materials. Indeed, we are now importing many vitally needed materials; we are, in fact, truly self-sufficient only in molybdenum and magnesium of the thirty-two indispensable minerals.

While our resources base has shrunk, our population has soared. In 1750 there were but 1.6 million Americans. During the next two hundred years we multiplied one hundred fold. Even with immigration substantially ended we are now growing at an annual rate of 1.8 per cent which, if you know your geometric progressions, would bring us to 5.3 billion by the year 2150 - a thirty-five fold increase in the two hundred years after 1950.

As I see it, the most important aspect of the engineer's code of professional ethics ought to be the obligation to do nothing that will unnecessarily aggravate future resources deficiencies. To my mind his greatest task is to do everything he can to preserve opportunities for a good life to coming generations who will not be as rich in land and resources as we are today. This means, in particular: no needless waste of irreplaceable materials; no permanent destruction of good soil or of our shrinking water resources merely for the sake of immediate advantages; it means utmost ingenuity in substituting abundant materials for scarce materials, renewable resources for irreplaceable resources. For example, in our nuclear propulsion program we are currently working to eliminate the use of a scarce gas, helium, for testing purposes by substituting a more abundant gas. When one is alert to the problem, many ways to save our resources capital will suggest themselves.

Greatly improved education for all and ingenious use of technology will help to offset diminishing land, mineral and fuel resources. We have only to look at Europe to see what can be done. There a high standard of living is being maintained on a modest resources base.

Switzerland, for example, has only one-fourth as much land per capita as we have, yet she manages to produce a per capita gross national product more

than half ours - and only one-third smaller than that of rich and empty Canada. Or, to put it another way. Switzerland has the same population density as India, and she has only rocks, water and scenery, while India has rich natural resources. Yet the individual Swiss citizen is seventeen times as wealthy as the individual Indian. Improved technology brought about by educational investment in people is the secret of Switzerland's productivity and high standard of living. And technology is the engineer's metier. His is potentially the most important profession because the future well-being of all people may well depend on the manner in which he practices it.

In closing, I commend to you that you think of every engineering task assigned to you as one involving many side effects, some possibly damaging to your fellow citizens, perhaps even to future Americans. Once you have attained habitual awareness of the possibility of unforeseen damage in your work you will find ways to avoid this.

As you embark upon your careers I would wish that you did so in the spirit which animated young Athenians when they entered upon the duties of citizenship. At the end of two years of preparation and service these young men, called ephebi, became full-fledged citizens of Athens. The Greeks being rather addicted to oaths - remember Hippocrates! - the ceremony concluded with the solemn ephebic oath, each young man promising that he would so conduct himself as to leave his city "not less but better than he had found it."

A promise to leave your country not less but better than you found it would seem to me a most appropriate beginning for an engineering career. God bless you and good luck.

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OFFICE OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK

BUREAU DU REPRÉSENTANT AUPRÈS DES NATIONS UNIES
NEW YORK

PERSONAL

29 May 1958

TO: Raymond Swing

FROM: Sally

SUBJECT: RICKOVER BOOK

As I mentioned to you over the phone, Bill Frye, current head of Unesco's Mass Comm Unit here in New York, appears to me to be ideal candidate for the Rickover Book assignment.

Firstly, he is thoroughly familiar with the history of military policy -- not tactics, strategy or campaigns, but American military policy. I am enclosing a copy of his biography of General George C. Marshall, which came out before much of the material needed to write a definitive biography had been released, but which I believe to be a competent job.

Bill worked for fourteen years for Associated Press, and from 1940 to the autumn of 1944 covered the War and Navy Departments for AP. He was a special consultant to Secretary of War Patterson in 1946, and in that job was charged primarily with the historical research and writing to bolster the War Department's "statements in testimony" for congressional committees on unification and universal military service. He was consultant to Mr. Forrestal when he became the first Secretary of Defense, and researched and wrote many of the speeches Forrestal delivered as Secretary of Defense. As his Who's Who biography will show you, he became assistant to the Secretary of Defense and Director of Public Information for the Defense Department in 1949.

He was commissioned by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to write a history of American Military Policy from the American Revolution to the present day. This project has been in suspended animation since 1950, because the grant of $7,000 was not sufficient for the primary research Bill believed necessary. He managed to research the book up to the War with Mexico and hopes to finish this project when new funds become available. He has written extensively on historical matters dealing with the military for magazines, including a two-installment review of the Billy Mitchell case which came out in "Flying" Magazine in 1941.

To give you an idea of his writing style, I am enclosing a copy of a draft article Bill wrote on Alphonse Penaud, who invented a flying machine BEFORE Wright did, and which I think is absorbing and interestingly written.

I'd be glad to supply you with more details if you need them.

Please be sure and return the Marshall book and the manuscript as Bill needs them back.

Thanks.

Sally.

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ALPHONSE PENAUD

Forgotten Genius of Flight

By William Frye

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In June 1878, Bishop Milton Wright of the United Brethren Church returned to his home in Dayton, Ohio, from a trip to Europe on church business.

Like most devoted husbands and proud parents who leave their families at home while they travel, he returned bearing gifts for the household. One of the last presents to come out of his luggage was a toy for his two sons, Orville and Wilbur.

They were playing on the floor of the living room when he brought it to them.

"Look here, boys!"

He tossed it towards them. Instead of dropping, it began to flutter and rose to the ceiling.

It was a tiny flying machine -- merely two light propellers on a lightweight frame, powered by twisted rubber bands. It was the invention of a young Frenchman named Alphonse Penaud, who also invented the name "helicoptere" for it, and invented as well the motor of twisted rubber bands to power

this and other aeronautical models.

That toy helicopter aroused in Orville and Wilbur Wright the interest in aeronautics and aerodynamics that was to take them 25 years later to Kitty Hawk and man's first flight in a power-driven, heavier-than-air machine.

But on that June day in 1878, if they even heard the name of Alphonse Penaud, they promptly forgot it. And the rest of the world forgot or ignored it even more thoroughly. A little more than two years later, ill and broken in spirit at the age of 30, this unknown Frenchman who was one of the greatest geniuses of man's long search for the means of flight was dead.

By observation, experiment and brilliant calculation, he had arrived alone at more knowledge of aerodynamics than would be known or discovered by <u>all</u> the other experimenters in the field (the Wrights included) for another 40 or 50 years.

"Alphonse Penaud", says Charles Dollfuss, Director of the Musee de l'Air in Paris, "was the greatest mathematician of the Nineteenth Century from the point of view of aviation, and as a theoretician who saw immediately the practical application."

That's a lot to say for a man whose name doesn't rate an independent paragraph in any encyclopedia. Who was he?

In 1865, Alphonse was a normal 15-year-old French schoolboy, with a distinguished ancestry, a widowed mother,

and a brother in the Navy to whom he wrote, on June 18, with justifiable pride in a school prize:

"I've just taken a Third. In mathematics also I hope to come close to a prize at the end of the year. I am entering the ~~contest~~ concours also in mathematics and in everything else except history, which puts me to sleep ... We went to the swimming pool Thursday at 5 o'clock in the mroning, the air was glacial and the water detestable, everybody was blue...I would like to learn to swim quickly.

"Your brother who loves you,

"Alphonse".

On that date, Alphonse's mother was certainly still in deep mourning, but Alphonse was chattering in happy forgetfulness of a father dead just 13 months before. And why not? Grief ricochets off a healthy teen-ager, and in any case the late Vice Admiral Charles Eugene Penaud, brusque and irasicble descendant of a long line of Breton sailors, had spent so much of his life at sea that his son knew him more as an occasional and respected visitor to the apartment in the Rue Caumartin than as a pater familias.

After the Admiral's death, Madame Penaud and Alphonse moved to a more modest apartment at 14 Rue de Castellane. Then, as now, a widow's pension did not support the same scale of

living as the full pay of a Vice Admiral. But Madame Penaud appears to have had some private means, and while they lived quietly and modestly, they remained in the same neighborhood, they had many friends, and they were an affectionate and happy small family, with occasional visits to be anticipated from Alphonse's older brother, Eugene, and the annual holiday to be spent in the country at the estate of her family not far from Chartres.

Meantime, there was school, and plenty of it, for young Alphonse -- he had to pass those Naval Academy examinations! The widow Penaud, nee Charlotte Huard de la Marre, came of a bourgeois family of ample means if not modest wealth, of intense royalist sympathies in politics, and with a certain social-climbing interest in the "old nobility"-- they were the kind of people who, the English say, "dearly loved a lord". But the Penauds were a Navy family. Not only Alphonse's father, but the father's brother as well, was a Vice Admiral. Alphonse's older brother Eugene had already followed them into the service, and would end his days a Rear Admiral. The family came from Brest, in Brittany, and had always followed the sea. Alphonse's career was cut out for him before he was born.

Nor is there any indication that he ever wanted any other career. Whether he knew a deep affection for his father, there is no record to show; but Alphonse certainly did his

level best to follow him to the quarterdeck, although he never imitated the old man's terrible manners or violent bursts of temper. Despite a delicate and even sickly appearance, Admiral Penaud had been a man of brusque and harsh manner and speech, given to such spectacular explosions of anger that he was known throughout the French fleet as "L'Enrage" -- the Madman. Rage seems to have run in the family, for his brother, also a Vice Admiral, earned in the Navy the nickname "Le Rageur", which translates much the same; and there is a family tradition that once, when the two brothers had a difference of opinion, they got out their sabers and fought the matter to a decision.

It was none of this that showed up in the Admiral's son Alphonse, in whom the old man's milder side was reproduced and developed. For "The Madman" did, indeed, have a milder side -- he was an unusually humane and thoroughly respected commander of his men, thoughtful of their needs, solicitous of their welfare, in a day when kindness was not a usual attribute of command authority. Also, the elder Penaud was a very pious Christian and faithful Catholic -- a quality which neither he nor his even more pious wife succeeded in passing on to Alphonse.

The boy was growing up with a passion for mathematics and the physical sciences, as his letter to Eugene showed when he was only 15. The beginning of his interest in flight and

the problems of aerodynamics occurred not much later, because before he was 17, he was writing to his brother about an unsuccessful experiment with a hot-air balloon.

"My balloon enterprise was not very successful", he wrote in April 1867. "The balloon was well made. By heating it to 300 degrees I made it rise 50 centimeters, but it fell immediately; it's a melancholy result. My next effort will be bigger -- two meters high by 1 meter 80 centimeters diameter, more or less."

This fooling around with balloons, however, was no more than the current hobby of a teen-age boy, just as many a boy in the United States today is tinkering in the basement or the garage workshop with home-made space ships and satellites. When Alphonse was growing up, in the middle of the Nineteenth Century, the word "aeronautics" was confined to flight with balloons and dirigibles, since nobody had yet succeeded in making a heavier-than-air machine fly (except some lightweight, counter-rotating two-screw models of the type later more fully developed by Alphonse himself as the "helicoptere").

But of ballooning there was a plenty -- fire balloons, coal-gas balloons, hydrogen balloons. Henri Giffard had even managed as early as 1852 to fly a "dirigible" balloon, dangerously powered by a special light-weight steam engine driving an air-screw, or propeller. (It was dangerous because of its open

flame close to a hydrogen filled bag!). He couldn't buck even a medium wind with his contraption, but he did succeed in controlling it enough to get some deviation, and that was sheer triumph. He kept at it, and went on to further triumphs, particularly of a commercial kind at world's fairs and public exhibitions, so that he died a wealthy man.

The triumph that Alphonse was aiming at, however, was still those Naval Academy examinations. and he was bucking hard. In the Spring of 1867, with the Easter vacation less than a week off, he was writing again to his brother about his progress at school; but he was also eager about the prospect of romping with his cousin Edouard in the fields of La Beauce near "Le Nuisement", the de la Marre estate at Illiers near Chartres, and he was laying in a supply of lead pellets and rubber bands for slingshots.

Le Nuisement gathered the whole de la Marre family and all their Penaud kin together under its roof for at least one month of holiday every year, and sometimes for other vacations as well. It stood in the picturesque village of Illiers, with its great Fourteenth Century gothic church with a painted timber roof, and the ruins of a medieval castle to explore and learn to know by heart. At the foot of the village ran the little River Loir, for sailing boats, or -- better -- for fishing.

"My dear Eugene," wrote Alphonse to his brother, "I am wonderfully happy, we leave Saturday for Le Nuisement.

Edouard will be there also, I'll have fun with him. If I get bored, I'll work a little bit, because I'll carry along a few old mathematics books...I'm looking forward impatiently to the end of the week, and I'm laying in my supply of rubber bands and lead..."

Then came the usual report on the schoolwork.

"The compositions for the prizes are about to start. From now to the end of the year I'll be making an extra push. By the summer vacation I will know: my algebra as far as logarithms, inclusive, my plane geometry, plus about 15 lessons in solid geometry. All the physics they require at the Naval Academy, and even a little more, I think. A little bit of chemistry. And I think we'll be starting plane trigonometry. Goodbye my dear brother, I'll leave you now, we're off to class. Your brother who loves you well..."

To the average American, that sounds like a fairly rugged course of study for a 16-year-old boy, but French boys are still put through just such academic paces, and anyhow, Alphonse Penaud loved it. He seemed to be healthy enough, although he was quite slender, and the family sometimes commented on his "delicate" appearance. He was growing into a young man of medium height, with fine and regular features. He had auburn hair, and a quiet voice which he rarely raised except when he got interested in taling about mathematics and, later, aeronautics.

He was quiet and gentle in manner, and very affectionate with his family, all of whom returned the affection, although as time went on they understood him less and less, and wound up not understanding him at all.

That year of 1867, Alphonse not only went down to Le Nuisement for the Easter holiday, but he probably went back again later. The month-long, end-of-summer, beginning-of-autumn family reunion at Illiers was a well established tradition in the de la Marre-Penaud clan, and they usually saw to it that the get-together coincided with the beginning of the hunting season, which Alphonse was no more willing to miss than any other man in the family -- or any other child, for that matter, because the whole family, young and old, ordinarily moved into the countryside with full picnic baskets for the first day's shooting, and the event was one of the major celebrations in the family calendar. If Alphonse had a successful shoot that year, it was well, for the hunt came at the end of the last carefree summer he would know.

The holidays over, he plunged into the final year of pre-Naval studies, and did so well that the next year, in the Summer of 1868, he passed with triumphant scores his Naval Academy entrance examinations. But despite his success, for the first time in generations here was a Penaud son who would fail to enter the naval service.

Alphonse had been complaining of pain in both knees, and the family diagnosis probably was that he had caught a slight cold, or maybe had a little rheumatism -- he had simply been working too hard, and a rest would clear everything up. But rest did not clear it up, nor massage or hot applications or analgesic balm.

He began to run a temperature, to toss restlessly at night, muttering in his sleep. Doctor Laugier, the family physician, was called in by the worried Madame Penaud, but nothing the good doctor did seemed to help, either. The pain became worse, the fevers higher, and Alphonse at times was delirious.

As the summer wore on, Alphonse's tortured legs would no longer support his weight. Then ugly abscesses began to form on his thighs, and as bits of decayed and splintered bone showed up in the discharge from these sores, the poor doctor knew at last what he was up against, and knew also that his science didn't reach that far. There wasn't much he could do, except open and clean the abscesses, scrape the bones, perhaps open the bones and scrape inside, and if worse came to worst, amputate. Alphonse had inflammation of the bone, as it was called the - - osteomyelitis.

It never progressed to the need for amputation, but for the eight brilliant and four bitterly unhappy years remaining

to him, Alphonse would jerk around on crutches a pair of almost useless legs. And at fairly frequent intervals, a flare-up of the malady would put him in bed with fever, intense pain, and another bout with the hideous abscesses.

His mother looked after him, efficiently but also affectionately and tenderly -- for the next 12 years she would devote herself to the care of this son she adored, although as the years passed his interests and attitudes both baffled and wounded her. She never showed even a glimmer of understanding where Alphonse's tremendous aeronautical studies were concerned. And, pious woman that she was, she could only be hurt by Alphonse's increasing agnosticism, which grew quickly into a flat and absolute refusal to set foot inside a church.

This, to a mother whose de la Marre family counted proudly three sons who were Jesuits and a daughter who was a nun, was both pain and bewilderment. Alphonse detested the Jesuits -- the order, and anyone who had anything good to say about it. At Le Nuisement, when one of the cousins who happened to admire the Jesuits once kept the whole family waiting for lunch, Alphonse was certain, and spoke his mind about it, that the tardiness was deliberate, and had no purpose except to vex the lot of them.

But that was later, when with the rejection of the family's religious habits came a rejection also of their political attitudes. For the time being, there was just the searing disap-

pointment about the naval academy, the desperate pain of the illness, the treatments, the hope that maybe a cure would be found. If each day Madame Penaud -- sweet, charming, unimaginative, completely conformist -- walked sedately in her widow's weeds the two blocks down the street to the Church of the Madelaine to say another prayer for the recovery of her son, to light another candle before the altar of a shrine, Alphonse may not have thought it was likely to help much, but he probably didn't protest, or even comment.

If she prayed with firm and touching faith for Alphonse's restoration to health, Madame Penaud was far too sensible and practical a French mother to let it go at that. She nursed him with skill and efficiency, listened to what Doctor Laugier had to say and followed his instructions expertly, and in June 1869, acting on the worth physician's advice, took the crippled youngster off to "take the cure" at the spa of Bourbonne-les-Bains in the Vosges.

"You have no doubt received Alphonse's letter of the 9th," she wrote to Eugene from the spa on June 12, "which reported that we are installed in the house of Madame Gavot at Bourbonne...We got a ground floor apartment, a wonderful thing for Alphonse, since it lets him go in and out as he pleases....

"The Chief Medical Director, M. Renard, to whom

M. Laugier recommended us, seems to take an interest in Alphonse. He has already had him take three baths, and three glasses of the water of a half-liter each. Tomorrow he will give him the first irrigation. He hopes very much that Alphonse will recover the use of his left leg; as to the right, he is certain of a considerable improvement...

"Alphonse still has a wonderful appetite, and he still sleeps well...

"This doctor has a nephew in the Navy, M. Gauvin...He has known at various times Admirals Baudin, Duperre, Despointes, so we find ourselves almost in a neighborhood of old friends...

"Alphonse has pulled a stunt by himself; he went out, without saying a word to me, and walked to the top of the hill nearby from which there is a beautiful view; I scolded him for not letting me know, I would have preferred to go with him. I had gone there the evening before with Mlle. Kurz and I thought the climb was impossible for Alphonse. I misjudged his strnegh...

"Now he has just gone out into the garden, after lunch, no doubt to smoke his cigar. He doesn't stop going the whole day, going and coming between the house and the garden...

"We go to bed right after the evening promenade, and listen with pleasure to the sounds from outside as the pianist of the establishment plays polkas and quadrilles..."

Meantime, Alphonse, with the Navy and all other nor-

mal careers closed to him, plunged into his mathematical studies with enthusiasm whenever his illness allowed it. He now took up in earnest that interest in aeronautics which a year or so earlier had been merely playing with home-made fire balloons. Even when he was confined to bed, he made little paper airplanes, launched them in the room or through the window, observed their flight with a critical scientist's eye, and scribbled down his observations in notes that little by little increased to prodigious volume.

There was plenty of activity in France at that period to turn his attention to aviation. Giffard and his captive balloons, his experiments with dirigibles, was the popular rage of Europe, and at the Exposition of 1867 in Paris the Empress Josephine herself had made an ascent in one of the Giffard balloons. In 1863, at the urging of a photographer named Nadar, a group of enthusiasts had organized La Societe Francaise de Navigation Aerienne (French Aerial Navigation Society), and they met regularly in the conservatory of the apartment of Dr. Abel Hureau de Villeneuve, at 95 Rue Lafayette, to discuss and study aviation questions. In both France and England, for decades, eager theorists had been inventing queer contraptions which were supposed to fly, but didn't. The epoch even produced the first great master of science fiction, and Alphonse's 'teens and the

period of his illness was precisely the period in which every year or so saw a new Jules Verne novel hit the bookstands.

For whatever reason, Alphonse Penaud turned his mathematical enius to a solution of the problems of mechanical flight,and since it was genius which he brought to bear on the problem, and since he had nothing else to do, he began to make a noise in the world of aviation enthusiasts before he was 20.

To theorize was all very well, but to test a theory one needed to experiment, to experiment one needed to use models, to use models one needed something to make them go -- voila! The first invention of Alphonse was the little motor of twisted rubber bands, so obvious that somebody should have thought of it a long time before. But nobody had, so Alphonse Penaud invented it in March 1870, at the ripe age of 19. Then he promptly put it to use on his second invention -- or maybe it was really the first, which merely had to wait for the rubber-band motor to become a true invention -- the little "helicoptere" of flexible fabric wings stretched on light frames.

Penaud made dozens and scores of the little helicopters -- different wing sizes, different wing angles, different weights. (One of the early ones can be seen in a glass case at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington). The file of observations noted, of complex mathematical calculations based on them, piled higher

and higher. Next, the Paris clockmaker, Antoine Breguet, had his interest aroused, and began to make to Penaud's specifications little helicopters with propellers of aluminum, then a rare and costly metal, with the other parts constructed of lightweight metal instead of wood or bamboo. With these truly efficient small machines, the Penaud studies moved with increasing speed.

And, finally, the toy manufacturer Dandrieux saw the possibilities in these gadgets, and began to manufacture them in quantity as toys for children. That's how Bishop Wright happened to bring one back to Orville and Wilbur. But poor Alphonse Penaud, whose family knew and said that he "had no business sense," never profited by so much as one sou from this toy business -- Dandrieux kept whatever profits were made. So far as is known, Alphonse never in his life earned any money, but lived always as his mother's dependent.

In August 1870, the war with Prussia began, and the crippled Alphonse suffered agonies of patriotic remorse that he could not join the defense of his invaded country. But he came to the conclusion that the best way for him to serve was to continue his researches -- an eminently wise conclusion, since there was nothing else to be done -- and he redoubled his efforts with a zealous intensity and an unshakeable faith in his ultimate brilliant success.

The once slender youth had become a terribly thin young man as a result of his illness, and the clear complexion was now unmistakably pale. But the expression on the handsome face was still gentle, and he was about to run the frame of soft auburn hair all around it by growing a beard.

The theories multiplied, and so did the experiments. And it was sometime during 1870 that he found a congenial group of friends and joined the French Aerial Navigation Society. Despite his youth -- he was 20 in 1870 -- he very quickly became the center around which this group of ardent amateurs revolved.

Even during the holidays in the country, the study and experiment went on with no slackening of pace. In August 1871, his brother Eugene had leave from the Navy, and the two young men spent the time together at Le Nuisement. How? Day after day, Alphonse dragged Eugene out into the fields to help him fly a succession of tailless kites, which both embodied everything he had learned up to that time about airfoils, and taught him more.

He wasn't altogether happy, even with an adored brother to help him with his experiments. To begin with, even the brother did not take the kites and the other aeronautical enthusiasms very seriously, or try very hard to understand what Alphonse was about.

As for the rest of the family -- and the whole clan of mother, aunts, uncles, cousins, and all was there -- they were incapable of understanding, even had they tried, the staggering sum of calculations and researches which those kites represented. They teased Alphonse about playing like a child, treated him with amused contemptuous affection as a small boy, and ended by making him cruelly unhappy.

But not discouraged. Before that month of August 1871 was over, he had gathered his friends of the Aerial Navigation Society in the gardens of the Tuileries, to demonstrate to them a contraption he called a "planophore". The Prussians had triumphed and seized Alsace and Lorraine, Napoleon III was gone, the Paris Commune had burned the Tuileries Palace, the Third Republic had just been launched precariously, the statue of Strasbourg in the Place de la Concorde was wearing the black crape it would wear until Alsace returned to France in 1919, but something more important was about to happen. Alphonse Penaud was about to prove that an airplane with fixed wings was capable of sustained flight.

The planophore consisted of a slender shaft of wood, with a large "aeroplane" or wing attached to it about midway, and a much smaller wing of similar design but set at a somewhat sharper angle at the rear. Power was provided by

Penaud's twisted rubber bands, which spun a "pusher" propeller. Other experimenters had actually made models fly, but the flight had been erratic. With the smaller rear wing, later referred to as an "automatic rudder", Penaud achieved the longitudinal stability that the others had missed; and by warping or weighting the wings, he overcame the effects of torque and gained enough lateral stability to control the flight direction.

With this first demonstration, in front of the ruins of the burned Tuileries Palace, Penaud sent his planophore along a pre-selected route in a flight which lasted 20 seconds. The members of the Society were impressed. A few children playing nearby were perhaps excited and amused. Nobody else saw it, and certainly the newspapers paid it no attention whatever. To their contemporaries, these aviation enthusiasts were just a bunch of screwballs, amiable and harmless, no doubt, but subjects more of amusement than of serious interest. To any ordinary citizen who thought seriously of flight, the balloon was the obvious means, and those who played around with ideas of flying in machines heavier than the air were idle dreamers.

The demonstration with the planophore was repeated many times before the members of the Society, and the flights of the little model demonstrated incontestably the possibility of

sustained flight. The planophore at times flew a straight distance of more than 200 feet. And all these flights, as well as the many others he used the little machine for, were employed by Penaud in his studies of longitudinal stability.

By an ironic twist of history, the experiments with the planophore became well-known around the world to aviation enthusiasts, who remained in complete ignorance of Penaud's later and more significant studies. The result was that many students of aerodynamics, and later many actual designers of aircraft -- the Wright brothers among them -- though that Penaud had engaged only in some fairly primitive studies of longitudinal stability, but had never even recognized, much less solved, the problem of lateral stability.

He had. He had recognized and solved that and many other problems, including those of lift and drag, but it was his final tragedy that the astounding importance of his later work was to go unrecognized by his comtemporaries, and the work itself to be forgotten as soon as he was dead.

Meantime, he was archivist of the French Aerial Navigation Society, and a member of the editorial board of its publication, L'Aeronaute. In 1872 he published his laws governing gliding in the air, and in 1873 proposed a mathematical basis for the study of air resistance. The year 1874 brought

him the Grand Prize of the Academy of Sciences for a paper on "The Mathematical Theory of the Flight of Birds."

The manuscript of this prize-winning paper is still in the possession of the Penaud family. It is beautifully written in a clear script, but scrawled all over with subsequent notes and jottings. Among them is this, altogether characteristic of Penaud and of the principles which guided his study:

"Motto: Theory must take account of facts. Progress is the child of Truth."

Having written a paper on the theory of bird flight, Alphonse then set out to prove that he knew what he was talking about (he hadn't waited for someone to take up his suggestion of December 1873 that a Zoetrope be used to study photographically the actual flight of birds).

He built a mechanical bird.

Powered like his other models with twisted rubber bands, his bird would not take off from the ground; but released in the air, it would fly, by flapping its wings, for a horizontal distance of 50 feet or more, rising to a height of 7 to 9 feet as it flew. It was 32 inches wide, wing-tip to wing-tip, and the whole thing weighed about 2 1/2 ounces!

About the same time, his friend and colleague in the Society, Dr. Hureau de Villeneuve, also built a mechanical

bird, only he shaped the wings like those of a bat. Unlike Penaud's, Villeneuve's mechanical bird would take off from the ground, and fly a horizontal distance of 24 feet or more at a speed of about 20 miles an hour. Also unlike Penaud's, the Villeneuve bird became the darling of its inventor's heart, in whose eyes it held all the promise of the future.

So far as Penaud was concerned, the mechanical bird with the flapping wings was an interesting problem and an amusing project, but the matter ended there. He had long since determined that the promise of mechanical flight by man lay in structures with more or less rigid and fixed wing surfaces, powered by devices -- he used airscrews in all his designs -- which would move the wing through the air, or, to put it another way, move the air over the wing. Because he had also long since figured out that a wing got most of its lift from air moving over an upper convex surface, instead of from air moving <u>under</u> it. And he had begun work in 1873 on the great aircraft design which was to embody everything he knew about flight.

But Dr. Hureau de Villeneuve, having built a mechanical bird which flew, became convinced that the whole future of human flight lay in machines with flapping wings. It was first a subject of friendly discussion between Villeneuve and Penaud, then of discussion somewhat more heated, then of

disagreement, and finally of estrangement and, on Penaud's part, of deep bitterness.

Since nothing that flew, in any way, was outside the scope of Penaud's studies, he did a thorough job in 1874 on the boomerang, and not only reported his studies in a learned mathematical paper which he read to the Society, but made and demonstrated a device that duplicated in every respect the flight of that aboriginal Australian weapon.

In 1875, Penaud posed the three central problems to be solved for the flight of man in heavier-than-air machines: the resistance of the air, the strength of materials, lightweight engines. The third, for the time being, he left to others. He had long been at work on the first wo.

The aircraft design began in 1873 to embody definitely all the results of his enormous research was nearing completion. His collaborator in the design was a mechanic and engineer, Paul Gauchot, like himself a member of the Aerial Navigation Society. Gauchot was not a man of distinguished intellect, but he was interested in aviation, and above all, he knew materials -- their strengths and weaknesses, their weights and structural qualities, their use in combination. This was the knowledge Penaud needed to supplement his own theoretical calculations, to reduce his mathematical formulae to practical ends....."Motto: Theory must

take account of facts..."

Finally, he filed the design with an application for a patent, and the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, on April 8, 1876, granted the patent to Alphonse Penaud and Paul Gauchot, 14 Rue de Castellane.

In retrospect, in the full knowledge of all the theorizing and experimenting still to come, of the slow struggle towards reasonably efficient machines to make the age of flight a practical reality, that design of Penaud's is almost incredible.

The craft was to be a high delta-wing monoplane, virtually tail-less except for the vertical fin with balanced rudder and the horizontal stabilizers -- the tail assembly still standard on aircraft, and known for many years to designers who knew nothing else about him as the "Penaud tail."

The twin propellers, set near the fuselage and forward of the wings, were counter-rotating, with variable pitch. The body of the craft was a streamlined fuselage, containing an enclosed cockpit to carry two men, with dual controls of elevators and rudder. It was an amphibian job, with retractable four-wheel landing gear.

The wings were double-surfaced, with the upper surface of the rear portion reverse cambered, and with balanced

elevators in the trailing edges. Elevators and rudder were controlled from the cabin by concealed fables.

The design and Penaud's specifications spelled out such matters (although he did not call them by these names) as cantilever, stressed-skin wing construction, wash-out, lateral dihedral. And for power?

There, indeed, was the rub! Various methods were foreseen hopefully, but none was specified, because there wasn't an engine in existence in 1876 which was both light enough and powerful enough to lift such a plane into the air. Penaud calculated that the plane, carrying two men, would weigh 1,200 kilograms, and would need 20 to 30 horsepower to fly. It probably would have needed more -- the four cylinder engine used by the Wrights weighed about 200 pounds, and developed about 24 horsepower.

But this is speculation. True enough, Dr. A. N. Otto in Germany invented in 1876 a four-cycle gas engine which came to be widely used commercially, and was a notable precursor of today's gasoline piston engines. But Otto's engine literally burned gas -- coal gas-- and moreover it was heavy enough to sink the Penaud plane. Some of the steam engines available were light enough to supply a dangerous source of power for dirigible balloons, but they were far too

heavy for an airplane. The plain fact was that Penaud simply did not have an engine.

What kind of engine did he want?

"I have faith," said he, "in the hydrocarbon motor, above all and before all others."

Hydrocarbon -- petroleum, or gasoline. In other words, Penaud, still way ahead of his time, was betting on an engine that wasn't even going to be invented for another 12 years. If he had been able to get hold of a little money, maybe he could have collaborated with another engineer and pushed that research on internal combustion engines ahead a little bit faster.

But he had no money of his own, and his mother's small income would not stretch over any such research as would be involved in engine development. He tried to interest Giffard, the balloonist, who had money, but Giffard was discouraging -- after all, the future really lay with the lighter-than-air machines.

Nor did he get much encouragement from his old friends in the Society. Gauchot was killed in a train accident, and the two others who were most active and had been most interested, Hureau de Villeneuve and Charles du Hauvel d'Andreville, had

convinced themselves that the flapping-wing aircraft had no competitors in the future of aviation.

Penaud began to grow bitter and morose. He had gone as far as he could without that necessary engine, and he could not arouse the interest or gain the sympathy of those who should have been most interested.

"If I had a motor, that thing would go," he would say frequently to his mother, pointing to the plane design.

And the poor lady, who didn't understand what he was talking about and didn't believe a word of it anyway, would pat him reassuringly on the head, and walk away with her brows knitted in worry over this son who seemed to be losing his mind.

Maybe he was, in a way. For eight years, years in which he had accomplished a prodigious amount of work, he had never been free of pain, and at frequent intervals the recurring crises of his crippling bone disease would incapacitate him completely. He had gotten into the habit of taking laudanum to relieve the pain enough to let him keep working, and that, too, worried his mother -- almost every letter she wrote to her son Eugene, at sea with the Navy, expressed her frantic concern about the way Alphonse kept "drugging" himself.

With the disappointment about his aircraft plans, and the increasing burden of disease, Alphonse became more and more irascible. He could no longer brook contradiction, or even disagreement, among his fellow aeronauts, and the split between him and his friends Villeneuve and Hauvel became wider. There was no open quarrel, apparently -- Penaud simply drifted away from the Society, and as early as February 1876 resigned as archivist and as a member of the editorial board of L'Aeronaute. Eventually he resigned his membership in the Society itself. In both cases, he blamed his ill health. The truth was that he found his colleagues unsympathetic to his theories.

Moreover, as his illness and his temper worsened, Alphonse's differences with his family over religious and political attitudes became more bitter. His mother's immediate family were Legitimists -- adherents of the direct line of the Bourbon kings of France. The rest of the family were mostly Orleanists, followers of the younger branch which had been represented on the throne by Louis Philippe. All were pious Catholics. Alphonse agreed with none of them on any of these points.

He became neurotic, developing what amounted to a persecution complex. Even during the holidays at Le Nuisement, he would not leave the house without a revolver in his pocket.

And yet he never abandoned his studies and his research. Long after his death, his family found tucked away

in a wardrobe a portfolio of his papers -- notes, calculations, sketches, drafts, designs. One of these sketches, dated January 1877, envisaged the flight of aircraft weighing six to nine tons -- sheer fantasy to anyone else at that time.

Still studying, still worrying about the practical knowledge of the problems of flight, he took off in 1878 on a major balloon flight, speeded by a high wind. His frantic mother insisted on loading the basket with enough food and wine to last him a year. The balloon took him up more than 12,000 feet, but came down with more speed and agitation than he could manage, and as the basket bounced along the ground Alphonse was thrown unconscious, suffering severe internal injuries.

And there was still the bone disease, still the chance of curing it, still the hope that if the mountain air of a spa didn't help, the sea air of a beach resort might do some good. In July 1880, Madame Penaud was writing to Eugene from Fecamp that the days were hot, but the evenings fine, and that she and Alphonse were enjoying their walks on the jetty and the beach.

"He is much better, and the little crisis cleared up a few days ago," she reported to her older son. "... I am happy when your brother relaxes and finds a little pleasure.

He doesn't work much here. That eases my mind, for I believe that exercise and a change of view do him a lot more good than his incessant labor."

Alphonse and his mother returned to Paris for the last week of August, and Madame Penaud wrote again to Eugene that they were leaving the 30th "in order to be at Le Nuisement for St. Giles Day." Poor mother! She knew perfectly well that Alphonse would not go to mass with her that day, but she could go alone to the old church of Illiers on September 1 and say a special prayer to the patron saint of lepers and cripples for the recovery of her son.

"I keep urging Alphonse to attend to his gun permit," she went on. "I'm afraid he won't be able to get it before we leave....I'm up to my neck in boxes and packages..."

She needn't have fussed -- Alphonse got his permit. The next week Madame Penaud was writing to Eugene from Le Nuisement that she hoped he would get at least a couple of hares or a brace of partridge when the shooting season opened the next day.

"But I don't want him to fatigue himself too much. He has been suffering a little since we arrived here; but I hope the good air of Le Nuisement will get him in shape. If only he wouldn't <u>drug</u> himself as he does, I'm sure he'd be

much better. But, just the same, when I see how well he eats, I feel better..."

And so the month of September 1880 passed pretty much as other months had at Le Nuisement except that fewer people than usual were there. Uncle Victor borrowed Alphonse's dog Belle to go hunting with. The juvenile nieces and nephews and cousins complained that the opening day of the season was no opening at all, because the family decided against the usual picnic. Aunt Louise agreed, and longed for the noise and bustle of an Opening Day when all the family was there. Pierre had grown a lot, the little girls were devils, Louis romped in the open the whole day with Desiree's little daughter. M. and Mme. de Layre were rabid Orleanistes, they received and were received by the Princes of Orleans in Paris, they were very rich, and M. de Layre was said to be of the nobility ...

"Alphonse gets along not badly, but he continues to drug himself to my great despair." This to Eugene on September 18. "There's nothing to say. He eats well and occupies himself with a lot of little things; he has made a sundial, a boat for Pierre, etc..."

Alphonse's last holiday was drawing to a close. It is clear from his mother's letters that he had been a little moody during the month. Still and all, it had been a pleasant enough

vacation, and she had one last gay expedition to report to Eugene when she wrote on September 25 that she and Alphonse would be returning to Paris on October 2.

"I'm not sorry to be getting back to my own home, from which I wiol have been absent for three months this year...the other day, they went -- Louise, her children, and Alphonse -- to fish for crawfish. At Montigny, Victor and Edouard joined them on foot. They came back with two crawfish, but also with two hares, one of which Alphonse had shot..."

Back in Paris, the moodiness increased, and this changeling son seemed stranger and stranger to the worried Madame Penaud. He made a final appeal to the balloonist Giffard for financial help, and got a formal refusal -- there was no future for heavier-than-air machines, and the old man would spend his money only on the practical balloon.

Alphonse made, or had made, a little box in the shape of a coffin -- one of those melancholy, six-sided coffins rarely seen now in America, but still common in Europe. Into this he put his designs, his reports, his calculations, the outlines of his theories. On October 22, 1880, dragging along on his crutches, he took the box to the home of Giffard, and left it with a note:

"I leave to you the task of carrying out my projects."

Then he swung himself home again, to the apartment of

his mother at 14 Rue de Castellane. He was 30 years old, sick and discouraged. The painful and useless legs dragging, he hunched along on his crutches to his own room, and there, with the revolver he had been carrying for years, he put a bullet through his head.

The despair of that last, irrevocable act is the more appalling because it was so deliberately calculated, so carefully contrived. The almost devilish attempt to shock Giffard into doing something about the all-important studies and designs by presenting them to him, in a coffin-shaped box, as the last gift and plea of a self-destroyed man; the will which cried out finally against his family's blindness to his work by cutting even his mother and his brother out of any share in the small estate he left -- these are the macabre measure of the utter loneliness in which this embittered genius lived out his last few days, and planned his own death as a melodramatic gesture to get for his work that attention and support which, living, he had been unable to win.

The gesture was a failure. Giffard was an old man, who did nothing about Penaud's papers, and was himself dead within two years. The grieving mother and brother were merely hurt and bewildered; but, at Madame Penaud's insistence, they did not contest the will, because to do so would be to publish what she had been "at such pains to conceal"--the scandalous fact that Alphonse was a suicide.

Ironically, a letter apparently written about the time Penaud killed himself contained an expression of respect and confidence by fellow-scientists which might have bolstered his collapsing morale if it had arrived in time. It was written

by M. Darboux, a professor of the Science Faculty and Director of Conferences at the Ecole Normale Superieure in Paris, and invited Penaud to present"one or several papers on subjects of your choice" at the forthcoming Conference of the French Association for the Advancement of Science.

"We attach the greatest importance to your participation," said M. Darboux.

But the usually efficient French postal service mislaid or misdirected the letter, and it was finally delivered to Alphonse's mother four years and four months after his death!

Penaud's suicide was a confession that he judged himself a failure. The judgment, of course, was in error. True enough, his later and most brilliant work was lost to his contemporaries and to those who came after, to be rediscovered only after many men had found independently, in many places, bits and pieces of the knowledge of aerodynamics which they might have found in toto in his papers, had they known them.

But some of the earlier experiments and their results -- the helicopter, and the planophore -- were known to many of his contemporaries, who profited by them. And a toy pirated from Penaud's design fired the interest of Orville and Wilbur Wright. They achieved flight, and men flying airplanes was what Alphonse Penaud wanted.

Rickover, Admiral

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
Room 1701
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing two copies of the talk on education which I mentioned to you on the telephone.

Please let me know when Mr. Paley and you are going to be in Washington, and I hope we can get together then.

With best regards to you,

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

FOR RELEASE AT 4:00 P.M. (EST)
SUNDAY, MARCH 23, 1958

Remarks Prepared by RADM H. G. Rickover, USN
Chief, Naval Reactors Branch
Division of Reactor Development
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
and
Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships
for Nuclear Propulsion
for delivery at the
Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration
St. Albans School
Washington, D. C.
March 23, 1958

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A COMPARISON

I am delighted to speak here on a subject which I find as absorbing as my work in atomic energy. Indeed, I find the two so intertwined that I would have had to be most unobservant not to have gotten myself involved with American education.

In my constant search for competent people to work in the naval nuclear power program, I was inevitably driven to the conclusion that something is radically wrong with our educational system. I have given this much thought and I believe it is possible to pinpoint where educational inadequacy causes a bottleneck and why this is so.

The specialized education offered in American colleges and universities for future professionals is - with some significant exceptions - pretty good. But professional education in America is

severely handicapped by the weakness of our public elementary and secondary education. Traditionally, 12 years of schooling were thought sufficient to enable students to read and to write correctly, to obtain a solid foundation in history, geography, mathematics and the sciences, and to acquire competence in reading at least one foreign language. Upon this foundation, the professional schools then built programs of about 4 years' duration, designed to equip an already broadly educated young man or woman with the vast fund of specialized knowledge required by a modern professional person.

Now if the underpinning is weak two things must happen: either the future professional must lengthen his period of schooling by 2 to 4 years in a liberal arts college, so that he may acquire sufficient general knowledge to perform his professional duties in a wise and socially responsible manner; or his course of professional study itself has to be overloaded with remedial courses - as in English or mathematics - and with hastily concocted general humanities courses to patch up the gaps in his pre-professional schooling.

In the first case, the time required to attain professional standing is lengthened beyond what is tolerable to many talented young people - they simply will not wait that long to establish themselves and become economically independent. Moreover, the need to attend college before starting professional school is costly for the student as well as for the college. Tuition alone runs to about $1000 - $1500 annually but this is only half what it costs the college to educate the student.

In the second case - where professional schools attempt to make up for previous educational deficiences - the student has a heavy work-load

and achieves only a most sketchy sort of liberal education. For engineers, the first 2 years of professional school lean heavily to basic courses in mathematics and sciences - in addition, many freshmen must take remedial courses. The result is that too much of the engineering course has to be squeezed into the last 2 years. The study load then becomes too burdensome - about 60 hours a week of classroom, laboratory and homework for 4 long years. Such cramming is not the best preparation for a profession.

The chronic shortage of good scientists, engineers and other professionals which plagues us is the result of inadequate pre-professional education - of time wasted in public school which somehow must be made up later on.

But, it is said, our public education must concern itself more with the average student who does not wish to become a doctor, lawyer or engineer. For these average students the situation is, if anything, worse. They must depend for competence in dealing with life's problems on what they have learned in the 12 years from age 6 to 18.

Now this is the time in a youngster's life when he can most easily absorb large numbers of facts and when his curiosity can most readily be stimulated to want to do so. This is the time when young minds should be filled to capacity with impressions; when they should be stretched to their maximum. Only the school can do this. It can do it for children of most varied natural endowments, if it frankly recognizes these variations and devises curricula tailored to the capacities of the talented, the average, and the below-average child. Each group can then develop best at its own rate of speed. For each the same basic process of storing the mind with knowledge can be adapted.

Since the above-average pupil is 2 to 3 years ahead of the average pupil in mental age, he can complete the curriculum in a shorter period, or he can absorb more academic subjects or study them more deeply. But the same type of mental food which the above average pupil needs is needed also by the less gifted. Even the below-average child who may be 2 to 3 years behind the average in mental age and whose maximum capacity may be limited to the 6th grade - even he ought to be taught the same basic course of study given in the first six elementary years, though at a much slower rate. It may take him until 15 or 16 to complete the 6th grade. But if he can be motivated to want to, he can at least be taught the 3 R's.

For all children, the educational process must be one of collecting factual knowledge to the limit of their absorptive capacity. Recreation, manual or clerical training, etiquette and similar know-how have little effect on the mind itself and it is with the mind that the school must solely concern itself. The poorer a child's natural endowments, the more does he need to have his mind trained.

We should not have to support schools if we want no more than "adjustment" of children to life as it is. Children learn this in simpler societies just by "living" and by the incidental training they receive from the grown-ups around them. A child is being properly educated only when he is learning to become independent of his parents. We have schools because we know that in today's world everyone is daily called upon to make decisions for which he needs a background of general knowledge, not obtainable merely by "learning through living." To acquire such knowledge, fact upon fact, takes time and effort. Nothing

can really make it "fun." If we try to spare our children mental effort and to protect them against disappointments or personal failures through flunking exams, we send them ill prepared into a competitive world. This is most dangerous in a democracy for, as Jefferson warned us: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." Note the qualification "in a state of civilization." Formal school education was not as vitally needed in American pioneer society as it is in 20th Century America. The degree of ignorance which a democracy can tolerate varies in inverse ratio to the advance of the nation toward higher cultural and scientific levels.

Our elementary and secondary education must, thus, provide first, for the average and below average student, a sufficiently broad terminal education to fit him into a modern technological society; and second, for the talented student, it must provide a solid underpinning for subsequent professional education. Neither of these two objectives is achieved in the majority of American public school systems. Unlike all other Western countries of similar civilization, we lack a national standard for curricula, for school leaving examinations, for diplomas, or for teacher qualifications. There is a wide variety in the school systems of different states, even for different cities in the same state. We have some excellent school systems but many more poor ones.

Why do most of our public schools fail in the objectives I have mentioned? Basically, I think, because today these two purposes are <u>not</u> the objectives of our schools. We are reaping the consequences of the destruction of traditional education by the Dewey-Kilpatrick

experimentalist philosophy. While we have fortunately been spared wide application of progressive teaching methods in the schools themselves - thanks primarily to the heroic resistence and good judgment of our teachers - the spirit of Dewey permeates our teacher colleges and our state boards of education. It makes its pernicious influence felt in the steady deterioration of secondary school curricula, the overlong prolongation of elementary schooling, and the denial to teachers of professional status.

We must give credit to Dewey and his followers for having improved what once was altogether too autocratic a relationship between teacher and pupil, and for bringing a relaxed and friendly atmosphere into our classrooms. But we must also, on his own pragmatic terms, reject Dewey's claim that experimentalist education "adjusts" the child to life in a changing society such as ours, and that it does this better than traditional education.

Dewey's desire to alter curricula so as to teach subjects which will be of use to the child in life can be accepted only <u>if</u> we interpret the term "use" in its broadest sense. Unfortunately, his ideas have led to elimination of many academic subjects on the ground that they would not be "useful" in life, and to substitution of trivial, recreational, and vocational subjects alleged to be of more practical value. The student thus receives neither intellectual training nor the factual knowledge which will help him to understand the world he lives in, or to make well-reasoned decisions in his private life or as a responsible citizen in a modern democracy. He is instead handed a bag of "know-how tricks":

he is helped to become a pleasant, nicely mannered young person, able to get along with whatever group he joins. Even for the average pupil, these subjects are not mentally stimulating - they barely touch his mind.

Our schools once had the important task of Americanizing large numbers of children whose parents arrived here from diverse cultures, and whose first need was to "adjust" themselves to a new country. This the schools have done magnificently. But today, ours is a pretty homogeneous country, a country where the majority no longer live in poverty, where most families consider themselves middle-class and enjoy a material standard of living much higher than that of the middle-classes of the past. Traditionally, training of children in manners, appearance, poise, and consideration for others has been a distinctive function of the middle-class family. Nowhere have the schools to which middle-class children go been expected to take over this function which belongs to the home. Formal school education has always and everywhere been concerned solely with development of mental powers, with due attention also being given to physical exercise for purposes of safeguarding the pupil's health.

Intellectual training can be combined with home training only when schools are residential - as are the famed English "public" schools. In a short school day there is not enough time to do both. I suggest we turn back to the home what is properly the function of the home and permit the public schools to concentrate on what is properly their function - the education of young minds.

To that end, we must break the experimentalist hold on curricula and teacher certification. Pedagogy is an important skill in a teacher's professional equipment but it is less important than thorough and deep

knowledge of subject matter. Teacher colleges are now almost totally given over to pedagogy, school administration and psychology. Teaching cannot become a true profession until, like all professions, it demands of its practitioners that they pursue a lengthy course of study in the special field of their choice. You cannot make of "pedagogy" as such or of "school administration" as such a field of academic study comparable to law or medicine. They are in a sense the minors in a professional course of study; the major must always be the specific subject to be later taught - a teacher must be a true scholar in his own field. His scholarship will, of course, differ depending on whether he teaches history, let us say, in elementary or secondary school, or in college. Different degrees of depth and breadth of knowledge will be required; also different methods of presenting the subject to the pupil.

Today, our teachers are, in effect, denied the opportunity to make themselves such scholars, because their right to teach and their professional advancement are tied to required courses in pedagogy which few of them would choose, if they were given the freedom to plan their own course of study. Teachers do not have unlimited time to complete their professional training. If they are forced to waste much of it on pedagogical trivia, they have that much less time for serious study, and the losers are our children, of course.

Dewey's denial of absolute values; his insistence that learning leading to growth must be based on the experience of the child; and that the aims of education must be to modify behavior rather than to impart knowledge - all this gives American education a transitory flavor, ties it closely to the society into which the child is to be fitted. It also

provides an effective smokescreen preventing comparison of American education with that of countries having similar ways of life. Indeed, we have long lived in educational isolation and it is time we look around and see what is being done in other countries.

To get the necessary data is quite difficult - there seems to be no agency in the United States collecting such information. Through the great kindness of Mr. Philippe R. Scholten, a graduate of the University of Leyden now residing at Middlebury, Connecticut, I have been able to obtain considerable data on education in the Netherlands. The Dutch system resembles that of most European countries. Education in the various countries of Europe has always been surprisingly uniform in standards and even in the details of school curricula - the unifying factor being the traditional demand of European students to have access to the universities throughout the continent. The universities themselves have always had fairly uniform standards. These go back to the unity of Europe in the Middle Ages under a Universal Church which was the Educator of the people.

In Holland, all education from kindergarten to university is almost entirely financed by the government. The 6-year elementary school is free; the secondary schools charge small fees which are adjusted to family finances. University fees average about $75.00 per year.

After completing the 6-year elementary school at age 12 the Dutch child can enter one of six types of secondary schools. Entrance to these schools depends almost exclusively on the aptitude of the child as determined by examinations, but there is flexibility which permits later switchover from one type of school to another.

Three of these secondary schools are non-academic types:

(1) The trade school which lasts 4 years and which compares favorably with our vocational high school;

(2) The advanced elementary school which also lasts 4 years and which offers a program about the same as the average American high school;

(3) And finally, the secondary school Type "A" which lasts 5 years and may be compared to our better public high schools.

In addition to these three non-academic secondary schools there are also three academic secondary schools. One, the secondary school Type "B", lasts 5 years. Its graduates are qualified to study medicine and technical subjects at institutions of university rank, but not law or theology. The second one is the Latin-grammar school, Type "A" which emphasizes the humanities; the third one is the Latin-grammar school, Type "B" which emphasizes science and mathematics. Both of these Latin-grammar schools last 6 years and their graduates may study any subject at the universities. All three of these academic secondary schools terminate with a long and comprehensive government-supervised examination covering the entire school program and lasting several days. And there are no multiple-choice questions.

I have made some calculations to compare the curricula of the Dutch secondary schools with our own 6-year junior-senior high schools. The Dutch school day is 10% longer than ours; the school week lasts 6 days or 20% longer; the school year lasts 240 days or 33% longer. The Dutch class period is 50 minutes and the homework required is a minimum of 4 hours daily. Further, no subjects but academic ones are taught, except gym, art, and music.

I have also tried to make a comparison of the credit points required in our secondary schools with those of the Dutch secondary schools. As far as I can determine, the student must take 16 points of solid academic subjects in the last 4 years of our junior-senior high schools, or 4 points per year. And these 16 points are all that are required to enter college. If we were to give equal weight to the first 2 years of our junior-senior high schools, the student ends up with a total of 24 credit points in academic subjects for 6 years. The Dutch student ends up with 30 credit points for the 5-year school. And for the 6-year school, he ends up with 40 points, or 66% more than we.

To give you an idea of how these credits are obtained, let me run down the figures for these two types of Dutch schools:

First, the 5-year school: 4½ points for the mother tongue (Dutch); 10½ points for three modern languages: French, English, and German; 3 points for history and political science; 4 points for economics and accounting; geography 2½ points; mathematics 3 points; physics, chemistry, and biology 3 points. I think you will agree that by the end of his 16th year the Dutch student at a 5-year school such as this is at least as well versed in basic subjects as the American high school graduate a year later. Even so, he will not be admitted to a university since he is really not considered to be an "educated" person!

Now as to the 6-year academic Latin-grammar school. Let us take Type "B", the one which specializes in mathematics and science, since it is closer to American education than the purely classical one. The mother tongue (Dutch) 4 points; the usual three modern languages 8½ points, Latin and Greek 11 points; history 3 points; geography 2 points; mathematics 5½ points; physics, chemistry, and biology 6 points.

Europe has always demanded more of her children than we of ours, and for a very good reason. To attain a high standard of living, given a similar level of technology, a country must either have a favorable ratio of people to land and resources, or its people must work harder and more intelligently - they must acquire more competence. In other words, poverty of land and of natural resources can be offset to a degree by better development of human resources. Ours has been the classical example of a high standard of living based primarily on favorable ratio of people to land but in the last 180 years we have wasted much of our natural wealth and multiplied our population more than 40 times. Though our ratio of people to land is still much better than that of Europe, it worsens each year and the day is not too far off when we shall be no better off in that respect than Europe. We must not let ourselves be impressed by total acreage figures. There is much desert and semi-arid land in our West whereas Europe has carefully preserved its land and forests and has no deserts or arid lands.

As we approach European conditions, we may find that we shall have to make a choice: educate our children better or downgrade our standard of living. We still have a margin of safety but it is none too soon for all of us to think this matter over carefully so that we may express our wishes clearly and in the proper democratic way to those who run our schools.

Few of us have been aware of our worsening situation, for thus far science has been able to keep up with diminishing resources and a population growing 3 times as fast as Western Europe's. If we develop all our human resources, we shall still be able to insure a high standard of living to our children and grandchildren. But it cannot be done with 180-day school years, driver training courses and print shop in high school.

All along the line we are paying for neglect of secondary education in mathematics and science, yes, but also in English, history and geography. To maintain scientific and technological leadership and the modicum of culture necessary in a civilized society, we must get to work on the long-range task of reorganizing our public schools so that they may give us the kind of people needed today where few problems can be solved by common sense and hard physical work alone, but where the need above all is for well equipped minds, "adjusted" to this scientific era in man's history.

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
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March 6, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for your letter of March 5th, straightening me out on Admiral Rickover. It appears that there may be two books centering on this extraordinary man -- one on his ideas on education, and the other on the case history you mention. I'll do a little more investigating of the second, and I hope you will let me know if a possible author comes to your mind.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

William Clifford

William Clifford

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

wcc/bn

Clifford, W.

March 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Clifford:

I am afraid Mr. Schuster must have misunderstood my remarks about Admiral Rickover.

I never imagined that he would be willing to undertake any writing himself. What I suggested was that there was a fascinating case history to be written on the authorization and construction of the Nautilus -- how bureaucratic red tape can be cut through in the course of a crash program in peacetime. I do not know who could write such a book, but I am convinced that it would be an interesting and important contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. William Clifford
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

mcc

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

February 24, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Schuster has told me that he spoke to you about Admiral Rickover some time ago and that you might be able to give us some helpful advice on the possibility of getting a book from him. I wrote to the Admiral about two weeks ago and have received a letter in reply saying that he has some definite ideas but has no time to write. I have also talked on the phone with George Probst of the Edison Foundation, who, I gather, is quite close to Admiral Rickover. He assures me that the Admiral is not a man to let anyone else do any writing in his name and that unless he is retired from the Navy, which now seems unlikely, he will not have enough time to write more than an occasional speech in the foreseeable future. Mr. Probst is sending me the speeches that Admiral Rickover has delivered under his sponsorship and we shall see if there is a possibility of making a book from them.

If you have any new light to throw on this picture, I should deeply appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

William Clifford

William Clifford

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

wcc/bn

Murray, Don
Adm. Rickover

February 7, 1958

Dear Mr. Murray:

I have your letter of January 29th.

I appreciate your taking the time and trouble to write me about your suggestion for a television program, but I have no control or authority over programs other than my own.

If you care to pursue this, I suggest you write to Mr. Irving Gitlin, Director of Public Affairs' programs.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Donald Murray
Lambert & Feasley, Inc.
430 Park Avenue
New York, New York

mcc

CBS
per Ed Murrow

LAMBERT AND FEASLEY
INC.
Advertising

430 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

January 29, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The enclosed article clipped from a recent issue of "U.S. News & World Report" outlines Adm. Rickover's views on the shortcomings of the American system of education. Of all the recent speeches and articles this one of Rickover's seems to me to best sum up the situation...and at the same time he proposes certain innovations which I think would go a long way toward improving scholastic standards on a national basis.

Unfortunately, "U.S. News & World Report" only has a million readers. It is my conviction that this material should be brought before the entire American public. Its main points should be headlined in every tabloid and weekly newspaper across the country, instead of just being allotted an inch or two in the big city dailies. Every parent should be forced to interest himself in the problem. Every parent must be made to understand that the smallest European country has an educational system with higher standards than our own. Everyone must be made to understand that national pride, patriotism, chauvinism, secularism, and a prejudiced insular outlook have too long veiled the truth about our scholastic shortcomings.

Perhaps you could interest CBS in doing a "special" on this subject as a public service...or better yet a series of exposes. Individual schools could be selected and compared (without mentioning names). Diplomas could be compared. An "average" European high-school graduate could be compared with his American counterpart, etc. It could have lots of impact. I'm sure that the grass roots public will be shocked when we see how stupid we are when compared with "backward Europe...the old country". This is important, timely and vital, and I am sure would redound credit to CBS.

Sincerely yours,

Donald Murray

c/dm
Encl.

EDUCATION

A SIZE-UP OF WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICAN SCHOOLS

What's wrong with U. S. schools is examined here by a leading nuclear scientist, Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover. He makes these points—

• Schools do not motivate enough youngsters to enter science, other professions.

• Children get too much leeway to pick and choose among a large number of subjects.

• Teaching of "essentially extracurricular" activities, going back to a time when one job of the schools was to Americanize immigrants, overburdens the schools now.

• There is no national standard for the high-school diploma—or most college degrees—which can indicate good training, or none.

by Rear Adm. H. G. Rickover, U.S.N.
Assistant Chief for Nuclear Propulsion, Bureau of Ships

Sputnik may well be the catalyst which brings about drastic and long-overdue reforms in utilizing this nation's intellectual capacities. It may thus do in matters of the intellect what Pearl Harbor did in matters industrial and military. Then as now a dramatic occurrence suddenly revealed that we had failed to develop our capacities to their maximum potential. But, as we found then that in a national emergency we could take prompt and vigorous action and perform industrial miracles, so I am convinced we can now take similar action and perform educational miracles.

* * *

The Sputnik was a lost first, and that is regrettable. It is particularly regrettable that we apparently lost it not in military weaponry but in what looks to many people like pure scientific adventure of a kind which appeals to their imagination as no weapons supremacy could. Russia indeed chose shrewdly where to concentrate for a blow to our scientific and technological prestige. It fits nicely into the International Geophysical Year, too. In actual fact, Sputnik is, of course, of great significance because of its relation to missile weaponry and because of the potential military advantages of outer-space control.

* * *

In the long run, the more disturbing fact which emerges from the Russian satellite program is her success in building in record time an educational system which produces exactly the sort of trained men and women her rulers need to achieve technological supremacy day after tomorrow.

Russian education is, of course, deplorably utilitarian and authoritarian. But it has virtually wiped out illiteracy, today estimated to be only 2.5 to 5 per cent, which does not compare badly with our own rate: 3.7 per cent in 1940 and about 2.5 per cent today. Russia has put a *larger* percentage of her *smaller* national income into public education than the United States. She has made the rewards of intellectual accomplishment so attractive that her children are working their heads off to keep up with an extraordinarily tough curriculum, often at the cost of their health, which is beginning to worry Soviet doctors.

Russia has as great a shortage as we in school buildings—she merely doubles up and so gets twice the benefit we do out of each classroom and school laboratory. I feel sure she would use her schools on a three-shift basis if this were necessary. Russia has no teacher shortage, no substandard teachers. She has set their scholastic standards very high, given them a heavy work load; but she also honors them and pays them exceedingly well.

Russia evidently has no difficulty getting highly intelligent people with solid education in their chosen subjects to work devotedly and without worrying too much about lack of political freedom. This has been a surprise to us, an unpleasant surprise.

Had we looked at the matter from the point of view of the peasant children earnestly studying in classroom, laboratory and library, we would not have been so surprised. The low standard of living and the memory of a past, meager in culture, are assets to the Soviets. It is difficult for us to understand the intense longing for education—any kind of education—of underdeveloped people. This is one bond that unites Russia—no longer underdeveloped but close enough to the immediate backward past—with all the underdeveloped people of the world.

Moreover, it is far easier to awaken in children a sense of personal achievement, of victory, in mastering the intellectual challenge of tough curricula if there are no competing attractions, such as those which claim the attention of our more fortunate children: no comfortable homes, playrooms and back yards to play in; no jukeboxes or phonograph records; far fewer movies, hardly any distracting radio or TV programs; no senior proms, dating, long telephone conversations, and, of course, no hot rods.

If they could have them, these pleasant things would greatly delight Russia's youngsters and probably cut into their study time; witness their avid interest in American "jive" and "rock 'n' roll" records, to the dismay of the authori-

. . . "We must awaken America to the danger facing the nation"

ties. Russia does have a problem with unruly so-called young hooligans who are—and this is significant—not the children of the poor, but the pampered offspring of Russia's elite. Eventually, there may be more of these disturbing youths, but for the moment they hardly make a dent in the picture of an earnest, well-disciplined, polite and studious school population.

It has surprised us to find that Russia's intellectual elite does highly competent work despite authoritarian control in all, even the highest, educational and research institutions. Russia appears to have found a way of allowing superior minds freedom in the field of their special competence while denying them the right of political criticism. It has apparently been possible to develop the critical capacity of superior minds to the high degree needed for scientific work while fettering it in all other fields.

There is evidence that the fetters are well hidden, and that discontent with Russian life is largely prevented. This seems to be done by shrewdly catering to the needs of these people both as scientists and as ordinary men and women. They are allowed to let their minds roam undisturbed in quest of knowledge; they are given superb laboratory and research facilities; the best thoughts of foreign scientists are gathered quickly by large staffs of abstracters from scientific magazines and books the world over and presented to any Russian scientist who needs them.

Honors are heaped on them for superior achievements, although they do not as often get their names in the papers as do their colleagues in the free world, for this would smack of "personality cult."

Rewards for Russian Scientists: Country Homes, Chauffeurs, High Pay

Scientists also have needs of the kind common to all mortals. So Russia gives them attractive living quarters, country houses, vacations, maids, chauffeurs, cars. Their pay is in the top income bracket; in fact, the highest salary in Russia is paid to the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Why should these men concern themselves about the lack of political freedom or the grim and dreary life of most of their compatriots? They probably reason that these are temporary abuses, and that their own scientific work will contribute to the wealth and power of their country and thus ultimately to a better life for everyone. Quite possibly, too, totalitarian states may have a built-in incentive for attracting gifted minds to science: the desire to escape to a safe and comfortable ivory tower.

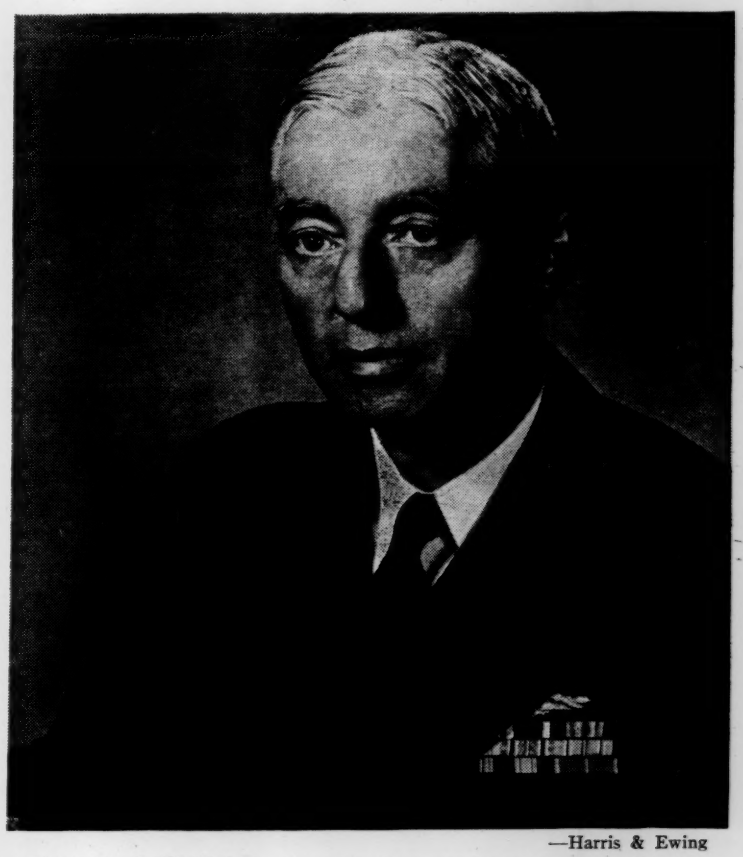
It is an unfortunate accident of history for us that today the military and political power of a country depends so largely on having a highly developed technical civilization. This, in turn, calls for vast numbers of scientists and engineers. The subjects which these men must master are mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, all apparently regarded as politically safe by Russia's rulers. It is difficult to see how even the most fanatic Marxist could interject the party line into these sciences.

It is different, however, with other sciences. Take biology: This is a science which heretofore could not be freely pursued. Scientific truth had to be sacrificed to the Lysenko-Stalin theory of genetics.

Other than party-line limitations may also restrict free scientific inquiry. For example, Russia does not presently consider it necessary to excel in medical research. Chemists are therefore diverted from inquiries which might cure diseases of man to inquiries which can improve metals. The results of costly foreign medical research are instantly available to Russia, so she can shift appropriations from the medical to the engineering faculty and save money and manpower.

Enough has been said to give an inkling of the methods by which the Soviet manipulates its skilled manpower. It might be noted in passing that the fields in which they have done outstanding work have been precisely those where they allowed maximum intellectual freedom. Little that is new and original has come out of Russia in other fields. But second-rate theater, literature, art and so on are not of great importance in today's international power relationships.

Faced with this formidable and ruthless adversary, who has openly promised "to bury" us and who grows daily in industrial and military might, what are we to do?



—Harris & Ewing

ADMIRAL RICKOVER: "Trained manpower can only come out of a thoroughly reorganized educational system"

First, I think, we must awaken America to the danger facing the nation, making public all the facts, and without soothing the impact of unpleasant truths. I have no doubt that as a people we have enough patriotism, let alone enlightened self-interest, to recognize that we must put greater effort into the things which will make America strong, even if this may require a reappraisal of cherished convictions and ways of life—even some material sacrifices, which I doubt would be large.

Ours is an enormously productive economy, the first in history which produces a large surplus over and above reasonable necessities of life. The flood of goods coming off our production lines is so tremendous that some 10 billion dollars must be spent annually to encourage disposal of them. I speak, of course, of advertising, which costs us as much as all of our

. . . "Educational system with totally different aims" is needed

primary and secondary public schools put together. This is money with which advertisers finance our mass media and through them ceaselessly hammer at the need for ever more and better goods and services.

People must be made to buy things for which they feel no need; they must be induced to replace possessions still entirely satisfactory for new ones which, it is promised, will make them up-to-date and keep up the family's prestige. Their subconscious is probed in order to find ways to stifle the still voice of conscience and induce the American people to go into consumer debts of over 3 billion dollars annually—42 billion standing on the books as of now. Often young children are conditioned to act as unpaid boosters for higher consumption.

The automobile industry alone must spend 1.5 billion dollars each year to design and bring out new models in order to insure that American families keep spending 10 per cent of their income on cars. This 1.5 billion dollars is about three fourths of what the nation spends on all its colleges and universities, both public and private. I mention these figures to show that sacrifices to give America strength in the race with Russia would be insignificant in view of our enormous margin of luxury spending.

"We Must Reverse Our Treatment of The Scientist and Trained Professional"

Second and equally important, I believe, we must reverse our treatment of the scientist and trained professional. It is easy to make a good living in this country without much serious education. Hence the temptation to do this is so great it can only be offset by deliberate actions to elevate the status of the trained professional in terms both of prestige and of material reward.

We had better stop calling scientists "longhairs," "egg-heads," "little men with beards." In the present mood of chastisement, scientists have been speaking up and telling us that such disparaging remarks hurt and may discourage many a young man from choosing the hard intellectual road to science rather than the easy and pleasant road to business success and country-club living.

But merely spending a lot of money on scientists, scientific research and new military projects will not be enough.

In final analysis, trained manpower can only come out of a thoroughly reorganized educational system with totally different aims and considerably higher scholastic standards. To carry through such drastic reforms is a formidable undertaking, but reforms of similar magnitude have been carried out elsewhere in the past.

Much could be learned from Europe's experience in education, in particular, for Europe is old and wise at educating the young. Some of her famous universities have been in the business for a longer time than the white man has been in North America. Formal education itself is a European invention and probably the main factor in her phenomenal success, first in colonizing the world and then, so to speak, setting it on its feet, with the mark of European civilization so deeply imbedded that it may well prove ineradicable. Nowhere else has there been a spontaneous, native growth; wherever institutional education exists today, it was brought by European settlers or colonial administrators.

* * *

Europe's most important educational achievement is that, despite pressures not unlike those exerted on the schools here, she has limited democratization of the educational process to the reduction or abolition of school fees and refused to be stampeded into lowering the quality of secondary and university education. This remains, as it has for 150 years, the highest in the world.

European schools are neither social clubs nor finishing schools. Their objectives are limited and clearly defined: They seek to equip the child with all the intellectual tools he can handle; they nourish his mind with as much general culture as he can absorb; and they give his body all the exercise it can take. When a point is reached where pupils can absorb no more mental food, they quit school and go on to institutions which give vocational training of one kind or another.

* * *

In Russia there is only one basic school preceding higher education: the 10-year school. The curriculum is identical in the same grade in every school throughout the country. Students are permitted to advance only so long as they can master the curriculum. Various types of vocational schools are open to those children who desire to or who must leave after completion of the fourth grade or the seventh grade. Children are thus under great pressure to study hard, since completion of the 10-year school exempts them from military service and, of course, opens the higher professions to them, provided they can get past the examination hurdle, which bars from the universities all but 30 per cent of the 10-year-school graduates.

By stripping down to what the Soviets consider the essentials, secondary schooling can be completed in 10 years, instead of the usual 12 to 13 years in the rest of Europe. These two years saved enable the Russian student to begin training for his profession at 17. No effort is stinted to give him the best grounding in the subjects he needs, especially for study of science and engineering. The university courses in this field are of highest caliber; we can see today the results of all this effort in Sputniks, hydrogen bombs and other similar achievements.

If we discuss education with a clear understanding of the distinction one must make between the *methods* used to impart knowledge and the *purposes* for which each society educates its young, then it is easier to rid oneself of emotional bias against the *methods* simply because one abhors the *purposes*. We can then learn something from Russian education.

What we can learn, I think, is that we made a grave mistake when we disregarded Europe's experience in educating the young, just because many of us have had strong emotions about authoritarianism in European schools and their rigid multiple-track system. We continue to reject nineteenth-century European education, and we refuse to look at its twentieth-century offspring, which is far less authoritarian, far more flexible, and far more open to the gifted of all classes than most of us realize.

"Russia Has Been More Realistic Than We in Education"

Russia has been more realistic than we in education and less dominated by political dogma, strange as this may sound. She was able to use the European educational system because she could readily see that methods of teaching a subject like French or physics were basically nonpolitical; hence it was wise to copy the best methods, no matter who had devised them.

That Russia has been enormously successful in what she set out to do when she reorganized her educational system is now

plain to all of us. In the fields where she wants to excel, her education is certainly of the best. In other fields this seems doubtful. But a nation survives today more by reason of having excellent scientists and engineers than good doctors and lawyers. I have ventured to do a little figuring, and, by comparing population with attendance at universities, I have come to the conclusion that Russia, in proportion to population, is now training twice as many professionals as we. In addition she has 30 million more people and her population percentage in the age group under 25 is considerably greater than ours.

If these figures are correct, and we have no reason to doubt them, the meaning is obvious. In just over 20 years she has succeeded not only in reforming a school system all but in ruins, but in carrying to adequate academic levels so large a proportion of her school children that she can enroll twice as large a proportion in her universities as any of the Western nations.

It is interesting that the proportion of university students in Europe is about the same as in America, just as the proportion of national income devoted to education is about the same. Most European countries put 2.5 to 3.5 per cent of their national income into education. The United States invests in public education just over 3.5 per cent but, if all of private education is added, the percentage rises another point. The proportion of youth studying professionally in institutions of university rank is about 5 to 6 per cent here, as it is in Western Europe.

One Reason Red Schools Are Better: Russia Spends More on Education

What then are we to think of Russia, where 8 to 12 per cent of her youth are studying professionally in universities? Does it not reflect the fact that she spends over 6 per cent of her national income on education? When a country with a much lower living standard than ours spends a greater percentage of her income on education, it is time we paused and reflected.

The rate of progress or decline of a country is so closely tied to the education it gives its children that one might call this rate a function of education.

* * *

It should be evident to everyone that our schools do not motivate and educate enough youngsters to become professionals, and that the resultant shortage in trained manpower is a warning signal which we must not disregard. As a people, we have been caught napping. The Scientific Revolution is upon us and we have not prepared to meet its ever-spiraling demands. Our attitudes toward education are often uncritical holdovers from the past, having no validity today. The launching of the Sputnik was a providential warning; we will disregard this warning at our peril.

There was a time long ago when our country needed hardy pioneers to conquer a continent, rather than educated men; our anti-intellectualism which colors so much of our thinking about education has its roots in this pioneer past. At another time our greatest need was to assimilate the avalanche of immigrants pouring into the country; American emphasis on nonacademic school objectives, notably on teaching children manners and social graces, the efforts we make to maintain a uniform level of behavior and accomplishment—all the essentially extracurricular burdens we put on our schools—go back to a time when the school was our best instrument for Americanizing millions of foreigners as rapidly as possible.

For a long time the welfare of the country has been intimately tied up with its industrial growth, and so the businessman's outlook was predominant; this accounts for a certain

(Continued on page 90)

SOME "UNPLEASANT TRUTHS"

From the accompanying article by Admiral Rickover—

- Russia doubles up, and so gets twice the benefits we do out of each classroom.
- It is far easier to awaken in children a sense of victory, in mastering tough curricula, if there are no competing attractions, such as our children have: playrooms to play in, jukeboxes, movies, TV, proms, dating, hot rods. If they could have them, these pleasant things would greatly delight Russia's youngsters—and probably cut into their study time.
- The highest salary in Russia is paid to the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.
- Results of costly foreign medical research are instantly available to Russia, so she can shift appropriations from the medical to the engineering faculty, and save money and manpower.
- Europe has refused to be stampeded into lowering the quality of education.
- Our schools do not motivate and educate enough youngsters to become professionals; the resultant shortage in trained manpower is a warning signal we must not disregard.
- The nonacademic burdens we put on our schools go back to a time when the school was our best instrument for Americanizing millions of foreigners as rapidly as possible.
- Few American students at age 21 to 22 know as much after a four-year college course as most European secondary-school graduates know at age 18 to 19.
- Education in America has deteriorated in quality for lack of standards. It matters not whether you take courses in calculus, medieval history, women's styles or interior decorating. Everything is grist to the American educational mill. "You, too, can have a degree."
- We must not soothe the impact of unpleasant truths.

. . . "We have always overvalued the high school"

inclination to judge education by its dollars-and-cents value, its immediate usefulness. This probably has had something to do with our tendency to equate teaching the tricks of a trade with cultivation of the powers of the intellect.

We now have a proliferation of educational institutions but with no national standard of academic excellence. The elementary and secondary public schools are controlled and largely financed on the local level, and any kind of outside influence has always been stoutly resisted; even State control is tolerated with ill grace. There is therefore no national standard for the high-school diploma. It is granted for educational efforts so dissimilar as to be valueless in judging a graduate's competence.

Some U. S. Colleges "Hardly Deserve To Be Rated as Secondary Schools"

Equal diversity prevails among our colleges and universities. Some hardly deserve to be rated as secondary schools, while others are excellent; among the best in the world. The B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees which they award are as dissimilar in value as are the diplomas of our high schools.

Only the professional degrees—those given to lawyers, doctors, engineers and so on—maintain a fairly uniform standard, and it is good. The reason for this unexpected respect for excellence in professional degrees is usually to be found in some form of outside pressure, such as the need to meet State qualifications for licenses to practice the profession.

* * *

The greatest confusion in any comparative study of education comes from the misconception of the worth of the American high school. We have always overvalued it. Merely because its graduates are approximately of the same age as European graduates of secondary schools, we keep thinking of the two as being, if not identical, at any rate comparable. This would only be true if you equate possession of social poise, good citizenship and pleasant disposition with solid academic knowledge such as even few colleges in the United States impart in a four-year course.

In recent comparisons of American and Russian education we have, for example, compared the number of graduates of the Russian 10-year schools with those of American high schools and found the result not too disheartening. Similarly, we lump together United States college and university enrollment—only 11 per cent of which is postgraduate—and compare it with enrollment in Russian universities and professional schools. Again, though not good, the figures are not actually frightening. We carefully count the hours our children spend in elementary and high school and find that in 12 years they've sat in class about the same length of time as the Russians in 10 years.

We then say sadly that the Russians do seem to get more sciences than our children and that something should be done about it.

We follow the same procedure when we make comparisons with European schools. It comes out that we have many more children in high school and in college than they have in secondary schools and universities, and this makes us proud. But all of these comparisons are meaningless because the European secondary-school graduate has learned more than most of our college graduates; and as to the high-school diploma, the less said about it the better.

How can you make a meaningful comparison between the American high school and the Russian 10-year school or the European secondary school? The latter two can be compared with each other, and the Russian comes out the worse, though not in things which his Government considers essential. But one cannot compare the number of hours spent in our high schools with those spent in any European or Russian secondary school, for even the hours are not qualitatively the same. There an hour at school means an hour of uninterrupted serious work; here there are assemblies, errands to be run, special assignments—like collecting milk bottles for lunch—and the teacher must spend a great deal of time helping the dullards who would so much rather be on the outside earning money than trying to study "language arts."

It takes almost a week to get work started at the beginning of each semester and another week to tidy up at the end. Then there are trips to survey various adult activities, checking on the fire department or the bakery, and much time goes into preparing for the school play.

It isn't even possible to compare one hour of French or physics in the average American high school with one hour of these subjects in a European or Russian secondary school, and for this reason: Over there they have a continuous program of instruction which advances from the moment the subject is first introduced. As the child grows in understanding, the presentation of the subject by the teacher becomes broader and deeper, more information is added and more facts are discussed, until in the end the pupil masters the subject thoroughly and it is his for life. In such a well-planned program each hour carries the pupil's knowledge a step forward.

But we, in this country, in a mistaken idea that the child should exercise free choice, give him much leeway to pick and choose among a large number of subjects. He may take French in the ninth grade, drop it for two years and take it up again in the eleventh. Meanwhile he will have forgotten most of what he learned and time will be wasted reviewing in the second year what he was supposed to have learned in the first year.

A point is reached where quantitative diversity becomes so great that comparisons are meaningless. The Russian 10-year school, for example, gives each and every student 1,353 hours of classroom and laboratory instruction in the sciences. Many of our high schools teach no science at all; only one third of our high-school graduates have even studied science, and the maximum obtainable, with a few exceptions, is 756 hours.

"Many of Our High Schools Teach No Foreign Languages at All"

Take foreign languages: Every pupil in a European science-mathematics secondary school has nine years of one foreign language and six years of another. Yet many of our high schools teach no foreign languages at all, and there are few graduates who have had as much as three years of even one foreign language.

Some American high-school graduates never get beyond quadratic equations, but every graduate of the European science-mathematics secondary school must be familiar with differential and integral calculus, analytical geometry, application of mathematics to physics, and spherical trigonometry.

It is time we face up to the fact that few American students at age 21 to 22 know as much after a four-year college course as most European secondary-school graduates know at age 18 to 19.

There is much dissatisfaction with our schools today. Parents feel vaguely that the local high school is below par, but they have no way of proving it. In some fashion, we must

. . . "Education has deteriorated for lack of standards"

devise a way to introduce uniform standards into American education. Since there is widespread distrust of the Federal Government in matters educational, and education is under our Constitution within the province of the States, it would be best to set up a private agency; a council of scholars, financed by our colleges and universities as a joint undertaking; or perhaps by foundations.

This council would set a national standard for the high-school diploma, as well as for the scholastic competence of teachers. High schools accepting this standard would receive official accreditation, somewhat on the order of the accreditation given medical schools and hospitals. Teachers would receive a special certificate if they completed the requisite course of studies.

A PLAN TO IMPROVE AMERICAN SCHOOLS

Admiral Rickover, in the accompanying article, suggests that—

- A council of scholars should set a national standard for the high-school diploma, and for the competence of teachers. Schools meeting this standard would get official accreditation.
- If a local school continued to teach such subjects as "life adjustment" instead of trigonometry, French and physics, its diplomas would not be accredited by the council.
- Colleges, faced with rising enrollments, would tend to admit only those with accredited diplomas. Taxpayers whose children got "inferior" high-school diplomas would demand better schools.
- The council of scholars should foster a plan to shorten American general education to 14 years; 12 or 13 years for brilliant children.
- Industry, labor and foundations should endow about 25 model high schools, open to children who are able to pass rigid entrance requirements.

Community pride would be a potent factor in inducing high schools to obtain accreditation. For the first time, parents would have a real yardstick to measure their schools. If the local school continued to teach such pleasant subjects as "life adjustment" and "how to know when you are really in love," instead of trigonometry, French and physics, its diploma, for all the world to see, would be inferior. Taxpayers will begin to wonder whether they are getting their money's worth when they see other schools receiving accreditation, and when their children find admission to college difficult because theirs is an inferior diploma.

Schools would soon discover that, to obtain the coveted accreditation, they would have to have teachers with a thorough knowledge of their subjects.

This would put pressure on educators and State authorities to bring their teacher-certification requirements into line with today's need for teachers thoroughly grounded in the subjects they teach. Another most desirable effect would be the enviable position in which council-certified teachers would soon find themselves. There would be lively bidding for their services, with the near-automatic result that their salaries and prestige would rise. More intelligent people would then be drawn into teaching, thus starting an upward spiral and giving teachers at last the true status of professionals, which they most surely deserve.

As part of what I feel must be a concentrated effort to introduce quality education into the high schools, I again urge that industry, labor and the foundations endow some 25 model high schools which would be open to all children, but only upon passing rigid entrance examinations.

What Is Needed: "A Plan to Shorten General Education to 14 Years"

Once scholastic standards are firmly set, the council should concern itself with a plan to shorten American general education to at most 14 years; and to 12 to 13 years for brilliant children. It ought to work out a plan for all high schools to graduate at age 16 those children who are able to learn fast and who plan to become professionals; colleges would probably accept the 16-year-olds if they came with a council-accredited diploma.

Within the next 15 years, 6 million youngsters will clamor for admission to our institutions of higher learning. Colleges and universities are now being exhorted to prepare for the flood, and they are severely criticized when they refuse to expand in order to become mammoth high schools where overgrown children must be taught to spell or write a simple essay; where hardly anyone really knows a foreign language, and many are mathematically illiterate yet confidently expect to become engineers because this is a profession where much money is to be made.

We are in our present predicament because education in America has deteriorated in quality for lack of standards. You can send your boy to college to study fly casting or advertising layouts; your daughter to study etiquette and how to be a hostess. After 12 years in elementary and high school; four years at college, and three years of postgraduate study, the crowning achievement may be a Ph.D. thesis on "A Study of School Postures and Desk Dimensions."

It matters not whether you take courses in calculus, medieval history, women's styles or interior decorating. Everything is grist to the American educational mill. "You, too, can have a degree." Every American child has the God-given right to march in a commencement procession, clad in mortarboard and academic gown, the rolled-up parchment degree clutched in his hot little hand. What for centuries was a solemn moment, crowning long years of arduous mental discipline and hard work, has now begun to mark the end of high school and may some day reach our little sixth-grade scholars.

Let not men of little vision with their soothing words hold back our righteous anger. We must sweep clean the temple of learning and bring back quality. For, as President Sproul of the University of California warns us: "If we fail in our hold upon quality, the cherished American dream of universal education will degenerate into a nightmare."

Let us each make a beginning, however small. It takes but the moving of a single pebble to start an avalanche.

Foregoing are excerpts from an address by Admiral Rickover in Detroit on Nov. 22, 1957.

FOR RELEASE AT 10:30 AM
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1957

Remarks Prepared by RADM H. G. Rickover, USN
Chief, Naval Reactors Branch
Division of Reactor Development
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
and
Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships
for Nuclear Propulsion
Navy Department
on the Occasion of the Dedication of
Nuclear Power Training School
United States Naval Submarine Base
New London, Connecticut
December 6, 1957

EDUCATION IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

We are celebrating an event which seems at first glance fairly routine: a stone has been laid upon which in due time there will arise a new school building. The school itself has been functioning for two years. Now it is being given appropriate shelter, indicating that the period of trial and experimentation has come to an end and the need for a school of this kind has come to be accepted, albeit not with enthusiasm nor with unanimity.

The school will cost a lot of money; the students will be expected to put in hard intellectual work of a kind which may seem unusual for men whose life is essentially one of action, not of reflection. It may well be asked: why need we select this group of men from among many and send them to a special school not open to the rest of their colleagues? The answer is simple: we have no choice.

We have no choice but to develop a new kind of navy man to run a new kind of naval ship. The school provides the kind of education needed by the officers and men of a nuclear navy.

Whether or not to have a nuclear navy is not really a matter of choice either. I need not stress the military advantages of nuclear power. But there is another reason. Within a generation or two we shall be short of oil. Without oil for propulsion, we must go backwards, first to coal, then to sail. These have been the energy sources for naval propulsion in the past. Or we can go forward with new and infinitely more complicated types of energy, such as nuclear power. For our liquid fuels resources will not last too long. So far we have been able to maintain a proven reserve on hand, about ten years supply. Not a wide enough margin you might say. But to maintain this margin the oil industry will have to drill 1,200,000 oil wells in the U.S. during the next ten years. It has been estimated that during that period it must spend about $115 billion in the U.S. and abroad to maintain and expand its facilities. This is a prodigious effort. But even this must in the end fail. For man works out his destiny within the limits of a finite world, which in the end checkmates human expansion in things material.

Only in the realm of the spirit is there still room for enormous expansion, limited only by our mental capacities and our will to develop them to their utmost. Here we have hardly begun to scratch the surface, and vast treasures remain to be brought forth.

The past weeks have been a period of rude awakening for us. Our eyes and ears have been assaulted by the most distressing sort of news about Russia's giant strides in technology, based on the extraordinary success she has had in [illegible]

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transforming her educational system - all but in ruins twenty years ago - into the most efficient machine for producing highly competent scientists and engineers - many more than we can hope to train through our own educational system which we have so long regarded with pride and affection.

We are slowly thinking our way through a thicket of bitter disappointment and humiliating truth to the realization that a nineteenth century educational philosophy is as hopelessly outdated today as the horse and buggy. Nothing short of a complete reorganization of American education, preceded by a revolutionary reversal of educational aims, can equip us for winning the educational race with the Russians.

Let me digress a little to go into this matter, though it is seemingly remote from today's event. I should like to do this because I think it is a matter of vital importance to the Navy, no less than to the country as a whole.

Ours is a democracy. We cannot move forward faster than the majority of the people will permit us to go. Today the people are aroused because they sense that something is fundamentally wrong with American education when a country - three fourths illiterate a generation ago - can in twenty years catch up with us in so important a field of knowledge as science and engineering. The mass of well-reasoned criticism which is currently filling the air and the news columns is, however, so large as to be almost indigestible.

Let me condense it to a few major points. For greater details, I can think of no better source of information than the Hearings on the "Shortage of Scientific and Engineering Manpower" held before the Subcommittee on Research and Development of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress of the United States. These Hearings were held in April and May 1956, under the Chairmanship of the Honorable Melvin Price of Illinois. There, deft

interrogation and high integrity and honesty brought forth all the facts which are needed to understand the problem; as well as enough good suggestions for practical reforms to undo in a reasonable length of time all the damage done our children and our future by fifty years of educational stagnation. Similar help will come from the Preparedness Investigation presently being conducted by the Senate Armed Services Committee. No American can consider himself a conscientious citizen who does not take the time and trouble to read these documents and to think them through. I, myself, have found them most helpful in formulating my own views on American education.

In my work in nuclear energy, the defects of our school system forced themselves upon my attention as long as ten years ago. Since then I have had occasion to interview more than a thousand young college men and officers. The design and development of nuclear power plants is a difficult scientific and engineering project encompassing the most advanced concepts in physics, mathematics, chemistry, metallurgy, electrical engineering, electronics, and mechanical engineering. Young men with sound fundamental scientific and engineering knowledge and proper motivation are needed to carry the project forward. Despite the numbers who apply, I have never found more than a very small percentage who had the necessary qualifications. I could not but come to the conclusion that something was radically wrong with the schools and colleges to whom the education of these young men had been entrusted.

I think we have come to the pass we are in today because our mass media wrap us in a cocoon of soothing "Coué-ism" along the lines of "everyday, in every way, things are going to be better and better". Few of us read serious books. We are therefore singularly defenseless against the continuous flood of optimistic predictions of a future with delightful superabundance - just

around the corner - which American Science will provide. We are equally defenseless against the clichés of our folklore which assure us that America is and always will be the most technically advanced nation. Or that ours is the most marvelous system of education in the world since more teen-agers are in school in the United States than anywhere else. This silky cocoon has kept us in isolation from the educational practices of even our closest allies in Europe. A few hours' check of their curricula, teaching standards, and of the end results of their educational system would disabuse us speedily of our illusions.

It seems to me that the first step in tackling the American educational problem is to collect all the pertinent data concerning education in other Western nations and to present it to our people clearly and with dispatch. I am thinking of the sort of thing done by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare when it published its recent useful "Report on Education in the USSR." We need all the information and we need it now.. At little cost much help for planning educational reforms could be made available.

Some may say that one cannot make valid comparisons between the educational systems of different countries since - to paraphrase a famous saying of Lord Haldane - it is in its education that the soul of a people mirrors itself. Even so there are other ways to measure education besides the soul.

Take spelling, for example: elementary schools in Europe seldom fail to teach their pupils how to spell, yet American high school graduates are notoriously bad spellers. Or take educational efficiency: The American student is two to three years older than youngsters of equivalent education abroad, at

every age from nine to completion of his professional education. Or, to take a more elevated level:

Through 1955 the Nobel Prize Committee in awarding prizes for original work in physics and chemistry granted, in proportion to population, three times as many to Germany as to the United States; two and one half times as many to England; one and one half times as many to France. Most astonishing perhaps, Holland with a population one sixteenth of ours received four to our 22 prizes; Switzerland with one fiftieth received five prizes; Austria with one twenty-fifth got three. Or take the field of nuclear fission alone. Twelve basic discoveries in physics, chemistry and mathematics brought atomic power into being. Of these, three each were made by German, English and French; one each by Danish and Italian scientists; and only one by an American. Yet the population of France, Germany, England, Denmark and Italy combined is only one third greater than that of the United States; their total national wealth is far less than ours. But in this particular field of trained brain power they were 11 times as rich as we.

Or again, take the successful development of the atomic bomb. We provided excellent direction, extensive facilities, unlimited funds; but the major contribution in brain power came from such men as Italy's Fermi and Segré, Denmark's Bohr, Hungary's Teller, Von Neumann, Wigner and Szilard, Germany's Hahn, Strassmann, Bethe and Einstein, England's Chadwick and Cockcroft - to mention but a few of the top men. In fact, it was of no small concern to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy that, as the late Representative Hinshaw put it, the very topmost of our scientists is 60-70 per cent foreign born and educated. Even some of our own foremost scientific contributors received their university training abroad.

Of course, no educational system can guarantee that it will bring forth genius at any given rate; all it can do is to make it easy for genius to be discovered early, nurtured and encouraged, and allowed to flower according to its own inner motivations. Can we truly say that our education does this? I think not. Nor does it even seek out, nurture and develop mere talent - as contrasted with genius. It fails to develop in our most intelligent youngsters the desire to make the best use of their good minds. Hence we see 200,000 of the top quarter high school graduates lost each year to higher education while the nation suffers the most acute shortage of trained professionals in all fields, and a disastrous shortage of vitally needed scientists and engineers.

It is estimated that industry and the defense establishment urgently need at least twice as many scientists and engineers as we are currently graduating. Even more disastrous in the long run is the severe shortage of properly qualified teachers of science and mathematics in high schools and in colleges. It will take many years merely to bring the present corps of 60,000 junior and senior high school science teachers to the level of competence required to give our youngsters sufficient education so that they can enter engineering colleges properly prepared. As it is, only one third of our high school graduates are really qualified; the remainder must take remedial work which puts a heavy burden on the colleges' scant number of teachers. No wonder most engineering schools lose 50 per cent of those who enter. In 1955 we actually gained only 125 physics teachers. This works out to one for every 225 of the country's high schools.

One of the great defects of our educational system is that it does not respond to changing national needs for specific kinds of professional people. Because of the considerable latitude allowed to the student in selecting subjects, not only in college but even in high school, he may be so unprepared to study for a given profession as virtually to bar him from it unless he has begun deliberately to prepare himself for it in high school. For example, we need a great many physicists now. But a youngster who has taken no physics and little mathematics in high school, as is true of most of our high school graduates, and who then takes the usual two years of liberal arts in college is, in effect, precluded from becoming a physicist. And yet in today's rapidly changing technological civilization it is absolutely essential that the educational system be sufficiently elastic to permit students to shift quickly into study for those professions most needed at any given moment.

This inelasticity of our school system is the direct result of the sentimental attachment we hold for the concept of a comprehensive school in which all children - stupid, average, talented and bright - march sedately up to the 18th year, absorbing so little real education that it takes another four years at college before the preprofessional stage of education is completed. In order to make some small allowance for different mental capacities we allow junior and senior high school pupils considerable leeway in selection of subjects. Electives are a necessary consequence of forcing the educational strait jacket of the comprehensive school on all children in the name of educational democracy. We thus thrust upon our teen-agers decisions which may

adversely affect not only their own professional careers but also the country's ability to obtain the professionals it needs.

I have long felt that we erred grievously when we set up our own public education system without first making a thorough study of what at that time were the best foreign educational systems; that is, those of continental Europe. England whose educational experiences have in many ways paralleled our own showed greater wisdom. Though then the premier nation of the world, she was not too proud to profit from the experiences of small countries like Holland or Switzerland; or potential enemies like France and Germany.

Matthew Arnold, the poet, equipped with that curious versatility so noticeable in England's educated men, spent most of his life as a government school inspector; and in that capacity he wrote several reports on European educational methods which proved most useful when England finally established her own public secondary school system. We might profitably study those reports ourselves today.

The significant aspect of the continental educational system is that it is efficient and inexpensive when measured against the results obtained. That is not surprising when we consider that in its basic form it was invented by Prussia after her defeat by Napoleon in 1806. At that time, the country lay prostrate under the heel of the conqueror; her richest lands torn away; her treasury empty. Poor though she was, Prussia had to bring the entire country rapidly from the 17th to the 19th century, or forego all hope of ever rising again. A small band of devoted men did the country over from top to bottom, including a thorough and rapid reform of her educational system which had deteriorated badly.

Prussia was one of the first countries to recognize that a modern state must have a citizenry with at least an elementary education; that she must have leaders sufficiently educated to deal with the problems of the coming industrialization. She was one of the first to make elementary education compulsory and free, and to put all of education under state control. Being a poor country she could not afford the leisurely, luxury education for her leaders which wealthy England had developed in the closed circle of (privately endowed) "public school" - Oxford and Cambridge. "Public school" students were taught by Oxford and Cambridge men and then themselves went to Oxford and Cambridge if they wanted more education. This closed high quality educational circle was run by Anglicans, and non-Anglicans were barred from it by law. It was confined to the old upper-classes and to the newly rich middle classes on their way up into the upper-classes; others were excluded by the high fees.

Prussia, too, had privately endowed boarding schools for the nobility, resembling somewhat the 18th century English "public schools". But when she set up public secondary education she realistically cut out all features not necessary for education per se. Because the people were poor, fees had to be kept low; so a large part of the cost of education fell to the state. Hence the carefully thought-out businesslike way in which she worked out a two track system, one track designed for the mass of children, the other for those destined for the higher professions.

The rapid rise of Prussia to industrial and military power and the excellence of the scientific research done at her universities - to which students flocked from all over the world - led to widespread adoption of her basic educational system by most of Europe. Her lightning victories in 1864, 1866 and

1871 - a mere half century after she had been soundly beaten by France - were recognized everywhere as a victory of the Prussian schools and universities. To defeated France the lesson was plain; she took energetic measures to modernize her own educational system.

Other European countries also adopted the basic principles of this system. These were:

First, that elementary, secondary and university education be devoted solely to developing the intellect of the student to his greatest capacity. All vocational training must be done in special schools set up for the purpose.

Second, that the secondary schools give a broad general education in the shortest possible time, so that professional study can begin no later than age 18. This was necessary both for reasons of economy and in order to find time for compulsory military training.

Third, to get youngsters ready for professional study at age 18, serious study of foreign languages, higher mathematics, literature, geography, and history must begin no later than age nine, at which time the fast learners begin to be separated from the slow learners.

Fourth, to complete this broad general education in nine years requires carefully thought-out courses for each subject, advancing in logical sequence, year after year, from the simple to the complex. Thus, elective subjects can have no

place in such a comprehensive and well-balanced program. Only at the university level is selection of subjects left to the student.

Fifth, three basic types of secondary schools gradually evolved and are now provided - the classical, the semiclassical and the mathematics-scientific. Each of these three types provides a broad enough general education to permit the student to take almost any professional university course. For example a graduate of the classical secondary school can become an engineer by taking additional mathematics and science courses.

Sixth, considerable latitude was allowed in each school as long as national standards were met. These standards governed the qualification of teachers and the competence of the graduates. Tests of graduates to prove their competence were conducted by authorities external to the school itself, through very comprehensive examinations without which no diploma or degree was granted.

Because of the class distinctions dividing 19th century Europe, this educational system tended in all countries to separate the lowest class - which sent its children to the elementary school - from the middle and upper-classes whose children went to secondary school and thereafter to the university. The class character of this system made it anathema in the United States. But it is usually forgotten that Europe, too, has moved towards greater democracy, and that application of the six principles I have mentioned can be varied in many ways.

The European educational system has now been democratized by abolishing school fees and by subsidizing the education of able students through scholarships. This is done extensively in England where, for example, three fourths of the students at Oxford are on government grants. Russia has gone furthest in this respect by paying complete living expenses to able students. Opportunities have also been developed which permit the late blooming child to catch up or shift from one educational track to another.

Also European secondary schools now have so-to-speak junior partners, i.e. schools giving the same type of education but stopping at age 15. These prepare for various subprofessional careers.

This whole system is flexible and can be adjusted to different national aims. It has the great advantage that it allows children of diverse mental capacities to move forward at their own speed in classes which are homogeneous in intellectual requirements. While she has opened all her educational institutions to all children, Europe has held fast to the fundamental requirements of good education: a high standard of professional competence for teachers, and a firm adherence to the principle that the secondary school educates; that it develops the powers of the mind; that vocational training or the teaching of social graces must be obtained elsewhere.

Moreover, democratization has not meant the lowering of academic standards. Examinations weed out those who cannot absorb further education. And yet the system is, in fact, less rigid than ours when circumstances require emphasis on certain professions. Thus, it permits changes in the demand and supply of the several professions to be effected rapidly.

It is this continental European system which the Soviets reintroduced 20 years ago and which has enabled them to forge ahead at an astonishing rate. There is nothing specifically Russian or communistic in their system, except that they have stripped all the "nonessentials" from the European model - they have stripped everything that develops independent thought and a cultivated mind - and that they have introduced as much political indoctrination into the curriculum as they consider necessary. By paying the living expenses of most students, by putting large sums into construction and equipment of superb laboratories and libraries, and by offering their children no other road to success but education, the Soviets have been able to get a larger percentage of their students - almost twice the number in Europe and America - into professional university level study.

It is this tremendous increase in Russia's professionals which threatens our technological supremacy today.

The method is simple. Combine the European educational system with adequate funds, and motivate children by offering the highest material rewards for hard mental study and you can get the same result anywhere in the world. There are the beginnings of this in China, too.

The greatest single obstacle to a renovation of our education comes from the fact that control, financing and direction of education is, in the U.S., in the hands of many thousands of local school boards, whose members seldom qualify as educational experts. State control is slight and federal assistance is rejected. We therefore are at an impassé. It is exceedingly difficult and time consuming to convince thousands of school boards that they must change the curriculum of the local high school; to persuade 48 states that their

colleges and universities ought to confine themselves to education and not to vocational training and service activities which have no place in institutions of higher learning; or for that matter to win over thousands of alumni on whose bounty our privately endowed colleges and universities so largely depend.

In no other Western country are educational institutions so precariously placed financially, so dependent on local politicians, on the whim of small communities where few have ever had a higher education. Half our colleges are continuously threatened with bankruptcy. The future looks bleak unless in some way federal assistance can be made acceptable and some sort of national standard can be established to which diploma and degree-giving institutions must conform.

England which was faced with a tradition of private education and of control by thousands of local school boards finally worked out a compromise by which government and local school authorities were able to cooperate. The local school boards had to go however, and were replaced by a small number of county councils. Government aid remains voluntary but is conditioned on acceptance of uniform standards of excellence in curriculum and in teacher qualification. Moving slowly step by step, England has been able to overcome her own political obstacles to good public education; but it took her over a hundred years and she has been that much behind continental Europe. Might this not be one reason why, despite her far-flung Empire, her enormous head start in industrialization, England was rapidly overtaken by Germany, both industrially and finally militarily? Education is too vital for a nation's welfare safely to be debated overlong.

In our own country, the schools have been primarily engines for Americanizing children of diverse backgrounds; for teaching all children to get along with others whose economic and cultural standards might be different; for developing the qualities which citizens in a democracy need in order to carry out their political responsibilities. These tasks our schools have accomplished excellently. As long as the country devoted all its energies single-mindedly to development of the highest standard of living for the greatest number of people, the kind of education received by American youngsters was entirely adequate. But in the pursuit of this aim, we have neglected two things:

First, we have not counted the cost to us of our high standard of living in terms of rapid exhaustion of irreplaceable mineral and fuel resources; and

Second, we have failed to recognize the damage done to our talented children by squeezing them into the strait jacket of the comprehensive school.

We must devise better ways to educate our talented youth. We cannot spare a single child who has the capacity to become a professional. In science and engineering we need many more trained people to help us develop substitutes for diminishing natural resources and to keep us ever advancing technologically.

Faced with the task of expanding the aims of American education we must yet not lose its great qualities of humaneness and its ability to lay the spiritual foundations for harmonious democratic life among people of varied capacities and cultural standards.

Change, of course, is always painful. Too often those whose way of life is dependent on the old and familiar routines resist fiercely, counting their own interests above those of the nation, though never conscious of this. Nothing is easier than to convince oneself that what is good for him is good for the country.

I can perhaps make more clear what I think of the health of our educational system by reminding you what is done in a hospital when a patient is seriously ill. He is placed on a critical list. Those who are concerned for him are notified. If he is an important man, bulletins are issued hourly. A continuous watch is maintained and extraordinary measures are taken to revive his health so that as soon as possible he may again become a useful member of society.

Once the American public realizes the desperate consequences of our great shortage of trained man power in terms both of national well-being in a resources-poor future, and of our very existence as an independent and strong nation; once the connection is made in everyone's mind between education and lack of vitally needed scientists and engineers - there will I hope be action to undo the educational harm of the past half century. But we in the Navy cannot wait for this to happen. For we dare not fail our responsibility always to have ships and men at their maximum technological potential, so that we may be able to protect the freedom and liberty of our country in any war, hot or cold.

At present we have in nuclear energy the only immediately practicable alternative to energy derived from dwindling fossil fuel resources. We may, and I hope we shall, find other energy sources. But as of this moment

transition from oil to nuclear power is the only way we know which frees us from dependence on an energy source threatened with extinction within the life span perhaps of the next generation.

To build and man a nuclear navy demands a higher order of administrative and technical competence, as well as new concepts in matters of personnel, of tactics, and of strategy. A nuclear ship is not merely powered by a new fuel; it is a ship potentially far more useful for a greater variety of tasks than is the conventional ship. A nuclear submarine, for example, can stay underwater indefinitely at high speeds, while a conventional submarine can do so for only one hour. A nuclear submarine is a true submersible, at home in the depths of the ocean. It remains indefinitely in its element; it can go under the ice pack where no known device can locate it; in fact, it may be likened to an underwater satellite moving rapidly through the vast oceans - almost as hard to detect and destroy as a satellite orbiting the earth's atmosphere. Changes in strategic thinking will be needed to take full advantage of the increased military potential inherent in ships driven by atomic power.

Experience has shown that old-established, routine methods - while adequate for building and manning conventional ships - are not adequate for constructing and operating a nuclear navy. We are still experimenting, feeling our way. Atomic power calls for a higher plateau of engineering and administrative competence. We are constantly coming up against barriers built of lack of understanding for the specific requirements of this new energy source. To take just one example: lack of basic theoretical knowledge in the whole field of metallurgy forces us to waste time in ad hoc experiments, simply because we do not yet know why metals act the way they do when exposed to radiation.

radiation. Much time is also wasted while industry gears itself to the greater precision necessitated by the greater demands for accuracy in all parts of a nuclear plant, not merely the atomic core itself. These technical problems call for a high degree of initiative, of creative and independent thinking, of essentially nonroutine procedures.

Again, the requirements of this new fuel force upon us a revision of traditional personnel policies. More and more, ship's crews must become highly trained technicians; the ship itself becomes primarily an intricate industrial plant. These new qualifications must be superimposed upon and brought into harmony with the strictly military demands on the character of officers and men. This again calls for imaginative thinking of a sort quite new in military organizations. And here I would like to pay special tribute to Vice Admiral James L. Holloway, our Chief of Naval Personnel who has from the first had the vision to see the new personnel and training policies which this new force required.

As the nuclear ships begin to come off the ways in quantity, ad hoc training of crews cannot keep up with the demands for ever larger numbers of men to run them. The task has now been entrusted to this school. We all hope that this will hasten the Navy's transition from oil to atomic power.

What we are doing today is not unlike what we had to do when steam superseded sail. Then, too, a new fuel called for a different technical competence in our officers and men. Then, too, we had no real choice. Either we accepted the new technological order and progressed, or we rejected the inherent imperatives of the new order and declined as a naval power. The navy of sail evoked a deep-felt affection for a way of life which had its glorious moments,

its familiar and comfortable routines. But to have clung to sail when the trend of the time was toward steam would have been folly and national suicide.

We have the same problem today. The changes which nuclear power bring are not always welcome, but do we have any choice?

Today, unlike a hundred years ago, we no longer have a wide margin of time. We no longer live as on an island, spiritually and geographically removed from the power politics of the world. A hundred years ago, Europe was the cockpit of power struggles, and we stood on the side lines, protected by friendly oceans and free to choose whether to refrain from or join the battle.

Today, it is we who are in the center of the arena; and how well prepared we are will determine whether there is to be a battle and, if so, whether we will emerge victorious.

H. G. Wells remarked that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. If this school throws its weight into the scale on the side of education - small though this weight may be in the total mass of educational effort our country requires - it may yet be the little bit which will guarantee survival of civilization.

FOR RELEASE AT 12:00 NOON
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1957

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For Delivery at the Meeting of
Overseas Press Club
New York, New York
December 5, 1957

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REVOLUTION AT SEA

I greatly appreciate this opportunity to appear before the Overseas Press Club.

We know that we are living in a period of great changes. At times we forget how fast changes have come about that we now take for granted. To understand what is happening and will happen in the future it is useful to reflect on the current rate of change.

For instance, our first steam-propelled warship, the Demologus, was designed and built by Robert Fulton in 1814, but it was not until the 1880's that the Navy completed conversion from sail to steam.

It has often been said that the steamship revolutionized naval warfare, and so it did. However, as conversion of the world's navies from sail to steam took three quarters of a century, the changes wrought were evolutionary rather than revolutionary, and therefore less drastic in their impact than might have been expected.

Today our Navy is in the midst of another change -- conversion from oil to nuclear power. This change is taking place so rapidly that it is, in truth, a revolution.

Let me give you a brief timetable. The idea of an atomic submarine was conceived in 1949. Four and one half years later the land-based prototype of the propulsion plant for this submarine was operating, and a few months later the NAUTILUS was at sea.

The SEAWOLF, our second nuclear submarine, was launched in 1955; the third one, the SKATE, is presently conducting her sea trials. The SWORDFISH and the SARGO, our fourth and fifth nuclear submarines, were launched this year. And 14 additional nuclear submarines are now under construction or authorized. Further, we are designing or constructing nuclear power plants for a guided missile cruiser, an aircraft carrier, and a frigate.

By the mid-1960's we should have in being the first nuclear powered task force -- complete from submarines to carriers. Thus, a technological and military revolution, which in the past would have taken the better part of a century, will be completed in a decade.

We can predict with reasonable accuracy what effect conversion to nuclear propulsion will have on future naval warfare if we keep in mind that a naval ship, whether it be propelled by wind, coal, oil, or the atom, is simply a mobile platform which may be used for any or all of the following purposes: It can transport men and supplies; it can receive and transmit intelligence; it can be a base for launching firepower against an enemy. This firepower can come from shells, torpedoes, rockets, missiles, or bombs. These can be shot from a gun, released from a launching device, or dropped from an airplane which is launched from the ship. In the last case, the naval airplane merely extends the range of the mobile platform.

The history of naval engineering is a record of our efforts to design and build better moving platforms. Our aim has been to develop ships which have these ideal capabilities:

First, the capacity to go at full speed anywhere at any time; that is, unlimited cruising radius.

Second, the power to carry war to the enemy, which means that our ships can stop the enemy from approaching our shores while striking successfully at targets within the enemy's territory.

Third, the ability to keep their exact location secret, either through great mobility or through use of the ocean to shield themselves against the enemy's intelligence.

An ideal, by definition, must remain unfulfilled. All we can do is to try constantly to approach it. The sailing ship had unlimited cruising radius, but it was bound to the surface of the ocean, and depended on wind and weather. It could go anywhere, but not at any time.

Coal freed the surface ship from dependence on the weather, but this freedom was bought at a price. Ships could no longer cruise indefinitely; they had become tied to coaling stations. Conversion from coal to oil extended the cruising radius, but did not eliminate the fundamental dependence on refueling.

Meanwhile, progress had been made in another direction. Naval engineers had learned to build ships that could go below the ocean's surface. The battery-driven submarine was the first mobile platform to use the ocean as a shield against enemy detection. But it could do this for just a few hours; it could cruise underwater for only short distances and at low speeds. It was not, in fact, a true submersible, despite its name. It had to do nearly all

of its cruising on the surface. To recharge its storage batteries it had to raise its snorkel or come to the surface for necessary oxygen. A snorkel can be detected by radar, and a submarine on the surface is no real match for a destroyer or an airplane.

To transform the battery-driven submarine into a true submersible its dependence on oxygen had to be eliminated. This came with nuclear propulsion. The propulsion plants of the NAUTILUS and her sister submarines require no oxygen; therefore they can stay under water indefinitely. They can circle the earth submerged and need not refuel for long periods of time. In fact, the NAUTILUS has been designed to operate better and faster under water than on the surface.

The consequences are clear. All antisubmarine warfare has heretofore been based on one basic premise: The storage battery of a conventional submarine quickly exhausts itself -- in about an hour at high speeds, and in 40 to 50 hours at low speeds. When this happens, the battery submarine must snorkel or surface, revealing its location and exposing itself to attack.

No ordinary submarine has ever run submerged at its top speed for more than one hour. The NAUTILUS on a single trip has run fully submerged at high speed for 5007 miles. She then surfaced only because she had reached her destination. Further, the NAUTILUS steamed 62,526 miles, over half of them completely submerged, on her first charge of uranium fuel. She has gone closer to the North Pole than any other ship, breaking a record held by the Russian icebreaker SEDOV.

The daring of Captain Anderson and his crew in undertaking this polar voyage under thick ice is not fully appreciated. I venture to say that it will go down as one of history's greatest feats of exploration.

The NAUTILUS cruise to within 180 miles of the North Pole was true pioneering. No submarine had ever before gone more than 20 miles under ice. The NAUTILUS traveled 1383 miles under the ice in 5½ days.

We had no idea what conditions would be found. No one knew accurately what the depths of the water might be, the thickness of the ice, or what currents might exist. There was no assurance that the gyro-compass would work that far north where the force holding the compass in line is so low. As for the magnetic compass, it never works too well in a submarine, built as it is of magnetic materials. Near the magnetic pole we could expect trouble.

As it turned out an electrical power failure to the gyro-compass was one of the reasons preventing the NAUTILUS from reaching the Pole. We have learned that we can go anywhere in the Artic basin in a nuclear powered submarine.

This exploration has provided our scientists with over 16,000 bottom soundings, as well as other data so extensive it will take about a year to evaluate it all. This was the first quantitative study of sea ice ever made. It includes continuous records of ice coverage, profiles and thickness; sea water temperature and salinity; and ocean depths and contours.

The way is now open for exploration of the Arctic basin by our submarines. The rate at which a submarine can chart the Arctic is incomparably faster than it can be done by landings from aircraft on ice. We must learn all about this new sea operating area as quickly as possible in order to be able to counter any threats which may develop in that region.

There is no longer any reason why nuclear submarines cannot go to the North Pole and beyond, or transit between the Atlantic and Pacific through the Arctic Ocean. And I trust that in the not too-distant future Captain Anderson and his intrepid NAUTILUS crew will be the first men ever to voyage under the North Pole.

What nuclear power can do for the submarine has already been demonstrated. For the surface ship it will provide virtually unlimited cruising radius. Our aim is to design nuclear propulsion plants which can last for an entire war without being refueled. The nuclear task force will not have to return to shore bases for more oil, or require an endless chain of tankers. All the replacement fuel needed for the nuclear-powered navy of the future can be stored in a few large buildings. It is not radioactive and does not deteriorate.

In surface ships, nuclear power multiplies the distance an aircraft carrier can travel at full speed without refueling about 20 times, and the distance a frigate can travel at full speed without refueling about 50 times.

Now, although power plants change, the principles of naval strategy do not. In the future, just as in the past, our Navy will have two tasks in the event of war. It will have the defensive job of helping repel the enemy's armed strength, and the offensive job of helping carry the war to him.

The Soviet Navy is the second largest in the world. The Soviets have concentrated on submarines; they have about 500 against our about 110.

At the outbreak of World War II, Germany had 57 U-boats. Of these, only 22 were ocean-going submarines. Yet, before that war was over, the German submarine fleet killed over 40,000 men and sank 14 million tons of allied shipping. And it is well to remember that it took four years before the German submarine menace could be controlled. The Russian submarine fleet is ten times as large as was the German submarine force when World War II started. They have more submarines today than the Germans had at any time during that war.

As far as we know, the Soviets do not yet have a nuclear submarine. But we must assume the day is near when they will.

The science of antisubmarine warfare has, of course, not remained static. But neither has the offensive power of submarines. For instance, the Soviets now have the capability of launching from their submarines missiles with a range of at least 200 miles, presumably with nuclear warheads. It would take but a single such missile, accurately placed, to cripple any of our seaboard cities. And it should not be too long before submarine-fired missiles can reach anywhere in the United States.

Clearly, the task of containing the Soviet submarine menace in the event of war will be formidable. In fact, this is the Navy's most vital and most difficult defensive mission.

The heart of the problem would be to destroy the enemy's submarines in or close to their home bases -- before they reached the open seas, if possible.

Air strikes by our nuclear carrier forces might destroy the enemy's submarine bases. But, we must assume that some of his ships would survive initial attacks and break out into the open seas.

We are now developing a nuclear-powered submarine specifically to cope with this threat.

We are also designing a nuclear power plant for another type of ship which will be very important for antisubmarine warfare, a frigate. We hope to be able to start construction of this frigate in the near future. It will be needed to protect our naval task forces against submarine attack.

The nuclear task force will be unlike its closely knit counterpart of World War II. In order to reduce vulnerability to hydrogen bomb attack,

the nuclear task force will be dispersed over an area as big as the State of New York. No ship will be within H-bomb radius of another.

Spreading the task force out makes it harder for a conventional destroyer or frigate to give the nuclear task force adequate antisubmarine protection since its cruising radius is so small. Too much of its time would be spent tied to a refueling ship rather than in searching for enemy submarines. It would be a part-time protector.

But the nuclear frigate would be a full-time protector, the kind of ship required for the full nuclear task force.

Of course the nuclear task force would also have to guard itself against air attack. I have never yet met a man in our Navy who claims that a carrier is absolutely invulnerable to enemy air attack.

In a nuclear war everything is vulnerable, including airfields and missile bases ashore. But a mobile sea base has a far greater chance of survival than a fixed land base.

The enemy would know the exact location of our land bases in advance; but could know only the general location of our sea bases. Our system of task force defense-in-depth would limit enemy reconnaisance and he would find it difficult to determine the precise location of any particular unit of the task force, to say nothing of pressing an effective attack home through the many concentric rings of defensive firepower that would surround the carrier for hundreds of miles in every direction.

The unprecedented mobility and striking power of the nuclear powered and armed task force can be used to stop enemy attacks at their source -- that is, the enemy's bases -- by using the overwhelming concentration of airpower available to the task force.

The nuclear-powered task force built around the atomic carrier will give the Navy unprecedented mobility and striking power.

The 1500 mile ballistic missiles being developed will be able to travel at high speeds, making effective interception difficult.

The Navy is developing such a missile, the Polaris. The nuclear propelled submarine capable of launching such missiles with nuclear warheads can make our Navy an even more effective deterrent force. There is no reason why Polaris cannot be launched from floating platforms, surfaced or submerged.

Armed with this missile, the nuclear-powered submarine will become an underwater satellite. It will be large enough to store, maintain, and fire intermediate range ballistic missiles, and it will be able to move anywhere at any time, completely submerged.

These underwater satellites will launch their attack from far out in the Atlantic, the Pacific, or the Arctic Ocean. They could be placed anywhere within 1,500 miles of their targets. They could be dispersed over literally millions of square miles of ocean.

The problem of locating and destroying such an underseas fleet will be tremendous. Search radar will be helpless against it. The enemy would be in the position of a man trying to find a black cat on a vast and empty plain on a moonless and starless night.

The underwater satellite marks the closest approach now foreseeable to the ideal mobile platform. It could go anywhere at any time. It could remain well hidden from the enemy. It would draw the enemy's missiles and bombs away from our cities and factories and farms, and draw them toward the uninhabited seas. An aggressor could not escape destruction as long as this missile fleet

remained in existence. He would be forced to attack it, thus greatly reducing the number of missiles available to him for hitting our territory or that of our allies.

The mere existence of this underseas fleet would create a tremendous military and economic problem for a potential aggressor. He would know the location of our fixed land-based missile sites. He might calculate that so many of his missiles launched in a surprise attack could destroy our land-based counterforce before we could effectively retaliate.

But many enemy missiles might be needed to destroy just one of these submerged launching platforms. He could make no rational calculation for such an attack.

I should make it plain that this weapon cannot be built by the day after tomorrow. It is a scientific and engineering challenge, comparable in difficulty and magnitude to the first nuclear submarine.

In other words, the NAUTILUS did not mark the end of a technological road. It marked the beginning. It should be compared with the first airplane that flew at Kittyhawk. It marks the beginning of a technological revolution at sea.

The ships, the submarines, and the missiles I have talked about are very expensive. But many of you may remember the famous picture taken that day in 1940 when the Germans occupied France -- the picture of the man standing on the sidewalk crying. To what avail were the savings by millions of individual Frenchmen as the conquering troops tramped by. All of these savings and much more were wiped out.

It is our national policy to control the seas. For us to fail to do so could be national suicide.

Our country is rich enough so that we do not have to take chances with insufficient or second class weapons of war. Particularly when our potential enemy is hardheaded, ruthless, and has no compunctions whatsoever in the amount he spends for military purposes. Our freedom is worth whatever price we must pay.

The development of nuclear power conforms to the same laws which govern all great steps forward in science and technology. Underlying these laws is the fact that there is no short cut to technical excellence. It is not dramatic "break throughs" which spell the difference between success and failure. Rather, it is painstaking attention to a thousand and one details, a willingness to accept responsibility, and, above all, long years of hard work by many dedicated people who refuse to be discouraged by obstacles.

All our experience to date shows that you cannot develop operable nuclear power plants on the basis of a 40-hour work week. Our experience also shows that you cannot solve unusual technical problems of the kind we meet daily in our business with routine management methods -- or with routine people.

At the very outset of the program we discovered that the usual type of military organization which matches officers with jobs on the basis of rank or seniority simply did not work. Our jobs are not assigned on the basis of age, rank, seniority, or classification grade. There is only one yardstick: Who can do the job best?

We discovered also that normal management practice which draws a sharp distinction between technical and administrative people did not work. It proved impossible to make sensible administrative decisions without thorough familiarity with the technical aspects of our program. As a result, every one of our people is required to work on technical problems.

Yet all the efforts of the hard working people in our program would have been in vain were it not for the wholehearted support, both moral and financial, we have received at the very highest levels of our government. I would like to pay special tribute to the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. Lewis L. Strauss; to our Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Thomas S. Gates, Jr.; and to our Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Arleigh Burke. We also feel greatly indebted for the full support we have received from the Congress of the United States, and from its Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in particular. Whatever we have accomplished could not have been done without the help from all these quarters.

There has, of course, been great satisfaction for all of us in this effort. We have been privileged to contribute to the defense of our country. We have really been doubly fortunate since all of our work on naval nuclear power plants can be used to help develop civilian atomic power stations. The Shippingport central station nuclear power plant near Pittsburgh, now BEING TEST OPERATED [redacted],

is a direct outgrowth of our work on the NAUTILUS reactor.

The world's supplies of fossil fuels, coal and oil, are rapidly being depleted. At the same time the world's requirements for energy are growing at an explosive rate. In the generations ahead, what we are learning today in the development of nuclear power for the Navy will become a storehouse of knowledge for an energy hungry world.

One final thought I would leave with you: the rapidity of change in our modern world. There are many examples, of course, but two, one industrial and one military stand out in the context of what I have said.

The industrial one is Near East oil. In 1901 an Englishman named D'Arcy obtained a concession to drill for oil in Persia. Everyone considered his venture to be highly speculative, and events soon proved this to be true. By 1908, after many unsuccessful drillings his resources were exhausted and it had been decided to discontinue further drilling. Just then oil was struck on the site of an ancient fire temple.

It was this chance discovery which, in the short span of 50 years had a more profound effect on the industrial life of Europe and on world international affairs than had perhaps, the events of any similar period in modern history. The Suez crisis of last year has amply demonstrated this.

The second example, the military one, is our own Air Force. On August 1st 1907, the War Department created an Aeronautical Division under the Chief Signal Officer. This Division consisted of one officer and two enlisted men. Only 40 years later that three-man organization had expanded to become the predominant military arm of the United States. Never before in all history has so tremendous a military change taken place in so short a time.

The lesson from these two examples is plain. We must expect even more rapid changes and displacements in the future. Predominance in any field today is no guarantee of position tomorrow. In light of the ever-spiralling scientific and technological revolution we must be alert; we must anticipate change; we must recognize that no institution is so hallowed that it must not be examined periodically; we must even bear in mind that the law of life for organizations as well as for nations is: "Adapt or Perish".

Rickover, Hyman

December 7, 1956

Dear Mr. Probst:

Unfortunately, I could not do justice to Admiral Rickover's speech because the hard news of that day was rather voluminous. However, you may be interested to know, brief though my summation was, it produced more mail response than anything I have done in many weeks. Maybe this only proves that the Admiral is a better reporter than I am, which I am happy to admit, but at least the result was gratifying.

Thank you again for permitting me to attend the session.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. George E. Probst
Executive Director
Thomas Alva Edison Foundation, Inc.
Suite 1103
8 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

rh

THOMAS ALVA EDISON FOUNDATION, INC.

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MR. CHARLES E. WILSON

Executive Director
MR. GEORGE E. PROBST

November 27, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We have received the transcript copies of your broadcast on Tuesday evening, November 20, during the last half of which you discussed Admiral Rickover's address on "The Education of Our Talented Children." It is encouraging to know that the Admiral's thinking has the benefit of such wide dissemination. The Foundation has had many requests for copies of Admiral Rickover's address and I believe it will elicit editorial comment for some time to come.

We are very happy you could attend this luncheon on the second day of the Seventh Edison Foundation Institute on "Strengthening Science Education for Youth and Industry."

I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

George E. Probst

George E. Probst
Executive Director

GEP:coc

Rickover, Hyman

December 5, 1956

Dear Admiral Rickover:

I have ordered the book by Stanley Hyland and fortunately already possess the one by Gunnar Myrdal.

I felt truly privileged to travel to New Jersey with you. It was indeed a stimulating experience. Unfortunately, I could not do justice to the summary of your remarks; but you may be interested to know, inadequate as they were, they produced more response than any radio program I have done in many months.

I am writing to Admiral Strauss about the television report on the peacetime uses of atomic energy.

I continue to concern myself with the matter of the book we discussed.

Respectfully yours,

Rear Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
United States Atomic Energy Commission
1901 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

rh

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON
1901 Constitution Avenue, NW

November 26, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

When we were together last Tuesday I mentioned a book which discussed some interesting parliamentary reports. The book is "Curiosities from Parliament" by Stanley Hyland, London, published by Allan Wingate.

Another book which I am sure will be of interest to you in view of your broad interest in international affairs is "An International Economy, Problems and Prospects" by Gunnar Myrdal, published by Harpers. Although the subject matter of the book is not too clearly presented, it nevertheless points out the difficulties the world is being faced with by the desires of the "underdeveloped" nations to attain a high standard of living.

I enjoyed very much our stimulating discussions, and I appreciate what you did in broadcasting the essence of the Edison Foundation education speech.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

H. G. Rickover

H. G. Rickover

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Rickover, Hyman

7

ON RESPONSIBILITY
Taken from A DEFENCE OF PREJUDICE and Other Essays
by
John Grier Hibben, Ph.D., LL.D.
Published by Charles Scribner's Sons
New York : : : : : 1911

There is much loose and confused thinking about the nature of responsibility. Not only are there innumerable instances of persons holding positions of trust who are evading evident responsibilities, but also more particularly, of those who would seek to justify themselves in such a course. The latter are like the figures in Nast's famous cartoon of the Tweed Ring, who are all standing in a circle, and each one pointing aside with his thumb to his neighbor as the responsible person. It is the old story of the other man. There are many circumstances in life where it is convenient to shift the responsibility upon some one else; and whenever one sets himself to defend a convenient course of action, he does not always see straight and think clear. Even though he may succeed in convincing himself, nevertheless if in this process there is any element of self-deception, he is perilously near the danger line.

There are no fallacies so subtle as those which insinuate themselves into our reasoning at a time when our interests are involved. To play the rôle of judge and of special pleader at one and the same time is an impossible task. Therefore when we seek to free ourselves from the burden of responsibility in any situation, we must be peculiarly on guard, that we do not allow ourselves to become ensnared in the toils of those artificial distinctions and plausible explanations which when stripped of their verbal dress appear in their nakedness as contemptible subterfuges.

One of these convenient ideas which serve as a kind of natural anaesthetic to conscience is the belief that any responsibility which is divided is thereby lessened. Responsibility, however, can never be dissipated by diffusion. The director of a corporation may content himself with the comforting thought that where many are jointly responsible, his share of the common obligation after all cannot be regarded as very serious. And in this idea there lies a very fundamental error. For responsibility is by its nature something intensive and not extensive. It can be divided among many, but it is not thereby diminished in degree. When by the ordinary processes of arithmetical division, however, one number is divided by another, the result is only a small part of the original amount. It is always a lessening process. But the idea of responsibility cannot be expressed in any such quantitative terms. Dividends can be divided into separate parts, but not responsibility. Responsibility can never be conceived in the light of a magnitude. It belongs to the class of things which, when divided, each part is equal to the whole.

Responsibility in this respect is like pleasure which, when shared, is not lessened, but the rather increased, as Bacon long ago pointed out. The same quality, also, we find in the rewards of honor, or of fame it may be, which come to the many who have served in a common cause and rejoice in a common victory. Thus the glory of the whole is each one's share. It can be divided among many without loss. So, also, the appreciation of beauty in nature or in art shows no diminishing returns, although the number who experience the joy of it may be increased without limit. This, also, is the characteristic feature of responsibility. Parents share the responsibility of their children, but the complete responsibility and no half measure of it rests upon each. The director of a bank or an insurance company shares the responsibility of his position with his colleagues on the same board; but the shared responsibility is not a per capitum portion, but the whole.

This is not a new doctrine; it comes to us with an immemorial sanction. But it seems to have been forgotten in recent years. "My share of the responsibility is but slight," is a common phrase which may be heard on all sides at the present day. If one would thus seek to minimize his sense of obligation as regards that which may be placed in his keeping as a trust, he should not forget that his share of responsibility is not a part, but the whole, undiminished and untransferable. He may have others associated with him, it is true, but his individual responsibility cannot be shifted upon them. He must meet it in the full rigor of its demands, and regard himself as though alone in the discharge of his duties.

There is also the fallacy of the delegated responsibility. It is impossible for one at the head of large business interests, for instance, to give his personal attention to every minute detail. He finds himself naturally compelled to delegate much of the work of supervision and of administration to others who act in the capacity of his deputies. Otherwise the business of life would be impossible. This is indeed a commonplace of every-day business routine. But because some one else may assume the responsibility, he who deputizes it is not wholly relieved of it. He passes on the duty of actually performing some specific work, and yet the obligation still rests with him not to do the task, it is true, but at least to see that it is done. We cannot afford to ignore the common-law judgment that the act of the agent is the act of the principal. We cannot take it for granted that the mere transfer of responsibility to another assures a satisfactory discharge of all the duties which it involves. We do not dare to shut our eyes to the fact as to whether such duties are fulfilled or not, on the ground that the responsibility now rests upon another and not upon ourselves. It is his responsibility, but it is also ours. A person who is at the head of a large business enterprise cannot be omnipresent or omniscient; but he is responsible for the kind of men who are his partners in responsibility, and also for the atmosphere which pervades his business, for the general morale of the service, for the discipline that is enforced, for the prevailing policy and method pursued, and for the spirit and tone which characterize all departments, however various they may be. Division of labor is not a dissipation of responsibility. He who is responsible for a particular task is relieved of that responsibility only when there is

evidence that the given work has been done. The head of a corporation should devise certain methods by which such evidence can be regularly forthcoming, so that when any cog in any wheel may chance to slip, the fact may be at once apparent at the central seat of responsibility.

There is, of course, such a thing as a serial responsibility, as I would style it, that is, where a number of persons in turn assume the responsibility for a certain task, each contributing his share to its accomplishment, and then pass on the full responsibility to some other. This is illustrated in the sending of a registered package. Each one in the series does his part in the process of forwarding it, and receives a signed acknowledgment that another has relieved him of his particular duty and of all responsibility con-connected with it. The ordinary business of life, however, cannot always be so nicely adjusted. Responsibility appears more often in an indefinite and diffused form, in which many persons are involved, and no one at any time carries the full burden alone. There is no way of escaping responsibility of this kind as long as we remain within the area of its pervading power. We dare not hang about the outer edge of this region, hoping to reap the possible rewards, and yet think to evade all blame or loss in the event of untoward results. There are many who thus endeavor to hold their course along some such imaginary line, so that they may shrewdly keep within it to share the honor or dividends which may accrue, and yet be able to swerve to the outer side of it whenever the area within may become the storm-centre of indignant protest and recrimination.

Again it is often urged that we are in a measure relieved of the responsibility of an act, when such an act is a customary procedure in the business, professional, or social circles in which we may happen to move. "Everybody does it," it is said, "it is the usual practice; then why should I be over-scrupulous concerning that which general usage has sanctioned as permissible?" Such is the argument. And yet responsibility at the last analysis must be recognized as an individual matter. No man's responsibility can be judged in the light of another's. Custom does not make right. The low level which the morale of a guild or of a profession sometimes reaches is due to this very fact, that no individual sees his peculiar responsibility in such a light that he is willing to break the bond of custom by protest or by practice. It is not easy to be independent under such circumstances, but that does not make it any the less imperative. Responsibility is not lessened merely because it may entail extraordinary courage and sacrifice. We do not justify ourselves in the failure to meet evident obligations by the plea that circumstances and conditions are too much for us to cope with. The convenient, the comfortable, and the easy-going are not the symptoms which usually form the diagnosis of responsibility.

There is another fallacy which many fall into of securing freedom from responsibility by the assumption of a convenient ignorance. A candidate, for instance, may not choose to know the detail of method and of policy pursued by a campaign committee in charge of his interests. The members of the committee in turn deem it wise to have him kept in ignorance. It is generally understood

that whatever happens, he is to know nothing about it. The comforting theory is that no responsibility can attach to a person concerning an act of which he is ignorant. This is doubtless true, provided he is not purposely ignorant. A person may not be held responsible for failure to see some obvious circumstance when his eyes are shut; but he is responsible for his eyes being shut when they ought to be open.

There are men who know that certain results cannot possibly be accomplished without certain definite means being used, and yet consent weakly to profit by these results on the ground that they do not know explicitly the character of the means used to attain them. It is a lame excuse. We are responsible not only for that which we see and hear, but also for that which may be implied in the things seen and heard, and which we are compelled to recognize as the necessary consequence of them. It is not merely the actual situation in which we find ourselves, but also the logic of such situations that must be interpreted and judged by us as to the measure of our responsibility for them. It must be remembered that the very ground of our responsibility is the presupposition that we are in complete possession of our reason. How absurd therefore to narrow the range of responsibility by excluding the obvious inferences which the reason of any man of ordinary intelligence must surely recognize. If a campaign committee, for instance, expends large sums of money, it stands to reason that the one in whose interests it has been raised must know that revenues are not created by magic. Merely to choose not to know is to ignore a definite responsibility and thereby assume an indefinite one. It is like signing a blank check to an unknown order and for an unknown amount. The man who would rather not know what his friends are doing in his behalf should be held to strict account for his voluntary ignorance. No one can afford to have things done for him which he would scorn to do or be afraid to do himself.

There is also a very common feeling that any one may repudiate all responsibility in a given situation, if he will only declare forcibly and loudly enough that he does not regard himself as in the least responsible for the same. He may insist that he will wash his hands of the whole matter; but there are certain stains that cannot be thus removed. The hands may be washed; but they may not be made clean by the process. There is a ceremonial purity which does not penetrate beneath the surface. How often men justify themselves, when feebly yielding to the prevailing opinion of the many associated with them in some position of trust, by the ready excuse that after all the majority must rule. It is true that the majority must rule; but it is equally true that the minority often must fight. A mere verbal protest followed by a quiet acquiescence is not sufficient when honor or honesty is the issue. An uncompromising attitude of opposition may have to be maintained until the court of last appeal is reached; that court may be a board of directors, or the stockholders, or public opinion, or in the regular course of legal procedure even the Supreme Court of the United States itself. Responsibility often demands a fight to the finish. In that case, compromise is cowardly.

We are responsible for our silence, for our inertia, for our ignorance, for our indifference--in short, for all those negative qualities which commonly constitute the "dummy" directors--those inconsequent personages who would enjoy the honor and the perquisites of their office without allowing themselves to be unduly burdened with its duties and cares. The president of a corporation or a superintendent does not assume the responsibility vested in its board of directors; he merely represents that responsibility. And when they would implicitly assign all sense of their personal obligations to his keeping, they not only put themselves in a position to be easily fooled, but actually offer a ready temptation to him to fool them. They are thus doubly reprehensible; for the neglect of duty on the one hand, and on the other for extending a virtual invitation for some one to use them as tools for unlawful ends. Not only the wreck of a business, but the wreck of a human being must be laid at their door, who by a splendid capacity for negligence do thus expose another to the play of the most subtle temptations which can be conceived.

There is also the mistaken notion that we may escape certain responsibilities simply by not assuming them. There are some obligations, however, which we do not dare to refuse, and which indeed it is not possible to refuse. We have no choice in the matter. We cannot say in truth that we have no responsibility, for instance, for the general decency and good order of the community in which we live merely because we have chosen to keep out of the village politics, and therefore, not being on the borough council or the board of health, it is none of our business if the laws of nature, of man, or of God are violated. It must be remembered that responsibilities of such a kind are not assumed by definite choice, but belong to us whether we will or not. Certain responsibilities we do not choose; they choose us. If at times they seem to us vague and indefinite, it becomes our duty to make them definite through some effort on our part. We are held to account not merely for doing the obvious duty that circumstance may urge upon us, but also for creating the circumstance which may give rise to a wholly new set of duties. We are not only responsible for lending our service to the cause which has a rightful claim upon us, but also we may be responsible for the establishment of a cause to serve. We are responsible for the very fact, if indeed it be a fact, that our responsibilities in life are so few and so slight. If we choose to carry the lighter burden, it is not a matter of felicitation, but one for our most serious personal concern; for an irresponsible person is always defective in some respect, either in body, mind or character.

There are those moreover who imagine that in certain relations of life there can be devised some natural substitute for the sense of responsibility. It is possible, of course, to establish a set of automatic checks upon an employee's activities of such a nature as to reduce his personal responsibility to a minimum. Any failure in the performance of his duties is at once mechanically discovered by the various systems of time-clocks, bell-punches, cash registers, and the like. This is very well in all cases where the labor is that of simple routine. Mechanical activity can be checked by a mechanical device. Not so, however, as regards those duties which demand a higher

order of capacity--such as that of sound judgment, a fine sense of discrimination, and the power of resourceful initiative. In all such matters there can be no substitute for the responsible personality. Man is a responsible being because of this very element of free activity in his nature which no mechanical contrivance, however ingenious, can ever gauge. We are all so completely dependent upon the integrity, fidelity, and efficiency of our fellow-men in the more complex relations of life that we must at times, and often the most critical, trust them implicitly. We do not proceed far in any undertaking without being aware that we are holding another responsible, or that some one is holding us responsible for those inevitable duties which arise out of the relations of man to man the world over. If a man would escape all responsibility he must place himself wholly outside of the relations of life, for life is responsibility. As we have seen, responsibility remains with us even though we may ask others to assume it; we share it with others, but our portion is the same; when we turn our backs upon it, we find it still facing us; we flee from it, and however far it may be, we behold it waiting for us at the journey's end.

1.50 pm Rickover, H.

Murrow from Swing

Swing

Admiral Rickover telephoned hoping to reach you, and told me to tell you he called to express his thanks for getting him on the program last week. He had received a lot of mail which praised his contribution at the dedication. "I was the only person who mentioned families as having done something" he said. "The trouble with America is that when something gets accomplished the businessmen stand up and shake hands with each other as though they had done it all." He said a lot of the families were present when he paid them the tribute. He said that he hoped you didn't put him on the program just to please him, for if you did you would end up by getting into trouble. I said he was used because you believe in him, as I do. And he said he was glad to know "they" had made an impression on me during my week. He sounded all in all most courteous and cordial.

H.

Elmo Roper

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

TIME & LIFE BUILDING · 111 WEST 50th STREET · NEW YORK 20, N. Y. · PLaza 7-4900

June 1, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I must admit that I felt somewhat nostalgic about the prospect of moving out of the RCA Building, where we started our business--and in a sense helped start a whole new profession--twenty-seven years ago. But now that we have moved and are in our new quarters, I am more than pleased. We've got substantially more room than we had before, we are completely air conditioned, the layout and furnishings are ideal and even the view is better.

My son, Bud Roper, has been in complete charge of the architecture and furnishing of the new offices, and we're all quite proud of them.

We've decided that, as one way to assuage my feelings about "leaving the old home," we should have a little party, to which we are inviting all the clients, past and present who made the whole thing possible; some of our competitors whom we respect; and some of our own "alumni group" who have gone out of here into their own business or elsewhere--and, not least of all, some good friends.

It isn't going to be a massive party, but we will have plenty to drink! The cocktail party will be in our new offices on the 37th floor of the new Time-Life Building between 50th and 51st Streets on the Avenue of the Americas, from five to eight o'clock on Tuesday, June 28. We greatly hope the enclosed card will come back saying that you will join us, even if only for a short time.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:dw
Enclosure

July 31, 1959

Dear Elmo:

Many thanks for your note. The material sent me by your office was completely adequate and I am grateful.

Delighted to hear that you and Dorothy had a wonderful vacation. Hope I shall have a chance to hear about it before taking off on my leave.

Cordially yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

mcc

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

July 20, 1959

Y.C.
See him sh
Thanks

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Dorothy and I just arrived home Monday morning from our far-above-average vacation in England and Scotland. I have just seen your letter of June 5th, asking for some material which might be helpful in a speech. I haven't had a chance to check and see whether the material we sent you was on target or not, but if it isn't and if I can be helpful at this late date, believe me, I should like to be.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Mr. Murrow

Roper, Elmo

MEMO TO: Members of the Society of Profound Thinkers

DATE: April 8, 1959

FROM: Elmo Roper

As I told you, we were unable to get together a quorum of Profound Thinkers for the April date when Don Nelson was sure to be here, but I have now ascertained that at least two of us--Frank Folsom and I--are free for the evenings of May 6th or 7th, when either one of us will be glad to play host.

Both of us are saving these evenings, but we'd like to know as soon as possible whether a quorum is going to be available. I do hope you can come, and I would appreciate your letting me know if both dates are all right and, if so, which one is preferable.

Rather use the telephone

N.B. quorum not available postponed till fall

upc

April 8, 1959

Mr. Elmo Roper
Elmo Roper and Associates
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Elmo:

I shall eagerly await your suggestions for a date in May when the Profound Thinkers can foregather. I have the feeling that it is my turn to act as host and, if this is so, I shall be glad to make the necessary arrangements when we have the date set.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

March 31, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

We were unable to get a quorum of Profound Thinkers together for the April 16th meeting, when Don Nelson will be in New York, so I have had to call it off. I shall hope to submit some May dates soon, however, because I'd like very much to find out in just what shape the world is before Dorothy and I take off for Europe on May 26th.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:tm

Signed in Mr. Roper's
absence at his request.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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U17CC 7S NL PD FAX NEWYORK NY MAR 23 1959

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS 485 MADISON AVE NYK

WILL BE IN NEW YORK APRIL 16. SEEMS LIKE GOOD TIME FOR ANNUAL MEETING SOCIETY PROFOUND THINKERS. PLEASE WIRE IF IT IS GOOD TIME FOR YOU

ELMO ROPER

245A MAR 24

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

June 25, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

As I told you on the phone, I have committed you as my "partner in this brilliant idea" to giving Adolph Toigo the first refusal of the idea for his client, P. Lorillard. He did everything but guarantee that it wouldn't be a refusal, and I think we have our first client ready-made.

A fortuitous meeting!

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo.

June 20, 1958

Dear Elmo:

First of all, I thought your remarks yesterday were couched in rather distinguished language, but your remarks about the future of television were optimistic. I hope events will prove you right.

Thanks for the dope on de Gaulle. We are planning a television interview with him for the future and the material ought to be useful.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

fc

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

June 19, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing the results of a recent survey of American attitudes toward General de Gaulle. It indicates that the fears of de Gaulle's possible dictatorial tendencies, which have been expressed by a number of observers, are largely discounted by the American public. This is especially true of those with the most formal education.

If you should wish to use these findings in any way, I should be glad to have you do so. Will you please credit the source as Elmo Roper and Associates.

Yours sincerely,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:if
Enclosure

THE PUBLIC PULSE

By Elmo Roper and Associates

(For Immediate Release)

AMERICANS HOPEFUL ABOUT DE GAULLE

When General Charles de Gaulle acceded to power on the first of June, the reaction of our State Department was restrained. Some influential segments of the press viewed the event with misgivings. Not so with the American public, however.

Americans apparently remember de Gaulle as the heroic leader of the Free French forces during World War II, when he, more than any other man, kept alive the pride and spirit of a nation then doubly humiliated by German oppression and the existence of the French Vichy government. When we asked them the probable impact of his leadership on the French nation, here was the answer:

> Some people say de Gaulle's leadership would be bad for France because he would turn out to be a dictator. Others say he would be good for France because he would provide political stability. Do you think de Gaulle's leadership of France would probably be more good than bad, or more bad than good?

More good than bad	52%
More bad than good	11
Express no opinion	37

The American public's inclination to expect good results from de Gaulle's ascendency may come in part from the feeling that things in France could hardly get worse. Things could, in fact, get much worse, if de Gaulle failed to establish his authority and ended riding the tiger of Algerian dissidence along a path leading to civil war or military dictatorship. The evidence, so far, is that de Gaulle prefers moderation in North Africa and a strong, but clearly constitutional government at home--something France has long needed. Whether

these preferences will prevail against the passionate partisans of more extreme courses of action is the crucial and unanswered question.

While today's answers do not imply a faith that de Gaulle can solve the all but overwhelming problems that beset him and his cabinet, they do show there is little fear that his leadership is itself a threat to French liberty. Among groups traditionally most interested and informed about foreign affairs, such distrust is at a minimum. Among college-educated people, the ratio in favor of de Gaulle is ten to one:

	Grade school or less	High School	College
De Gaulle's leadership of France would probably be:			
More good than bad	34%	52%	73%
More bad than good	13	11	7
Express no opinion	53	37	20

De Gaulle gets a confidence vote of nine to one among Independents, six to one among Republicans, and four to one among Democrats. But in no political group does the negative vote exceed 12 per cent; it is the "don't know" answers that rise the most among groups less enthusiastic about the General. (In fact, the "don't knows" were high for most groups, which probably reflected the difficulty of passing judgment on, and for many, the low level of interest in such a distant and uncertain situation.)

Once de Gaulle led a government without a country; he has now been called to lead a country without a government. The hopes and best wishes of the American people are with him in his efforts.

Roper, Elmo

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed June 2, 1958

FROM: Elmo

The reactions to Issue No. 1 of The Public Pulse were far more widespread than even we had hoped and included a good many critical remarks about type size, etc.

I hope that in this issue we have corrected at least some of the mistakes, and again, I would welcome your criticisms of this issue.

ELMO ROPER and ASSOCIATES

The Public Pulse | in Marketing and Public Opinion Areas

JUNE 1958 — No. 2

PUBLISHED ON OCCASION BY ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES • 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • NEW YORK 20

Research Behind the Iron Curtain

A communist country is experimenting—cautiously—with public opinion surveys

Professor Paul Lazarsfeld, Executive Officer of the Department of Sociology, Columbia University, and a consultant to the firm of Elmo Roper and Associates, recently returned from a foundation-sponsored investigation in Europe. Part of his time was spent in Poland. What he discovered was surprising. Herewith, excerpts from his account for readers of The Public Pulse.

That a government should want to know the thoughts and wishes of its citizens would seem to Americans a matter of course. That a *communist* government should solicit public opinion through American-style research in the social sciences is quite another matter—but that is what is happening in Poland today.

This may seem a strange and contradictory state of affairs, but there it is. In the course of two weeks spent advising Polish social scientists on research problems, I encountered questions about interviewing and sampling methods that might well have been asked me by the most knowing American research group.

During the Stalinist period in Poland —before the revolution of October 1956 — the teaching and practice of social and opinion research was under a total ban. But the Poles have always shown a strange reluctance, not always shared by other satellite countries, to assassinate citizens thought useless or dangerous to the state. So instead of being executed or jailed, Poland's social scientists found themselves pensioned off—at full salary. They used these years of enforced leisure to bring themselves up to date on American research methods.

When the Gomulka regime came to power it made several radical new decisions. The most radical of all was that so far as possible the government should tell the people the truth. The October 1956 revolution had made it clear that publishing stories of economic feats of strength did not heighten morale or increase socialist prosperity but simply deepened the bitterness bred of chronic economic lack. Only through releasing honest statistics about the condition of the country, the Gomulka regime felt, could people's willingness to work toward bettering that condition be gained.

A second decision was *to measure the people's discontent*—as well as their hopes and demands—through scientific survey methods. The old method of a strictly one-way flow of communication and control had failed; the government would now try to start at least a limited flow in both directions. The social scientists who had been pensioned off were put back into harness. Social research in Poland is now growing so fast there aren't enough men to teach or direct it.

"Daddy, who is that . . ."

[See SHERMAN, page 4]

One survey under way during my visit aimed to discover the degree of tension existing between bureaucrats who had gotten their posts through their academic qualifications, and those who had risen from the proletarian ranks through natural ability and/or Party participation. The strange alliance between Communism and Western social science now existing in Poland was dramatized in the discussions of this survey, when seminar students raised the technical question: "Would it be better to use Party members or non-members as interviewers?" They discussed, in calm, realistic terms, whether use of the Party's official status would be more likely to produce honesty or deception. (The debate ended with the question to be tested further.)

Other surveys at present under way deal with the living conditions of textile workers, the political attitudes of students, the "power structure" of rural communities. While I was there, a series of surveys had just been completed which revealed that factory workers were feeling increasingly disappointed and resentful toward the Workers Councils, which seemed to have lost interest in the workers' problems to which they were supposed to be devoted, and had become involved instead with management. Since then the Workers Councils have been abolished, and I suspect the reason lies in these surveys rather than in a government clamp-down on workers, as the American press has speculated.

Polish researchers are proceeding cautiously, uncertain of the government's reaction to findings that might be unfavorable toward the regime. Yet

professors in Europe have much more prestige than in the United States, and I am inclined to expect that—barring Russian interference—the freedom of social research will continue.

Just before I came to Warsaw the government-controlled radio system had set up a division for listener research. The young social scientists set to work there expressed a desire to make general opinion-sampling studies and not be restricted to studying attitudes toward programs only. The director of the radio system explained to me that he would let them go ahead because Poland needed to use all its intellectual resources; if these young people were so keen on public opinion sampling, let them show what they could do.

It is even possible that consumer research might develop. The Gomulka government favors a considerable decentralization of Poland's economic planning machinery, explaining this in terms of the need to adapt economic policy to regional conditions. From there it is only a small step to begin surveying consumer preferences. But the small step might take a long time. Poland is still so poor that the needs for clothing and simple household goods are too obvious to require surveys.

We of the West should follow the results of the Polish studies with great care. A new generation of Poles is growing up which must be expected to hold beliefs very different from ours regarding private property and the role of government in economic and cultural policy-making; we have no grounds for assuming this to be mere lip-service. Whether we like it or not, we should know about such developments.

Poland at present is in effect a social laboratory in which an attempt is being made to adapt some Western techniques to further socialist goals. One Polish social scientist put it this way: "In Russia, there is plenty of government action and no opinion research. In America you have plenty of research and little government action based on that research. We in Poland are in the unique circumstance of having power to do research *and* translate its results into policy. This is quite an opportunity for people like me."

The PUBLIC PULSE*

*Registration Pending

The facts and figures contained herein are for the most part the results of commercial or political studies made by the marketing and opinion research firm of Elmo Roper and Associates. Quotation of such material is permitted if proper credit is given. When data come from other sources this will be so indicated.

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Motivation *Plus* . . .

. . . or, how to have more Tea with less Lemon

Quantitative research, often erroneously dismissed as "nose counting," has its virtues—and its detractors. In part, it determines "how many," and the sex, age, economic level, etc., of an actual or potential market. *Qualitative* research, to find out why people do as they do or think as they think, also has its virtues, and some earned enemies.

These two approaches are not alternative ways of doing the same thing; both actually are at their best when jointly directed at the same problem. When they are, the advantages can be significant. There is, for example, a cost advantage—one study instead of two. But an even more important advantage is the ability to obtain sound psychological results on a statistically reliable base.

In a study for the Tea Bureau in 1948, long before the word "motivational" had become a research adjective, qualitative or image-finding techniques were incorporated into what was essentially a statistical measure of the markets for tea and competitive beverages. This study revealed the existence of a number of negative concepts about tea, plus some positive concepts that were not any too strong.

The results of some of the answers to a word association question will serve as an illustration of how the study was made. Respondents were presented with a list of 32 words and phrases and were asked to name all they regarded as descriptive of tea. These were the most commonly given answers:

	%		%
Englishmen	26	Thin drink	19
Mild	22	Delicate	17
Relaxing	22	Satisfying	16
Light	21	Invalids	13
Soothing	19	Peps you up	12

People had a strong tendency to characterize tea as a thin, pallid, effete kind of drink; the per capita consumption of tea was consistent with this concept. The tea industry then engaged in a vigorous campaign to change the public image of tea and increase tea sales. Unlike many clients, they were not in a position to change the product itself; hence their efforts were necessarily restricted to changing attitudes—a formidable task but one in which the research results pointed out some necessary steps. Shortly after the campaign began, tea consumption started up.

Several years after this, essentially the same study was repeated, including its motivational aspect. While the same ten out of 32 words and phrases were again most frequently named, the emphasis had shifted markedly:

	New %	Old %		New %	Old %
Relaxing	26	(22)	Mild	16	(22)
Soothing	21	(19)	Thin drink	14	(19)
Satisfying	18	(16)	Peps you up	14	(12)
Light	18	(21)	Delicate	14	(17)
Englishmen	18	(26)	Invalids	12	(13)

In these new answers the more positive concepts which the industry had been promoting—"peps you up," "satisfying," for example—registered gains, while the more effete connotations—"light," "mild," "thin," "delicate," etc.—declined.

The second study tended to validate the conclusions drawn from the first—that the image of tea needed changing. It also indicated that the campaign had been effective in causing this change:

FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

Contrary to widespread rumors, it can be stated authoritatively that the Subcommittee on Monopoly and Anti-Trust Legislation of the Senate Judiciary Committee will not investigate the aluminum industry this year. Reason: recent price reductions. The newsprint industry, some of whose members have been worried about an inquiry into its affairs by this same Committee can also relax—for the year 1958, at least.

during the period between studies, per capita consumption of tea rose by 19%.

This was pleasing to the tea industry. From the point of view of research, this pair of studies had added significance: they successfully combined qualitative or projective techniques with quantitative studies, and by so doing, they produced motivational results on a trend basis. The original study showed the nature of the changes that *needed* to be effected. The second study revealed the nature—and the amount—of the changes that *had* been effected.

Nixon: Rocks & Roses

After Latin America, what?

The effects of the shocking threats and violence offered to Vice-President Nixon on his recent Latin American tour—called a "good will tour" before it began—have yet to be fully assessed. On this unhappy journey, Mr. Nixon bore insults addressed much more to the U. S. than to himself, and his conduct under fire will certainly win him some new friends. But there will also be those whose long-standing dislike of the Vice-President will express itself in a sort of "see-what-I-told-you" attitude that will have more emotion in it than reason.

Since the middle of May the eyes of many have been focused on Richard Nixon in a way unpredictable before the episodes of Lima and Caracas. Those detractors who have labeled him "an opportunist" must now explain how he could have walked so incautiously into such a hazard not only to his reputation but to his life and limb. Those who regard him as a man of principle will speak of his bravery under the heaviest international fire directed at the person of an American in high office during this century. A lot of dust will have to settle before the view of Richard Nixon becomes clear again.

What was the view of Nixon before this stinging dust arose? Survey figures gathered in the early spring of 1958 can now well serve as a benchmark for trends later to be reported. As of then, 20 per cent of a national cross section said of Mr. Nixon *"He would probably make a good president"* and 20 per cent said *"He definitely would not make a good president"* thus cancelling each other out. That left:

While Nixon has some weaknesses, he might make a good president *31%*
While he has ability, he probably would not make a very good president *19%*
Express no opinion *10%*

(Continued on page 4, column 2)

STUDIES IN THE MARKETPLACE

When studies are conducted for industrial clients, the client must approve the information for release to anyone but himself. Sometimes the client will understandably grant his approval only when the material is suitably disguised

Problem Behind Skirts

Brand X, an inexpensive item nationally marketed and widely consumed, "enjoyed" an unusually low share of the market in New England. Before embarking on a special New England campaign, the manufacturer of Brand X needed to find out why. A study was undertaken to explore the strengths and weaknesses of Brand X as New England saw them—but for control purposes the same study was conducted in all other parts of the country, too.

Brand X proved to have no New England problem at all. Brand X instead had a Woman problem—everywhere. Women turned out to be a disproportionately large segment of the market for such merchandise in New England and a smaller segment of the market everywhere else—and women didn't much like Brand X. The problem thus became not one of finding out what peculiar factors motivated New Englanders, but rather one of determining how to change the product for greater appeal to women *everywhere*. Brand X's problem was less difficult once it was identified as being clad in skirts, not granite.

Bank Statement

This is the story of Bank A—a successful bank in a middle-sized Midwestern community. It did more business than all its competitors combined; on the surface it had nothing to worry about. Because it was not *quite* satisfied that things were as serene as they seemed, it commissioned a survey among the local townspeople.

Most of the survey results surprised no one. Sixty per cent of the people who used any bank, used Bank A. People called it safe, sound, reliable, and convenient. Its customers appeared satisfied. But that was not quite the end of the story.

Three other pieces of information turned up which flawed the picture of Bank A's unchallenged dominance. *First:* although Bank A led the field in all traditional banking functions, Bank B was ahead in some newer and fast growing forms of borrowing—personal loans and auto financing. *Second:* although people had unquestioned confidence in Bank A, they were less impressed with the speed and courtesy of its service. Customers of Bank B, on the other hand, saw theirs as a friendly bank providing quick, efficient service. *Third:* Bank A was the clear choice of people over 50, but the younger generation was distinctly cooler to it.

All three "flaws" pointed to the same conclusion: that yesterday's formula for success may throttle tomorrow's growth. Although the old established banking institution faced no immediate threat to its position in the community, its policies weren't fully taking into account the changing patterns of saving and borrowing in a population becoming less interested in banking dignity and more interested in a quick flow of money from banking source to consumer goods.

Bottled in Bonds

A company which had fallen on bad financial times for a number of years in a row had an issue of 8 per cent bonds outstanding on which it could not pay the interest. The company came out of the red and began making money, but the accumulated interest on the bonds was by now greater than the bonds' total value. Dividends on the company's common stock could thus not be declared despite new profits.

The company developed a reorganization plan which involved redeeming the bonds, partly in cash and partially by the issuance of new common stock. But the company was concerned lest the bondholders would voice strong objections.

Research revealed quite the reverse. A study made among a number of the larger bondholders, who were identified to be *also* large common stockholders, showed that in many cases their stockholdings were of far greater importance to them than their bondholdings. They were delighted with any plan which would permit the common stock to pay dividends.

A sample of the smaller bondholders was also interviewed. These, too, not only did not oppose the plan, but were delighted with it—for an entirely different reason. They had pretty much given up hope and written the bonds off as valueless. The stock was of no interest to them—they just wanted to get out. And 40 cents on the dollar in cash was a lot better than their previous hopes.

Armed with the facts, the company put its plan into effect. Its financial strength was ultimately and happily re-established.

FRAMES OF MIND

The Overseas Press Club is an organization of some 1900 past and present foreign correspondents. At its request, Elmo Roper and Associates recently conducted a mail survey of its members' opinions. Highlights from the resulting (25%) responses:

Is America doing the right things to prevent another war? No. 65% of correspondents say we are falling short of all we might do.

*

Will there be a war, then? Yes. 71% say there will, whether limited or unlimited. "Begin in Middle East," 61%; "North Africa," 18%.

*

Where are we weak? In the Administration's handling of foreign affairs. 60% of correspondents give it a "failing grade" (compared to only 15% of the public answering the same question).

*

What is the Administration doing wrong? Main criticism, by 26%: "inadequate, unimaginative leadership; lack of a firm, creative foreign policy."

*

Where is the Administration doing best toward war prevention? 37% say economic and technical assistance abroad.

*

Future Russian successes in foreign policy? 13% say United Arab Republic will be next country to fall under Russian control; 6% say Indonesia.

*

Future Russian troubles in foreign policy? Poland, say 26%, will be place of next anti-Russian revolt; 19% say East Germany; 6% say Czechoslovakia.

*

Trade with Red China? 32% say go ahead and trade; 39% are for "limited trade." (Against this 71% total, the public at large musters only a corresponding 32%.)

*

Admit Red China to the U.N.? Yes, say 51%, while 20% say "not now" and 25% are opposed. (Only 27% of public thinks the bars should be let down, now or ever.)

*

Greatest man ever interviewed? F.D.R. and Churchill tie for first place with 9%.

*

Most overrated man ever interviewed? Eisenhower in first place with 12%. MacArthur and Harold Stassen tie for runners-up with 3%.

*

Most disliked person? India's Krishna Menon at 3%; followed by MacArthur, McCarthy, Hitler, Nehru, De Gaulle, Dulles, all 2%.

*

Most dangerous man and greatest force for evil? Khrushchev, at 32%. Nasser, with 15%, is undisputed runner-up.

So within the political temperate zone as opposed to the poles, the Vice-President got a three-to-two ratio of approval from the public of all political shades. When Democrats were separated from Republicans, a more vivid pattern appeared:

Nixon as President:	Reps.	Dems.
	%	%
"Good"	40	10
"Maybe good"	41	25
"Probably not"	9	26
"Definitely not"	4	29
"Don't know"	6	10
	100%	100%

A year before his Latin-American tour, a new receptiveness toward Richard Nixon began to be apparent in the U. S. A nationwide survey then showed that 18 per cent of the public had revised their opinions of the Vice-President favorably, compared to views held around 1955, whereas only 3 per cent became cooler toward him during the same period. Nothing could better illustrate the necessity for the constant evaluation of public opinion in a democracy than the need now to see, as soon as possible, what Latin America has or hasn't done to the political fortunes of a man from California.

Who is Sherman?

It all depends on where you start

Adapted from an article in the Public Relations Journal, *April 1958, by* G. D. Wiebe, *Partner, Elmo Roper and Associates.*

Among the monuments in Central Park, there is an equestrian bronze of General Sherman. A father had been in the habit of taking his son for a walk each evening "to Sherman and back," and the little boy became intensely attached to Sherman. It was not until after many visits that it occurred to the little boy to ask, "Daddy, who is that sitting on Sherman?"

If father and son, who presumably understand each other very well, could focus on such wholly different aspects of the same object, it is hard to overestimate the size of the communications problems that can exist between a corporation and the public. In an increasingly complex society, it is increasingly dangerous to assume that a company is known and judged on what it thinks are its evident merits.

As soon as we face up to the obvious fact that people are enormously complex, that they are beset by thousands of past memories and present stimuli, and that they accept new ideas that fit most comfortably with their older ideas, the center of interest of public relations research shifts from the corporation to how people perceive the corporation. A message, regardless of its authenticity, is likely to be rejected or twisted into a more "fitting" shape when it doesn't make sense in terms of what people already think they know.

Even in matters where people have much at stake, and know it, old memories, prejudices and quirks of personality creep in to compromise their thinking. When people don't see much at stake, their thinking will be even less clear and disciplined. Most people are casual—to the point of shallow carelessness—about the company that means so much to you. So it is natural that PR men are often faced with strange but nonetheless real tangles of irrelevant and mistaken notions that get hooked up with their companies in the perceptual processes of the public. The problem is to chart not only the rational elements but the irrational ones which provide the context in which people perceive what they think they are looking at.

A study for a large company, recently completed by Elmo Roper and Associates, showed that a factual information theme regarding the company and its services was getting little serious attention. It was simply not believed by enough people. Additional data showed why. Prejudice, folklore, gossip and a consensus of old misinformation combined not only to outweigh the authentic public relations message but to discredit it.

The solution to the problem was many-sided. But in part it was to select a theme in an area uncontaminated by popular misinformation, as a means of persuading people to try the company's service and thus to expose their misconceptions to the corrective influence of personal experience. The tactic was 1) chart the "perceptual context in which the public sees the company"; 2) with these findings as basic intelligence, tailor constructive and authentic messages which would gather strength from, not clash with, people's preconceptions of the company.

Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

March 31, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

You were very nice to write me as you did on March 19th about The Public Pulse, and naturally I am very reassured to find that you thought it passed muster. It was really the brainchild of Bud Roper and Eric Hodgins, and if it comes off and succeeds in its purpose, it's to their credit.

I may very well be doing something in television soon--but in this case, "soon" means 1960. I am meeting with Sig Mickelson soon to try to resolve an "agreement in principle" into the specific details of having something to do with the 1960 elections.

If this happens, I think you and I ought to agree to do a little advance planning as to what we should do with those hours that are free to us after the convention sessions in whatever convention cities there are!

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo.

March 19, 1958

Dear Elmo:

If only you would do something in television rather than in print, then I could write you a critique. The only thing I can say about "The Public Pulse" is that I think the format is most attractive and the content of the first one altogether interesting.

I will even pay for subsequent issues!

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

fc

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed

March 17, 1958

FROM: Elmo

The publication of this four-pager, "The Public Pulse," is a new sort of activity for us. I'd certainly be grateful for your comments on this maiden effort as to looks, contents, and general appropriateness--as soon as you've had time to look it over--so that all of us here can have the benefit of your comments or criticisms before we publish a second issue.

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

The P[redacted]

The "Subliminal Advertising" Controversy

Or, who is getting conscious of his Unconscious?

Right under the word *sublime* in the dictionary is the word *subliminal.* They are not natural neighbors. The Latin *limen* means threshold. So whereas sublime is another word for exalted, subliminal means that which lies under the threshold. And a subliminal approach to the consumer is at present stirring up a dust which is not going to settle right away. The threshold involved is that which guards the consumer's conscious mind.

Late last year, James M. Vicary and his Subliminal Projection Corporation staged a demonstration for the press. "We have attended many a history-making hoedown in New York," wrote *The New Yorker*, as soon as it could get its breath, "but this jig was the creepiest." The demonstration was to show an application of subliminal projection techniques to advertising. At the same time that reporters viewed a motion picture, "Secrets of the Reef," a message suggesting that they drink Coca-Cola was flashed on the screen at a light intensity lower than the rest of the film, and for periods of one three-thousandth of a second per flash. The message, although invisible to viewers, presumably reached their unconscious minds.

According to Mr. Vicary, a test of the effectiveness of this subliminal advertising over a six-week period in a theater in New Jersey had reached approximately forty-five thousand persons, conveying two messages: one suggesting recourse to the Coca-Cola bottle, the other suggesting that the audience eat popcorn. During the test period, it was reported, popcorn sales increased 58 per cent, and Coca-Cola sales 18 per cent. (One cynic disparaged these figures on the ground that so high a popcorn increase should have created more thirst for Coca-Cola.)

Despite this recent stir, there is nothing new about subliminal projection. Psychologists have been experimenting in this area since 1900, and techniques of subliminal application have been widely studied. The actual machine now being used to project subliminal messages on a movie or television screen is described as being contained "in a box about the size of an extra-fat attaché case." Chances are it contains some variety of *tachistoscope*, a device long used in experimental psychology laboratories to regulate the exposure of an image. By gradual reduction of the time of exposure it is possible to determine the point at which the threshold of conscious perception is reached.

There is little reason to doubt the effectiveness of subliminal influences. All of us spend a good part of our lives responding to stimuli of which we may never be aware. Consider, for example, an electric-spectacular sign in mid-Manhattan exhorting people to buy a Fedders air-conditioning unit. This sign flashes off and on every few seconds. The company spends many thousands of dollars every year to maintain it—and undoubtedly has no idea how many air-conditioning units it sells thereby. Some people in the vast throngs that mill up and down Broadway each day probably never even see the sign. Others aren't aware of seeing it, yet its image flashes across their vision and gets stored among the sights and sensations of the day. Still others may consciously see and read. But few, if any, of these people will rush to their dealer and buy a Fedders air-conditioner then and there. And among those who do make a purchase within the next few years, few, if any, will be aware of the influence a particular sign had on their purchase. There is nothing subliminal about an electric-spectacular sign on Broadway, but its *effects* can be subliminal just the same.

Sometimes the "subliminal" may be simply a matter of creating the right atmosphere. Take the case of the well-educated and well-heeled political candidate stumping in a rural area. His wardrobe may consist heavily of items from Brooks Brothers, but on this occasion he removes a rumpled coat to display a pair of loud red galluses. How many farmers will be motivated to think kindly toward our candidate at least in part because the galluses may have reassured the farmer without ever reaching his conscious attention?

There is, however, a specific difference between the subliminal approach and other indirect methods of advertising appeal. You can see the galluses of the political candidate, *if you look*—and decide then, if it occurs to you, whether they are a "device." And you can see—and stop to examine, if you wish—the billboard. You decide for yourself whether the picture of a ballplayer smoking a cigarette provides a good reason for you to smoke one of the same brand. One strong opponent of subliminal advertising makes his objection that "it isn't available to rational scrutiny by the person exposed to it." Clearly, this is the

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difference. The extent to which this may make subliminal advertising an evil is one of the matters now under discussion.

The answer offered by the Subliminal Projection Company to the "not available for scrutiny" charge is that the Company invites some form of regulation for its technique. The Federal Communications Commission was looking into the whole business during early 1958 —at a time when it had other and more pressing worries on its mind. "We want positive Federal or industry regulation," says Mr. Vicary. "We are actively seeking it." So far as TV broadcasting is concerned, he scarcely needs to—Section 317 of the act under which the FCC makes its rulings requires that all advertisers be identified.

But what form regulation of the subliminal pitch might take is still uncertain. A second big question about subliminal projection is that, with the exception of the somewhat skimpy tests in New Jersey, very little is known as to its actual effectiveness. It certainly does not produce a hypnotic trance effect such as some of its opponents ascribe to it. Mr. Vicary sees it only as "reminder" advertising and envisions it as serving in a new but small role in the over-all advertising complex. As he presents it, subliminal's value will be in getting the Coca-Cola drinker to consume a little more. He does not contemplate converting beer drinkers into Coke drinkers, or WCTU members into bottle-a-day girls.

Presumably, if the subliminal sell were attempted in political broadcasts, a mighty stink would arise. And there is certainly a danger here, even if of unknown size. The subliminal technique might prove so weak as to be not worth any real expenditure of advertising dollars. On the other hand, it *could* develop into something so powerful that people's minds could be invaded and manipulated in the realm of morals and ideas.

Late last year, the major television networks announced their own ban on subliminal advertising. The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters has requested its membership not to use it. These safeguards seem appropriate for the moment, no matter where one stands on the larger issue of whether subliminal advertising is "good" or "bad." Before any more positive steps are taken, more clinical study is clearly called for. Only then can a complete assessment be made of subliminal's future. Until that time there can be nothing but conjecture whether we have here a useful —and possibly less annoying—new advertising tool, or a dangerous lunge toward Big Brotherism.

The PUBLIC PULSE*

*Registration Pending

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Why were we out-Sputniked?

The public has many answers from penitent to unconcerned

Why the Russians were *really* able to launch more and bigger artificial satellites sooner than their American counterparts may prove, in the long run, to be a question as unanswerable as why it was an Englishman who formulated the law of gravity or a Polish woman who discovered radium. But where facts are obscure opinion can be revealing—and the dictum that opinion, right or wrong, is as socially important as fact is one that can never be forgotten.

Asked to express opinions why the U.S. had been out-Sputniked, the American public responded with alacrity. More people named American-Soviet educational differences than any other factor. Here is the way a national cross-section ranked a list of possible reasons during the four-month period of national self-questioning between Sputnik I and the Army's small but successful Explorer I:

Our educational system has had different goals from Russia's...	36%
We haven't put enough money into our satellite program.....	28%
Our armed services have been fighting among themselves.....	26%
A democratic government doesn't move as fast as a dictatorship..	21%
We haven't had the right kind of leadership in Washington.....	19%
The Russians were just lucky in hitting on the way to do it first.	15%
Our scientists are not as good as Russia's.....	11%
We've been too busy making consumers' goods.....	10%
Express no opinion.....	11%

(*Figures add to more than 100% because some respondents gave more than one answer*)

Besides naming our educational deficiencies, a good portion of the public stands convinced that skimpy appropriations and inter-service rivalries hampered the U.S. satellite program. This comes as no surprise, considering the thorough airing of these charges in the press. The news lies in the factors the public *rejects* as contributing to the Russian coup.

Item: The public does not shrug off the Sputniks as lucky flukes. Item: Neither does it indulge in a tirade against imagined inadequacies of American science. Most significant item of all: The public does not believe that the American preoccupation with high personal consumption of goods, the like of which cannot be found in the stores of any other nation on earth, has had anything to do with our serious falling behind in the engineering of defense and national security. It does not perceive any self-imposed belt-tightening as part of the necessary repair work to the U.S. position as an international superpower.

As of the early months of 1958, guns *and* butter remain the public's confident expectation. If Professor Klaus Knorr of the Princeton University Center of International Studies is right that we must "give up a great deal of what is worth defending in order to improve the chances of protecting the rest," a shock may be in store somewhere in the future for which there seems, so far, only a minimum of public preparation.

Education, Anyone?

Some old facts, revisited, take on a new significance

Nowhere did the orbiting Sputniks jar the United States harder toward the end of 1957 than in the great, confused domain of its educational aims and systems. That Russia had developed scientists and engineers capable of doing something then still beyond the capabilities of American scientists and engineers was a bitter and gagging pill to swallow. But we had to swallow it.

Yet the Sputniks did not tell alert Americans anything they did not already know. They knew that American education, and hence America, was in trouble. There was, and is, the trouble of softness in school curricula that emphasizes how-to-get-along courses and integration-with-the-group at the expense of the hard disciplines of really learning to read, write, calculate—and hence to think. There was, and is, the trouble of inferior status and low pay for American teachers by any proper standards—and most particularly by standards in Russia, where university professors are the highest paid professionals in any walk of society, and young graduates strive for a teacher's career because its rewards in prestige and perquisites are so high. The awesome certainty, known to all educators, of a doubling of school and college populations in the United States between now and 1970 compounds all other troubles.

Notwithstanding even this last long-evident fact, the House of Representatives in 1957 killed President Eisenhower's Federal Aid to Education bill, designed to provide $1,300,000,000 for new school construction over the next four years—an action of which it will probably not boast in 1958. In doing so, it demonstrated how far behind public opinion the Congress is capable of lagging. Although even now there continues to be talk of the "dangers" of even limited Federal aid to schools, the majority of public opinion was quite unalarmed in its answers to this question:

"Our public schools are having a hard time finding funds so that they can keep up with our population growth and maintain high educational standards. Which of these statements best expresses your feelings about how this problem should be solved?"

Public schools should depend entirely on local financing	16%
Federal aid for building new schools should be provided, but teachers' salaries and everything else should be paid for with local funds	30%
Federal aid should be given for building new schools and *paying teachers' salaries*	43%
Express no opinion	11%
	100%

In short, those among the public believing in full, unrestricted Federal aid to education outnumber the "local only" believers by almost three to one—and as a buffer between these two points of view lies a substantial 30% vote that school construction funds should be provided by the Federal Government.

(*Continued on page 4, column 2*)

STUDIES IN THE MARKETPLACE

TV or Not TV?

Ignorance was less troublesome, Artemus Ward said, long ago, than "people's knowing so much that ain't so." A recent study designed to measure the simple impact of an advertising campaign recently provided clear-cut evidence of the extent to which people's memories may distort or even falsify their original perceptions.

The study took place in several test markets where a new product was being introduced. In each of these markets different media were used to announce the product. Successive waves of interviews (with different but comparable groups of people) were made to determine how fast knowledge of the new product was spreading. A primary purpose of the study was to determine how long the introductory campaign should run when the product was marketed nationally—but, as is often the case, other significant facts came to light at the same time.

The technique was to ask the respondents if they had seen or heard of "any new development or new product in [such-and-such a] field." If they said they had, they were asked to describe the new thing. Those—and only those—who successfully described it were *then* asked how or where they first heard about it or saw it.

In Test Market X, the group able to make positive identification of the product grew at a gratifying rate. On the first wave of interviewing, 7 per cent said they had heard about the product over the radio, and 3 per cent named television. Thereafter:

¶ Four weeks later, only 3 per cent said they had heard about the product on radio, but the group naming television had grown to 9 per cent.

¶ Six weeks later, the radio figure held firm at 3 per cent, but the television figure had risen to 17 per cent.

What makes such figures remarkable is this: *At no time in this market was television used to promote the product at all.* Accurate though their knowledge of the product was, and vivid though their impressions of it were, substantial numbers of people were not merely ignorant of how they had gained their knowledge—they had positive and mistaken ideas of how it had come to them.

These figures show the power of television, and also the exaggeration of that power. Television plays such an all-consuming role in many people's lives that they tend to see it as the source of experience actually gained elsewhere. But the figures also demonstrate a universal human tendency to remember, not actual experience, but experience as fitting into the frameworks people carry around with them to organize what would otherwise be an overwhelmingly diffuse collection of sensations. Here must be a major cause for the way in which people cling to old, irrelevant ideas about people, politics, and products. And it illustrates a key research point: that without an understanding of how people's *general* ways of looking at things operate on the *specific* information being imparted, communication may be so incomplete as to be worthless.

The Taste of Boxes

Before introducing the new Parliament cigarette in the blue box, Philip Morris Incorporated conducted a series of tests to determine whether the new box design should be printed in red or blue . . . or whether it made any difference. It *did* make a difference.

Smokers were given identical cigarettes in identical boxes with identical designs. The only difference in the packages of cigarettes they were given was that one package was red and white, the other blue and white.

Although this was the only difference, the difference was not pointed out, nor was it pointed out that in all other ways the cigarettes and packages were identical. In short, the matter of similarity or difference was never discussed with the respondents.

After smokers had had a chance to smoke both packages of cigarettes (in fact, several packages of each), they were re-interviewed. One of the questions they were asked was which package they preferred—"forgetting for a moment about the cigarettes in them." The red package was clearly preferred.

Why, then, did Philip Morris bring Parliament out in the blue package?

Two other questions asked on the re-interview showed that the expressed preference for the red package was not a true measure of its merits. For respondents had also been asked which *of the cigarettes* they preferred. Although the cigarettes were identical, the cigarettes in the blue package won handily over those in the red. "Everything considered," people were asked, "which cigarette would they be most apt to buy?" Again, the cigarettes in the blue package were preferred. Answers revealed that people felt convinced that the cigarettes in the blue package contained higher quality tobacco, were smoother, finer tasting. In short, the blue package, although not liked as well as the red, imparted more of the Parliament tradition of quality to the product itself.

FRAMES OF MIND

The public has opinions on almost everything that can be talked about. Herewith a sampling of diverse topics from recent survey investigations.

The public says "Yes" to the President's request for expanded military funds, and "No" to taking those funds from established domestic programs. Sixty-five per cent want to put more billions into defense, with 22 per cent opposed. But proposed cuts in domestic programs are vetoed by 59 per cent, with only 25 per cent willing to accept less domestic Federal activity.

*

Despite Soviet inroads into Asian-African neutralism through bold assistance programs, the public favors keeping U.S. aid and loans to underdeveloped nations around present levels. Only 18 per cent are convinced that more is needed to meet this newest Soviet challenge. Twenty-two per cent, on the other hand, think we are already doing too much; leaving 42 per cent who think what we are doing is well enough and should be left alone.

*

The public is not content with the present status of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Thirty-four per cent think NATO should be transformed into a genuine policy-making instrument of the North Atlantic powers. A smaller 23 per cent feel the present arrangement is adequate. But 21 per cent think we should worry less about our European allies and rely on a "fortress America" approach to survival in the thermonuclear age.

*

Two Democrats top a list of prominent senators in public admiration. John Kennedy of Massachusetts takes first place, thought of highly by 30 per cent of a national cross-section; Estes Kefauver of Tennessee is close behind him with 26 per cent. Third and fourth places go to Minority Leader Knowland of California (21 per cent) and Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas (17 per cent).

*

Curiously, this does not mean that exclusively Democratic voters have rallied behind Senator Kennedy; actually he gets a slightly *higher* popularity vote from people calling themselves Republicans and Independents.

*

Senator Kennedy, a Catholic, may have a better chance at the Presidency than Catholics before him. At any rate, 51 per cent of a national cross-section *say* that a candidate's religion would not of itself affect their vote for a President. But the idea of a Catholic in the White House is still heavily resisted by a politically important 21 per cent—and another 19 per cent express some doubts.

The most dramatic thing about these figures is not that they are new, but that they are already a trifle old: they were gathered by Elmo Roper and Associates in the early spring of 1957, more than half a year before the word *Sputnik* had any meaning in the English language.

Now and newly, the Eisenhower administration is proposing a four-year emergency aid program of $1 billion to education, the emphasis of which is not on school construction at all, but on scholarships for gifted students (of whom almost a quarter-million annually do not go on to college), the encouragement of training for college teachers, and the improvement of teacher-training programs generally. Doubtless this bill, too, will encounter resistance: not only from conservatives who will consider it wrong, but from liberals who will consider it insufficient. But in the light of the verdict already rendered, neither side can say that public opinion will be alarmed in the slightest by this proposal for Federal subvention in what was once considered a wholly "local" problem.

Williamstown's 7,500,000 Punch Cards

The Roper Public Opinion Research Center there is becoming a unique repository of social science data

As the infant science of marketing research and its twin brother, public opinion research, developed and came to be trusted, increasing demands developed from scholars for access to the raw material itself—the IBM punch cards which contained the answers to the questions. The scholars' point was that all of the significant cross-tabulations and correlations had certainly not been thought of; if new access were allowed to the raw material, a considerable new contribution might be made to the knowledge of why man behaves as he does.

But since much of marketing and opinion research is done for clients on a confidential basis, opening the data to others presented a difficult problem. About twelve years ago a conference of leading scholars from several major colleges and universities met with Elmo Roper (this was in the days before "and Associates" had been added to the firm's title) to see if a way could be found to solve it. When it became apparent that, to the scholar, it was not vitally important whether the information was fresh or five years old, a major difficulty was overcome. Permission was gained from *Time Inc.* to send the original data cards for all the fifteen years of the Roper-conducted *Fortune* Survey to Williams College, where there existed an active interest in establishing such a research center. This Williamstown nucleus began to grow when a few industrial clients also permitted certain specified studies to be lodged there.

During the first few years, the data collection was used largely by professors of economics, political science, and sociology at Williams, and by a few Williams students. As word of its availability got about, usage widened to include students from Harvard, M.I.T., and elsewhere.

A year ago it was decided to expand the Roper Research Center at Williams by providing the personnel to keep the facilities available all summer for scholars working for graduate degrees. The response to this step was so satisfactory that a further one became obvious: to let this center become also the repository for other research firms, so that there might come into being, under one roof and under the direction of a front-rank institution of learning, the largest possible collection of original data on political opinion, buying habits, and all other subjects covered by marketing and opinion research.

As a result twenty-one research groups (including five outside the U.S.) are currently placing their materials at the Roper Center in Williamstown. Among them: American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll); Crossley, Inc.; Crossley, S-D Surveys, Inc.; International Research Associates; National Opinion Research Center; the Minnesota Poll; the California Poll; the Texas Poll; Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead; Wisconsin Agriculturist and Farmer; Psychological Corporation of New York; Alfred Politz Research, Inc.; and Washington Public Opinion Laboratory.

Obviously, there are some restrictions on usage. The cards are not intended ever for the use of competitors of a client who originally commissioned a study—even though no study is sent there without the client's express permission and after an agreed-upon lapse of time. Only *bona fide* scholars, working under stipulated conditions of security, have access to the Collection. For these scholars, however, there is now provided at Williams College a collection which probably includes well over 75 per cent of all the marketing and public opinion research which has been done in the world to date.

Roper, Elmo

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Murrow

Date: Feb. 28, 1958

From Beverly Friswold
Secretary to Mr. Roper

Mr. Roper thought you might be interested to read the speech he gave at last December's Men's Career Conference at Oberlin College.

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES

In Search of a Career

We are only partially masters of our own fate, but within the limits of our choice we should know and trust our own desires

By ELMO B. ROPER, JR.

THE FIRST LIMITATION we all have to face is the fact that even the best of us can control probably a good deal less than half of what happens to us in our lives. As one writer put it, "Here and there protrude the granite peaks of the inevitable, but all about is rubble from the landslips of chance." This applies to our work lives as well as to our more clearly unpredictable personal lives. We are limited of course by the kind of work there is a demand for, or which we can *create* a demand for, and by the extent of that demand. These demands are constantly and often rapidly changing. Everyone knows what last session's Congressional budget-slashing did to the peace of mind of engineers, though I doubt if it hurt them much to get down to the plane of job insecurity on which most people are used to living. I should add that their insecurity is nothing compared to the insecurity that gripped the entire nation when Sputniks I and II spelled out our need for the better use of scientific and engineering skills.

We are limited most severely by the state of prosperity or un-prosperity prevailing in the nation. The economic cycle, once nearly as certain as death or at least taxes, is being brought, at least in some measure, under man's control. But while we hope we have built into our economy guarantees against another 1929-style crash, milder dips can still occur, with unexpected and unpleasant effects on our lives. We are seeing one now.

War is the most devastating and, unless we devise new methods of preventing international quarrels, the least preventable factor of all. No one could win another big war, and we have a kind of blind hope that that truth has sunk in deep enough across the globe to keep another big one from starting. But small wars are not especially inconceivable, and the scope of today's "limited wars" would horrify the soldiers of the unmechanized past. Apart from actual destruction, war brings about vast dislocations in our lives and sends its consequences far into the future. It can make Presidents, as well as change the occupations of lesser men.

No one can escape the impact of war or depression. But in addition to that, each of us gets sudden personal blows, each of our lives takes unexpected twists, and we find ourselves, almost without warning, in a new world, or on a new course in the old world, one that we had in no way intended. I think this fact has several lessons in it.

One is that much good can be gotten from these ca-

John Mayer, '60

Elmo B. Roper, Jr. (right) President William E. Stevenson, and Loren Day, '58, student chairman of the Conference at the Conference dinner at Talcott Hall.

A. E. Princehorn

Keynote speaker at the Men's Career Conference was Elmo B. Roper, Jr. marketing consultant and public opinion analyst. Shown here with President William E. Stevenson, in Finney Chapel, he has just sat down to thunderous applause after delivering his speech.

prices of fortune, if we respond to them in the right way. Some of them are clearly pushes upward. Wendell Willkie came suddenly into the national spotlight through his role in congressional hearings over the sale of utility properties to the TVA, and thereupon won the 1940 Republican presidential nomination against all normal political odds: he was not a politician, but a businessman, and up until a few years before, he had not even been a Republican.

Fate can also deal cruel and killing blows. Franklin Roosevelt was dealt such a blow when he was crippled by infantile paralysis early in what promised to be a brilliant career in public life. For most men this would have put a final damper on any political ambition. Retirement to a life of letters or some other genteel form of relative inactivity would have been the easiest course for him to take. But as we all know, he did not take it. While it is still too early to evaluate his final place in history, he was unquestionably a leader of extraordinary powers and achievements, whose influence on the country has been deep and lasting. He reached the height of his powers not just despite his illness, but probably in part because of it. This is what the British writer, Compton MacKenzie, wrote about those years of illness and recuperation:

"Roosevelt was given the opportunity to spend seven years at the prime of his intellectual vigour in reflecting upon his own rich experience and in contemplating the mundane scene with the eyes of a man of the world. His creative imagination was kept continuously hard at work, while at the same time so great a reserve of energy accumulated and so deep a breath of enthusiasm was inhaled that he was able at the age of forty-seven to re-enter active politics like a man of forty; and the unkind fate which seemed to have robbed him of those seven years handed them back to him untouched by age."

Other happenings may be less easy to evaluate at the time: apparent bad fortune may open new avenues of opportunity, lucky breaks may turn out to be not so lucky. But while we can't prevent these events from occurring, we do have a broad latitude in the way we respond to them. If we hold ourselves rigid against them, fighting them as unwelcome intrusions on our well-planned course, they can defeat us. But if we keep ourselves open and receptive, we can turn the arrows of outrageous fortune into spears for our own advantage. If we are prepared to roll with the punch, and learn from it, we will probably find ourselves stronger for the experience.

Artists call this the ability to "capitalize on our accidents." Many a water color has taken shape around an accidental dribble of paint. Scientists have a fancier name for it: serendipity, which means hitting new scientific discoveries by noticing unexpected phenomena that occur, even though they may have no bearing on the work at hand. The whole synthetic dye industry began by just such a sharply observed accident. About one hundred years ago, the English chemist, Sir William Perkin, who was trying to produce synthetic quinine, succeeded in producing not a drug but a dye. The color, which became known as "mauve," was the first of the aniline dyes. It not only revolutionized the art and science of dyeing; it also created a new foundation for the whole present world of synthetic chemistry. Untold numbers of scientific advances have come about through such *un*anticipated results.

When we have accepted the fact of the control fate has over us, when we have resolved to meet the vagaries of fortune with nimble minds which search for new opportunities created by the new situation, the next thing to do is take that smaller part of our lives that *we* can control, those decisions and those activities that are squarely up to us, and do the very best we can.

Work *Can* be Fun

Choosing a career ought to be the simplest thing in the world. The way to do it, it seems to me, is to sit down and figure out what one likes to do so well that doing it would seem more like vacation than work and then go and get or make a job doing just that, whether it's teaching eight-year olds how to sail in Bar Harbor, Maine, or raising chickens in Arizona to be close to a beloved desert, or whatever. For the great French impressionist, Renoir, the question was just that simple. When, at the age of twenty, he showed his paintings to a famous Paris art teacher, the master commented drily, "You are, I presume, dabbling in paint to amuse yourself." Renoir replied, "Of

A. E. Princehorn

At the session on public administration held in Noah Lounge, Lawrence E. Imhoff, '30, staff assistant in the office of Assistant Secretary for Mineral Resources, United States Department of Interior, Washington, D. C., discusses government work. Bob Adam, '58, student chairman, is on his right.

course. When it ceases to amuse me, I will stop painting." I think that if we all found our way to our life's work that way, everybody in the world would be happier, and moreover, they would probably find themselves making more money out of what they liked, however screwy it might sound, than they would be taking a job after a long search for that industry which is going places the fastest.

But instead this decision is often one of the toughest ones a man, or woman, has to make, and one that many never make to their satisfaction. I'd like to discuss some of the reasons, in my opinion, why this is so, and why it need not be so. I think what stands in the way of clearly knowing what one's own bent is, most of the time, boils down to paying too close attention to what other people think. What other people think can often be very helpful, but used in the wrong way, other people's opinions can ruin one's own chances of a successful career, in the truest sense of the word.

Parental Pressure

The first and most influential "other people" who have ideas about what we should do are, of course, our parents. Although parents vary in degree and type of influence they exert, nowadays I guess the low pressure of "soft" sell is probably typical, most parents have some idea of what they'd like to see their children doing.

These ideas may be good and helpful, or they may be irrelevant and harmful, to the real needs and abilities of the young person. Because the love of parents for their children is a *mixed* thing. Part of it wants to help a young person along toward his own self-discovery, but often there is another part which wants the child to somehow fulfill the parent's own dreams, to make up for his own personal frustrations, or to become a carbon copy of himself. And while it is natural and good to look up to and in some ways to try to be like our parents, we are *not* our parents, we are separate and distinct human beings with our own abilities and aspirations. I am sure most of us realize this only too well. But even if we do, there is often the danger of, consciously or unconsciously, following too closely their image of us, rather than our own. There is also the reverse danger, for the rebelliously inclined, of trying too hard to become something our parents are not, simply to show our independence. Rebellion *can be* as unimaginative as conformity.

These days the normally somewhat trying relationships between parents and children are made doubly difficult by the great gap between the experience of the two generations. I don't suppose college students argue much over evolution any more, at least not about whether or not there is any, and I don't think they spend much time worrying about whether there will be enough jobs to go around when they graduate. The snowballing rate of change characteristic of our century doesn't make communication between generations any easier.

Now I don't want to do away with parents. We may be able to see their blind spots, but they can often help us to see ours, and their opinions may very well be invaluable in *helping us* make this choice of a career. But they cannot make it for us; they cannot save us the trouble of finding out for ourselves where our proper place is.

Common Prejudices

Another barrier to wise career choices comes from the persistence of common prejudices that some lines of work are inherently superior to others, quite apart from the question of how well they are suited to the individual concerned. The most common of these prejudices, and the oldest, is the prejudice against work that is done with the hands, and connected with that, work that can be done without wearing a white collar. Contrasted with such work is brain work, and its lesser adjunct, paper work. Now there is some sense in these prejudices. Really satisfying work for truly educated people demands thought and creativity from those engaged in it. A job which calls for the making of decisions, which involves the use of initiative and the acceptance of responsibility, is surely the kind of job an enterprising young person wants. A job

Irwin S. Griswold, '24, Dean of the Harvard Law School and newly elected President of the Association of American Law Schools, one of the consultants on the panel dealing with Law, looks over the latest issue of the Oberlin *Review*. Bob Service, '58, is on his left.

Edward I. Bosworth, '49, Columbian Carbon Co., consultant at the session on Business-Industrial Sales.

Discussing public relations was Frederick W. Fairfield, '40, assistant manager, Stockholder Relations Department, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan.

Photos by A. E. Princehorn

At Wright Laboratory, Dr. Robert L. Kroc, director of physiological research at Warner-Chilcott Laboratories, Morris Plains, New Jersey, discusses biological science. Robert Hamilton, '59, student chairman of the panel, is on his right. Dr. Kroc was featured in the March 23, 1957 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* for "perfecting the method of extracting relaxin, of which the drug Releasin [the amazing new drug found to delay labor in premature births] was made." Last year his daughter, Alice, '57, was chairman of the Women's Career Conference.

that is merely routine deadens the faculties, and it is too bad that despite our rapidly automating economy, there are still so many of them to be done.

But *this* distinction, which is the real one, often gets obscured. Routine work often becomes acceptable *if* it is done in an *office,* rather than a *factory.* The wide range of human skills demanded of a man working on a farm, or operating a power shovel is forgotten. Another thing forgotten too, is the fact that people differ greatly, and that a natural forester may make an unhappy lawyer, and that a boy whose real passion begins and ends at working on automobile engines will feel frustrated as a sales manager.

These ideas are deeply ingrained in most of us, and we have to penetrate through them to find out what we ourselves really like to do, or we may find ourselves in a physically comfortable but intellectually empty occupational prison.

I think one of the biggest barriers of all to getting full work satisfaction is an indiscriminate pursuit of money and what passes, with too many, for "success." Now, again, I don't have anything against either. It is a good thing to do well in your efforts and to receive recognition for them. It doesn't even hurt to be well paid!

I do not go along with those who glorify failure and suggest that there is something morally dubious about success. I think that most of the time when a man does something he thoroughly likes, and does it well, real success is the natural consequence. (Not always, opportunity is not yet fully equal, but most of the time.) Nor do I believe in wearing a hair shirt. We Americans have created an impressive level of wealth, and rightly used, it can have an enlarging, liberating effect on human life.

These things are natural fulfillments for people of ability in a world where there is opportunity for its use and recognition, which ours is. However, if a man becomes exclusively absorbed in their pursuit, it is a sign that something is wrong with his feeling about himself and his work. He has begun seeking the outer symbols of something which deep inside he knows he doesn't have, the happy sense of doing well a job he likes. Without this sense, all his efforts are devoted to proving to himself, and to other people, that he is doing fine. Money then takes on a value beyond its real value; it becomes a way of buying and consuming expensively so that his success will be unquestioned. He will seek promotions for the same reasons, and the tragic thing is that such a desire is insatiable. If a man has an inner feeling of dissatisfaction and failure, no promotion, no income bracket whatever, can possibly convince him that he is happy and successful. Recognition may come from all sides, but the important recognition, the inner recognition of a really well spent life, will be missing.

In my experience, real success is more likely to come when it is not pursued as a primary goal. I have never seen a truly successful man who has gotten there simply by being very clever and keeping his eyes focused steadily on the main chance. Men may get to the middle levels that way, but that is where they generally remain. I think it is important here to define a truly successful man as one who feels successful inwardly and is thought to be successful by an important, however small, segment of the society around him.

Nowadays there is a lot of talk about the Organization Man taking over our society. It may be that there is an increase in people who do more looking than leaping, people whose watchful eyes are the sharpest things about them. I'm sure many of them "get places." But I have found that the men who have really gotten to the top places in whatever field they chose were men who have found something they wanted to do, believed in doing, and went ahead and did it single-heartedly. These men were guided not by shrewd calculation of chances, but by their own drives, their own beliefs, their own hearts.

Characteristics of Distinction

In fact, I once made a list of the qualities I had found among the most outstanding men I have personally known

E. W. (Ned) Kenworthy, '31, writer for the New York *Times,* Washington Bureau, was one of two consultants on the life of the journalist. The group met in the Center Lounge of Burton Hall.

well, quite apart from their specific talents. I have been fortunate enough to get to know quite intimately a number of men who are unquestionably among the great of their generation, such diverse personalities as Robert E. Sherwood, Wendell Willkie, Frank Abrams, "Wild Bill" Donovan, and Adlai Stevenson, and I discovered that they had a number of qualities in common.

First, that none of them took himself as a individual too seriously; all of them could lean back once in a while and laugh at themselves.

Second, that none was ever ashamed, or afraid, to say whatever he thought on any subject, never afraid that it might sound too sentimental or too religious, or too naive, or too trusting or too anything else.

Third, that none of them ever felt the obligation to conform to existing thought patterns however popular they might be at the moment or however dangerous it might seem not to conform.

Fourth, that each of them had the firm belief that one of the most important things there was to preserve in America was the right of the individual to dissent, openly, vigorously, and without any reprisals of any kind as a result of the dissent.

And last, all of them genuinely liked the work they were doing, and because they liked the work, it didn't seem so much like work to them. They had the incentive to put in what would have been long, hard, grueling hours to a man who didn't like the work he was in. Unless their work had been completely compatible with their personalities, they could not have done it. Now while I have found these to be the qualities characteristic of greatness in the great men I have known, you will notice that every one of them is, or can be, within the reach of all of us.

These men all had their faults and weaknesses as well. Perfection is not attainable by human beings, and to seek it is unreasonable and often damaging. A man who strives too desperately for the perfect achievement will inevitably fail, by his or any other standards. Only when a man accepts the *possibility* of partial, or even complete, failure does he have the possibility of at least partial success. A man afraid to make mistakes may avoid doing so, but he is at the same time sure to avoid much in the way of positive accomplishment. The only way to proceed is by a courageous, whole-hearted giving of your best, and then taking your chances. The rest is up to fate.

I think the life of Wendell Willkie is a good illustration of the approach to life, and to one's vocation, that I think is the only fruitful one. Willkie's life contained spectacular success and equally spectacular failure. Both, in a sense, followed from his unswerving following of his deepest beliefs and convictions.

Willkie devoted the last years of his life to an impassioned attempt to make Americans, and Republicans in particular, see and accept their international responsibilities. The price he paid was high, for he was at the same time engaged in a campaign to win the Republican presidential nomination a second time. He was defeated by the isolationist wing of his party, which bitterly opposed him and with which he would not compromise. In the fall of 1944 he died, still in the midst of his battles for social justice and a responsible, long-sighted foreign policy.

Some might call his life a failure, but I would not. I think he did more than any other single man to bring his party around to an awareness of the modern international world. Although his death came tragically early, he lived his life fully, gave what he had to give, and did what he had to do. In the process he gave expression to some of the great qualities of America itself, and by so doing, strengthened those qualities.

What I am saying, then, is that the way to job success and job happiness is to know what we *like* to do, what strikes us as interesting, intriguing and *fun.* Then, accepting both our strengths and the limits of those strengths, and leaving aside the expectations and demands that come from people other than ourselves, we should spend our energies doing our work in the best way we know or can learn.

A vivid example of a man who approached his work this way comes to mind. About twenty years ago, in 1936 or 1937, Eleanor Tracy Hodgins, who was then art director of *Fortune* Magazine, conceived the idea of getting the well-known painter, Charles Birchfield of Buffalo, to do the illustrations for a big article on the Pennsylvania Railroad which *Fortune* was running. It seems that Birchfield had never done anything of any kind, shape or description for any *commercial* project, but somehow or other she inveigled him into this. His pictures created quite a stir and reflected great credit on *Fortune,* so a couple of years later she called him up to suggest another assignment. He told her quite firmly that he didn't want it. Her first thought was that maybe he wanted more money, having had a taste of commercial prices, so she explained that of course their budget was flexible, to which he replied that he didn't care what she paid him; he couldn't do it. She then thought that the rather rigorous deadline she had imposed was too much and suggested that maybe there was a little flexibility in that deadline. He then said that he simply couldn't undertake any assignment for a while, for anyone. He went on to explain that years before he had discovered that it was very difficult to get the right picture frames to show off his pictures to the best advantage. Since he wanted each one of his paintings to be a gem not only of painting but of framing, he had decided to take two months off every year and work in his shop, making with his own hands a picture frame for every picture he painted that year. He had done that ever since, and found the challenge of making frames that perfectly suited each one of his canvasses a very absorbing one. This is what he chose to do with those two months, and to any suggestions or demands that he spend that time another way, at whatever profit, he was impervious.

And Keep In Mind

It may be some time before we feel as sure as Birchfield

was of what we want to do. I don't think that matters very much. There may be economic and family pressures on us to set our course as soon as possible and then proceed rapidly toward the goal of a good income. But remember that we are making a decision about our life's work and it is not a decision that can be forced or rushed. I don't think it matters terribly what our family, or society generally, thinks of the job we take to begin with. I think the important thing about that first job is not so much what kind of job society says it is, or what field it is in, as it is whether it sounds to us like fun, and, perhaps I'd better add a second, whom we are working for. If we find someone who impresses us as a really good person, wise in the ways of work and life, from whom we think we can learn a good deal, he is the person to go to work for. From there we can move on easily to find our proper place, if the first one turns out not to be it.

Along with this, we should not be afraid to change jobs. If we come to see that a job really isn't for us, we should go on to another one. Staying in a job that we aren't getting anything out of, and consequently can't be giving very much to, is not doing anyone a favor, ourselves or our employer. Staying in a job situation that is a dead end for us is not loyalty, or even prudence, it is stagnation.

I should like to warn against one more pitfall. This is the trap of overspecialization. Too often, people master one skill or one small corner of one field of learning and let the rest of the world, and the rest of man's broad knowledge, go by. It is a sad thing to awake at fifty and find that one knows how to make a perfect incision into an abdomen, and nothing else. So my last caution is against pursuing a chosen career *so* exclusively, *so* single-heartedly, that you block your full development as a human being. Yet at the other extreme is an even worse danger: that you scatter your energies so broadly, so generously, upon so many fields of endeavor, that you end up having contemplated nothing deeply and knowing nothing well. People in a field like journalism sometimes come to this realization in middle life. Having written, very likely well, on a multitude of subjects, they find that their minds are filled with odd trinkets of knowledge rather than hard-dug and hard-cut gems. With such an awareness comes a poignant regret, and often it comes too late to change one's course. However, both of these pitfalls can be avoided. There is no exact middle course between breadth and depth that can be prescribed for all; as with the other aspects of our vocational choice, we must discover for ourselves where our personal balance lies.

So, let me summarize. We are only partially the masters of our own fate. Some of the decisions we make today will be changed for us because they will have become impossible. I urge you to use the imagination God gave

Photos by A. E. Princehorn

Warren Guthrie, right, chairman of Speech Department, Western Reserve University and one of the leading newscasters of the country, and Jack Rice, '60, student chairman of the session on Radio and Television.

Herk Visnapuu, '50, registered architect, whose firm Visnapuu and Robert Gaede, Architects, from Cleveland, Ohio, have the contract for constructing the addition to the Hales Memorial Gymnasium, holds forth in the Jefferson Room of the Art Building during the Men's Career Conference.

Charles B. Miller, Jr., '28, Manager of Construction, Automatic Sprinkler Corporation of America, Youngstown, Ohio (left), Robert B. Blyth, '27, vice president of The National City Bank of Cleveland, and Ben Lewis, chairman of the department of economics, just before the Conference dinner at Talcott Hall, on Friday night.

A. E. Princehorn

Flanked by student chairmen Charles Finfgeld, '58, and Lance Gould, '60, discussing teaching and research, physics, are (left) Dr. Theodore Soller, '22, professor of physics, Amherst College, and Dr. Norman Hilberry, '21, director Argonne National Laboratory, Lemont, Illinois.

you, and the ability to think which the Professors at Oberlin have helped give you, to "roll with the punch," so as to transform the arrows of fortune into slings for your own progress, in some area that intrigues you so much that you sometimes wonder why you get paid for it.

All this, I am afraid, is not a very orthodox idea, but it is really a very simple idea, the idea of knowing and trusting one's own desires. If this can be done, it can lead not only to job fulfillment but to a broader fulfillment as a citizen and a human being. The worry about increased conformity in contemporary American life boils down to the idea that we are losing faith in ourselves, and substituting other's opinions for our own. We are living in a world that is changing its shape in many ways, where a lot of old ideas seem to be losing their applicability. We are living in an insecure world, where war promises to end civilization, and authoritarianism holds sway in many parts of the globe. The only way we will survive these times with our best national qualities and personal ideals intact, is to draw deep on this trust in ourselves as free, individual human beings, who possess a generous capacity for wisdom and achievement, and may I add, for the joy and zest of living.

Elmo Roper, marketing consultant and public opinion analyst, is president of Elmo Roper and Associates, public opinion and market research analysts. Widely known as a writer, he has dealt with world peace, political activity and political issues, and what America thinks of labor and business. He holds honorary degrees from Williams College and the University of Louisville. During World War II he served as deputy director of the Office of Strategic Services and special consultant to the WPB, the OWI, the Army Air Force, the Marines, and the Navy. He is a contributing editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

A. E. Princehorn

In the Talcott parlors before dinner on Friday night Edward A. Mosher, '32, merchandising personnel manager, Marshall Field & Company, Chicago (right) talks with (left to right) Dr. Thurston E. Manning, associate professor of physics, Mrs. Blanche (Bonnie) Loomis, '17, director of Talcott, and Dr. Theodore Soller, '22, professor of physics, Amherst College.

John Mayer, '60

At dinner on Friday night Robert E. Dixon, '37, assistant dean of the College and associate professor of psychology (center) is seated between Harold Metcalf, x'44, Dean of Students, School of Business, University of Chicago (left) and Tony Norman, '59, one of the student chairmen at the chemistry session.

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Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

February 25, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Although I saw you at lunch, I want to tell you again how delighted I was to find that you liked the book. I had feared somehow that you might be critical of it, and your letter relieved me no end.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

ER:mef

Elmo Roper

Roper, Elmo

WILLIAM MORROW & COMPANY, INC., *Publishers*

425 *Fourth Avenue, New York* 16, N. Y.

February 19, 1958

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

All of us here at Morrow are enormously grateful to you for your kind permission to be quoted in our promotion of Elmo Roper's book, You and Your Leaders. The quotation, exactly as I gave it to you in my telegram of some days ago, will appear on the front of the book jacket and elsewhere in our advertising and publicity, and we are confident that it will be very helpful to us in gaining a proper distribution of the book.

I would be further grateful if you would convey my thanks to Mrs. Crissam, who has been helpful indeed.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

John C. Willey
Editor

JW/nah

your book is a real service. I only wish that you had included more of your own personal observation

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EDWARD R MURROW

Yes ~ Betty Vaughn 425 Park Ave

ELMO ROPER HAS SHARED WITH US HIS PUBLISHERS YOUR COMMENT ABOUT HIS FORTHCOMING BOOK YOU AND YOUR LEADERS. MAY WE HAVE YOUR PERMISSION TO QUOTE AN EXPANDED VERSION OF THIS COMMENT ON THE JACKET AND IN OUR ADVERTISING AND PROMOTION. I WOULD SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING WORDING QUOTE ELMO ROPER PERFORMS A REAL SERVICE IN THIS METICULOUS ACCOUNT OF TWENTY VITAL YEARS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY END QUOTE. SINCE TODAY IS THE DEADLINE FOR JACKET COPY I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR SECRETARYS CALLING ME ON THIS AT WILLIAM MORROW AND CO MURRAY HILL 5-8648. OTHERS BEING QUOTED INCLUDE ADLAI STEVENSON WILL CLAYTON STUART CHASE

JOHN C WILLEY

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Roper, Elmo

December 6, 1957

Dear Elmo:

It was a damn fine job Walter Millis did, as usual. Thanks for sending it to me.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

mcc

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

November 21, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

In view of the furor that has been created in the minds of the public, our scientists, and many of our political leaders over Sputniks I and II and the current status of our military achievements as contrasted with those of the Russians', I thought you would be interested in the enclosed discussion of the subject by Walter Millis, who is a member of the staff of The Fund for the Republic.

As is always the case of any material which the Fund publishes, there is no assurance that every member of the board agrees with every word the author says, but there is general agreement that what he says is provocative enough to warrant reading.

I hope you find it so.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:tm
Enclosure

Individual Freedom and the Common Defense

WALTER MILLIS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION OF

The Free Society

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC PAMPHLETS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION OF

The Free Society

This is one of a series of pamphlets that will be issued in connection with the Fund for the Republic's study of the basic issues underlying a free society. This study is directed at clarifying fundamental questions concerning freedom and justice that emerge when the forms and principles developed by Eighteenth Century America meet the ideas and practices of today's highly developed industrial society.

The task of clarification is being undertaken by ten distinguished Americans acting as a Central Committee of Consultants to the Fund. Among the questions under consideration is the role of the government in its capacity as an organization for the common defense. Walter Millis, military historian and journalist, is in charge of obtaining the information on this question for the use of the Consultants. Individual Freedom and the Common Defense describes the central factors to be considered in arriving at a clarification of the many basic issues involved in this subject.

The Fund for the Republic is a non-profit educational corporation established to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Contributors to this series of pamphlets issued under the auspices of the Fund are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Fund is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of the Free Society.

Individual Freedom and the Common Defense

WALTER MILLIS

The Fund for the Republic
60 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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ERIC F. GOLDMAN
Professor of history, Princeton; Bancroft Prize winner

CLARK KERR
Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley;
labor economist

HENRY R. LUCE
Editor and publisher, Time, Life, Fortune

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Nobel Prize physicist;
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ROBERT REDFIELD
Professor of anthropology, University of Chicago;
former president, American Anthropological Association

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS
President of the Fund for the Republic,
serves as Chairman of the Committee

PREFACE

The Soviet success in placing artificial earth satellites in orbit gives an added pertinence to the following monograph. This powerful feat of Russian science and technology has produced a crisis in nearly all aspects of American defense policy and defense planning quite comparable to that produced in September 1949 by the Russians' equally surprising achievement of an atomic explosion, long before most in this country believed that it would be possible for them to do so.

While this paper approaches the problem of the common defense from the point of view of individual freedom, this has necessitated a consideration not only of the justice but of the efficacy of and necessity for the broad policies which we have been following in providing for the defense of the American community. It is these policies which have been dramatically called in question by the launching of the sputniks and the accompanying events; and a calm discussion and clarification of many of the issues here presented should materially assist in the revisions of national policy which, it now seems, are imperative.

The sputnik announced, much as did the first Soviet atomic explosion, a long-range shift in the balances of military and political power to which our own policies will be compelled to adjust. The crisis with which it has presented us does not arise from any immediate threat of the missile-borne, megaton war; it will be some time before the Soviet Union can translate its technical successes into a usable weapons system with the necessary stocks of weapons and carriers, and presumably by that time the United States will have matched the Soviet achievements. The real crisis is one of current policy. Khrushchev has not in fact threatened us with inter-

continental missile war. Rather, he has utilized Russia's scientific and technical triumph to appropriate the American policy, announced by John Foster Dulles in 1954, of maintaining "a capacity for massive retaliation at times and places of our own choosing." Presumably, Khrushchev has no more intention of ever using the "capacity" than did Secretary Dulles; the point is that the policy in the hands of Khrushchev, when backed by the potential means to make it good, eviscerates the same policy in the hands of Dulles. One can accomplish nothing by merely threatening "massive retaliation" on one's own terms against an opponent who can make the same threat in even more massive form and with a wider range of choice as to time and place. We can and doubtless will step up our own threat to match that now at Khrushchev's disposal; this should maintain the existing stalemate, but will not resolve the power problem beneath it.

We have suffered a diplomatic and psychological defeat in the cold war so severe as to call in question the whole cold war strategy which we have been following. Since the first Soviet atomic explosion in 1949 we have been operating on the assumption that it is essentially a war in which we are engaged with the Soviet Union. We have required the compulsory (or quasi-compulsory) military training of all our young men, mostly in the arts of conventional ground combat. We have maintained the industrial base requisite for a conventional, World War II-type mass mobilization. We have imposed a rigid wartime secrecy upon all our military and much of our technical planning and development; we have fortified this with an elaborate apparatus for counter-espionage and for rooting out the internal seditions which in time of war might present a military danger to the state. Our diplomacy, while always clothed in the moralistic phrase, has been basically military in character—filled with "offensives," "psychological warfare," "positions of strength," "flank attacks," the "deployment" of our economic power, and so on.

The sputnik has called this whole attitude into question. Neither the practical measures taken in the interests of the

common defense nor the foreign policies based upon them have succeeded in "winning" the cold war; indeed, we are ourselves very largely the architects of Khrushchev's triumph, since, if we had not so insistently put our relations with the Soviet Union in the terms of war, the psychological impact of the Russian feat would have been far less. We now have to revise our military and our foreign policies. The military problems presented by the Russian advance in rocketry are quite obviously not to be solved by half-training all young Americans to become the raw material for infantry divisions. The cry is suddenly for manpower policies which will produce, not conventional soldiers however good, but men trained to the scientific and technical skills requisite for progress in missile warfare. It is rather suddenly discovered by responsible officials, many in the armed services themselves, that our excessive preoccupation with secrecy and "security" is an important reason for the relative backwardness of our missile program. Our pursuit of sedition at home has encouraged Russian successes with the "uncommitted nations." And the inutility of our intense concentration on military secrecy and counter-espionage is serenely announced by the sputnik's twinkle in our skies at dawn and dusk.

The sputnik demonstrates, what was already becoming increasingly apparent, that many of our policies adopted in the name of the common defense demand modification. The monograph which follows discusses some of the lines along which these policies may be re-examined and some of the ways in which modification seems desirable.

INTRODUCTION

In painting the panorama of the free society under modern conditions, those sections of the grand design concerned with the common defense cannot be neglected. To the authors of the Constitution the first responsibility of the free, popular government they were erecting was to provide adequately for its own defense, alike against military attack from abroad and against violent sedition from within. The new Federal government was empowered to raise and maintain standing armies and to regulate the state militias; it was also specifically required to guarantee to the several states "a Republican form of government."

These responsibilities, recognized as paramount in 1789, remain paramount today. As the government could not then constitutionally permit the establishment of a state monarchy, it could not now permit the capture of a state by a Communist dictatorship. Now as then one basic proposition seems beyond dispute. It is the proposition that the government of a free, pluralistic society must possess and exercise those powers — alike over its individual citizens and its constituent state and local governments and autonomous organizations — which are requisite to the preservation of the society from either military subjugation or internal violence and destruction. A major part of the price of liberty is represented by the costs, moral and political as well as economic, of its own protection.

Here there is no significant issue. It is only when one asks what powers, what restraints, what impositions are in fact essential to the safety or "security" of the free society that the problems arise. Defense by its nature must be "common," and as with all other great communal enterprises, while it may enhance the true freedoms of the individual in some ways, it must restrict them in others. There is the same fundamental

and familiar conflict between individual liberty and organized defense that one finds in other areas of social organization—as, for example, in the trade union, where the individual pays for his freedom to enhance his economic position through collective bargaining by a surrender of his freedom to take any job that offers under any conditions that may satisfy him. In other areas of our institutional life these conflicts between the demands of individual liberty and political liberty have usually been resolved, in practice, by confining the demands of organization within those limits strictly necessary to the achievement of the common purpose. The same has been generally true in respect to the problems of the common defense.

From the beginning of our government it has been recognized that while the true requirements of defense are absolute and must be met, this does not authorize any or every demand which the government may make in the name of defense. If the free society is to remain a free society, it must set limits upon what its government can ask of it for defense, otherwise security will, as has happened in the totalitarian states, swallow liberty altogether. No doubt, freedom may be an expendable quantity, and if our society were ever faced with an inescapable choice between the survival of the society and the surrender of its freedoms, it would presumably elect for the garrison state and totalitarian governance. But there is no reason to believe that anything like that hard choice as yet confronts us. It is still possible to provide adequately for the common defense while retaining the essentials of a free society; indeed, its freedoms are often a powerful contribution to its capacity for self-defense. We are not required to accept every claim which government may make over our lives and liberties in the name of the national security. It is still appropriate, and necessary, to establish limits beyond which government, in discharge of its duty to provide for the common defense, may not go. The real problem is to determine where those limits should lie.

This is an old problem. It was an old problem even in 1789. Indeed, much of the political history out of which our very concepts of free, popular government arose revolved around it;

the great constitutional struggles of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries turned largely upon the claims which the sovereign might assert in the name of the national security; and the experience which the authors of the American Constitution brought to their task was deeply permeated by the memory of these issues. Disputes over the sovereign's right to raise and maintain standing armies, to exact "ship money" in support of his fleets, to suppress dangerous and seditious utterance, to jail "enemies of the state" without trial or himself to direct the outcome of trials for treason and sedition, to utilize the self-incriminatory oath for the exposure of subversive faiths and evil beliefs and to punish men for the convictions thus revealed —these great issues, all involving the prerogative derived by the Crown from its duty to provide for the common defense, stoked the fires in which the principles of the Constitution, and in particular of its Bill of Rights, were forged.

The Constitution may be regarded as in large measure an embodiment of the solution which its authors found for the problem of defining the limits beyond which government could not go, in a free society, in its provision for the common defense. The Eighteenth Century statesmen entertained a universal dread of "large standing armies" as "ever a menace to the liberties of the people"; numerous provisions of the Constitution were directed toward limiting or controlling the development of such forces, while the Second Amendment (guaranteeing the right of the people to bear arms) was intended, in part at least, as a check upon such Federal standing armies as might have to be created. The Third Amendment's now quaint prohibitions against the quartering of troops in houses reflect the concern of the times over possible military domination of the free society. The First and the Fourth through Seventh Amendments all represent limitations upon the power of the central government to utilize, in defense of the state, those methods of suppression and thought-control which are most appropriate —if not, indeed, unavoidable—in any defense against sedition, traitorous conspiracy, and dangerous belief. In endeavoring to prohibit resort to these methods, the authors of the Constitution

had reached a double conclusion: that the methods were incompatible with liberty and justice in a free society, and that there was no visible seditious peril to the state so great as to warrant its defenders in resorting to them.

But if the Constitution represents the late Eighteenth Century's solution for the problem of defense in a free society, the solution itself was to receive a serious challenge within ten years. The language of the First Amendment is absolute: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." Yet in the Sedition Act of 1798 Congress made just such a law. While to Jefferson it was "palpably unconstitutional," to his Federalist opponents it was no less palpably demanded by the overriding requirements of defense against the seditions and subversions fomented by the French Revolution. The theoretical issue has never been resolved. The popular verdict, which returned Jefferson to the Presidency and thus enabled him to allow the act to lapse, was unmistakable: there was no real peril from sedition in 1800; the true requirements of defense at that time did not compel this invasion of the First Amendment, and there was no more need for the Sedition Act than for the large Federal army which had been projected at the same time but which was never brought into existence. But this did not answer the question of what would have been done had the perils of sedition been generally considered both real and urgent.

The true, and unresolved, issue was not whether the Sedition Act transgressed the text of the First Amendment. It was whether the requirements of defense authorized a modification of the meaning of the text. This is the issue with which the courts have since been struggling in their varying interpretations of the free speech clause. Alexander Meiklejohn or Mr. Justice Douglas may still take the absolutist position that the First Amendment means what it says: Congress shall make "no" law abridging free speech. The court majorities, on the other hand, have been endeavoring to construct standards which will measure that degree of danger from untrammelled speech which will "justify such invasion of free speech as is necessary

to avoid the danger." All the varying doctrines in effect admit that absolute freedom of speech must be invaded. The question is how far it may be, under any given conditions.

The issues surrounding the defense of a free society were thus present in the late Eighteenth Century. They were not then resolved. The issues were to recur in every subsequent national crisis. Generally speaking, they have been answered from time to time on a pragmatic basis. The limitations which the Constitutional texts sought to draw around the claims of defense have been influential, but seldom seem to have been controlling. As with the Supreme Court's wrestles with the First Amendment, the real tests have been whether this or that claim to governmental power, advanced in the name of the common defense, has gone beyond the minimum strictly necessary to the achievement of the admittedly vital common purpose. In the process, both the "war power" and the power to protect the state against sedition have undergone enlargement, but the basic issues have remained. They are with us today in an acutely aggravated form.

The polarization of the international world; the vast increase in the complexity (and therefore the vulnerability) of our own society; the massive increase in Soviet military power and the existence of international communism as a dedicated political faith of conspiratorial and seditious character; the appalling power of the nuclear weapon systems; the increased importance of military considerations and the military factor in our normal processes of budget-making, politics and social development; the general acceptance of the idea that the common defense is no longer a matter of responding bravely to some unpredictable future "emergency" but has become a continuing burden and responsibility to be borne year in and year out—all these have created a situation which could hardly have been imagined by the Eighteenth Century statesmen and to which their solutions for the problem of the common defense seem only imperfectly to apply.

This new situation has brought with it many social, political, economic, and juridical consequences, of which only a

few can be considered here. The economic effects of the great defense budgets of recent years have, for example, affected both the structure of our society and the course of many individual lives; but these are outside the scope of the present study. It is here sought to examine only the more direct impact of defense and defense measures on the traditional concepts of individual freedom and civil liberty.

One may distinguish three broad areas in which the real or supposed requirements of defense in the modern era have either seemed at variance with the spirit of the Constitution or have imposed conditions upon freedom which to the authors of that document would have been intolerable. These areas concern: (1) obligatory military service and other features of the present system of military manpower utilization; (2) the many recent measures directed toward the control or extirpation of sedition and subversive belief; (3) the increasingly stringent measures directed toward the control of espionage, the protection of governmental secrets, the gathering of intelligence, and the development of counter-intelligence operations. In each of these areas government, acting in the discharge of its duty to provide for the common defense, has deeply affected individual lives, liberties, and careers for good or ill. One may fairly examine its operations in each area with three basic questions in mind: Have the measures adopted represented true and *necessary* requirements of the national defense; have they been *effective* in achieving the purposes which justify their claim over the lives and energies of those affected; have they been as *just*, as fair and non-discriminatory as possible, and as much as possible in accordance with the basic principles of a society of free men? If they have transgressed at any of these points, they have damaged rather than defended freedom; if they have transgressed at none they represent the price which freedom must pay for its own survival.

THE UNIVERSAL OBLIGATION

"Selective service," at best a euphemism for general military conscription in time of war, was adopted by the United States in 1917. It first appeared in peacetime in 1940 (over a year before Pearl Harbor), but it was accepted then only as a preparatory and presumably temporary war measure; and with the victory and demobilization in 1945 its draft calls sank to negligible proportions. It was not until the Korean crisis that the United States adopted universal and obligatory military service as an established principle of peacetime American life.

The Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 laid a "military obligation" on all qualified males between the ages of 18½ and 26. It required all to serve through a period of eight years in either the active or the reserve forces, subject to the draft in time of peace and (after passing from active duty into the reserve) to recall in time of war. Though disguised, this was in effect universal, peacetime conscription, something never known before in the United States and something which was to have many complicated implications. The expectation was that all men physically qualified would, at some time after reaching the age of 18½, serve two or more years in the active forces, either as volunteers (who provide the Navy and Air Force with their personnel) or as draftees, who still make up the bulk of the Army's ranks. Any who did not volunteer for the three-year, four-year or longer "hitches" offered by the various services would be subject to two years of draft duty. While the larger part of those on active duty would actually be volunteers, the compulsion of the draft would remain as a major stimulus to the volunteering.

On the completion of their active duty all of them, whether two-year draftees or three-year or longer volunteers, would pass into the reserve for the rest of their eight years, during which they would be subject to call. The 1951 act did not, however, require anything more of them; if they wished, they could join the National Guard or a "drilling" reserve unit to continue part-time training, but they were not compelled to do so, and not many did. The act thus failed to create an effective or in any sense "ready" reserve. It did, however, have two useful results: it ensured the supply of manpower required both by the Korean "police operation" and the accompanying massive expansion of the peacetime military establishment; and it ensured that everyone of military age would do two years or more of active duty, thus equalizing the burden and making possible the compulsion of some in rough justice to all.

THE OFFICER RESERVE

The universal military obligation helped to supply the need for reserve officers. Reserve officers fulfill a number of functions. Serving on "extended active duty" they perform specialist tasks for which regulars would be unnecessary or unsuitable; during the two or three years of active duty to which they are committed on receiving their reserve commissions they fill up the lowest officer ranks, obviating the necessity of appointing large numbers of junior professional officers for whom there would be no place as they advanced to higher ranks; from the best of them, at the same time, the services seek to recruit career officers. The major function of the reserve officers, however, is to supply the command cadre required in case of a major mobilization. Normally, reserve officers are provided either by promotion from the ranks or, in much greater number, from the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) programs instituted in most colleges.

The universal military obligation gave a powerful stimulus to the ROTC courses. If one had to render active military service in any event, the option of doing so as a commissioned officer rather than a drafted enlisted man was attractive to the student; and the courses at the same time offered advantages to many, especially the smaller, colleges. The courses vary rather widely as between the services. The Navy, under one of its plans, pays the cost of the student's tuition, and requires only summer training from him. Other programs are not so directly subsidized; in general, they require the student to complete a four-year course in "military science" along with his regular academic work, and to undertake to serve thereafter for two or three years on active duty, with, however, the pay and status of a commissioned officer, offering considerably more amenities than a two-year term as a draftee and probably greater opportunities for advancement in the civilian world thereafter.

It is said that some of the smaller and poorer colleges virtually live on their ROTC programs. They bring in students, especially from the less prosperous rural communities, who see

in them an opportunity for advancement they might not otherwise have; this swells tuition fees, even if there is no direct subsidy, while the government provides the necessary additional teaching staff without cost. The ROTC system is now a widely established feature of American higher education. As such, it raises a number of questions.

The courses vary widely in quality and in their influence on the educational structure. In some institutions they are simply superposed on the normal academic requirements; in others, they may consume as much as a quarter of the student's academic time. There is considerable doubt as to even the military value of much of the military teaching thus substituted for civilian education; there is even more doubt as to its broader intellectual utility. A few of the eastern colleges, led by Princeton, which has long taken an enlightened interest in military affairs, have tried to introduce into the "military science" department courses in such subjects as military history which are taught by the civilian faculty and offered for credit toward the regular academic degree. But the military authorities have been resistant to such efforts to combine military and academic education. They want uniformity throughout the whole ROTC system; they believe that professional officers, not professional teachers, are required to teach officers; they believe that the purpose of the ROTC teaching should be to indoctrinate and inspire rather than to inculcate that capacity for critical understanding which is the presumed object of a civilian educational system. The educational value of the ROTC system is further compromised by the fact that the services find themselves struggling against a great shortage of officers competent to staff the courses.

The products of the system often prove disappointing. Too many students accept the ROTC requirements as "gut courses," without value or interest to them; despite the "indoctrinations" the ROTC graduates often emerge with little feeling for the military service, anxious only to get their duty over with and likely only to "infect" the younger professional officers with their own attitudes.

Such considerations raise a question as to whether the ROTC system is not only a waste of the individual's time and talents but also an unduly inefficient means of producing the kind of trained and dedicated officer corps which the common defense would seem to require—in which case it would also be a waste of the nation's time and money. Like all other forms of military service, the reserve officer's active duty period represents a burdensome interruption in his professional training, one so burdensome that the intended professional education may never be resumed. How many potential scientists, mathematicians, experts in the many disciplines now vital to the national security, may be lost to the nation in this way there is no way of knowing; but the manpower system has been compelled to give the factor at least some consideration.

All medical students and a relatively few specializing in other disciplines are normally deferred until they have completed their post-graduate training and internships; they are then called to active duty in capacities which will utilize their professional skills. The defense thus acquires a supply of needed specialists, while military duty imposes little or no retardation of their civilian careers. It may often help to advance them. But most college seniors must face, as they approach graduation, two or three or more years of military service—of almost no value to them and, there is increasing reason to believe, of hardly more value to the national defense – before they can resume their professional training or begin to establish themselves in other pursuits.

THE RANK AND FILE

The military obligation has thus introduced significant distortions into the processes of American higher education. They are often severely restrictive of individual liberty; it is not clear that they have made any countervailing contribution to political liberty—which is to say to the common good or, in this case, to the common defense. As to the justice and efficacy of the uni-

versal obligation as a whole, the answers are less obvious. In the first place, it has made several striking contributions to individual freedom. Universal and compulsory military service provided both the mechanism and in large degree the rationale for one of the major advances in individual freedom in recent years—the advance of the Negro minority toward equality under the law. The desegregation of the armed forces was probably the one most influential single step toward the increasing recognition of the Negro citizen's right to full status as a human being. The rationale was plain: if he could be compelled, as a citizen, to face death on the battlefield, he could not be denied the rights of the citizenship which he was defending. And the example was persuasive: the relative ease with which Negro and white soldiers and sailors were commingled in close quarters or Negroes raised to command positions over whites was an object lesson which not even the South could wholly disregard.

The universal obligation has contributed to individual freedom by opening opportunities to many individuals for self-development, training, and advancement. It must not be forgotten that military service in peacetime, with its chances of foreign stations, new contacts, new interests, can widen a young man's horizons as well as limit them. Military service offers extensive opportunities for training in civilian skills. The services themselves are always lamenting the way in which a man will enlist, spend most of his three- or four-year "hitch" acquiring training as a mechanic, an expert in electronics or other technologies, and then, just as he is becoming of value to the military system, depart for the lucrative jobs which such skills command in civil life.

Unfortunately, those who find these opportunities in military service are doubtless overbalanced by those for whom it is, in peacetime, only a stultifying routine, with little visible meaning. And while all the services make an earnest effort to fit their men into capacities where they will be of most value—to the services and to themselves—there are not enough interesting "slots" to go around; someone must do the hard and dirty

and occasionally dangerous jobs, and the benefits and the burdens are in the end distributed with a pretty rough justice.

One other consequence of the system for individual freedom may here be briefly noted: in effect, it results in screening nearly all physically qualified young American males for "security"—which in practice mainly means screening them for Communist opinions and associations. Those in the ROTC must, as prospective officers, be screened when they enter the senior course. This not only helps to induce caution and conservatism in them; it also brings the security officers to their civilian teachers as the readiest source of information on their opinions and attitudes. This tends to make the teachers cautious in turn, and must at least affect the confidence which should exist in the student-teacher relationship. Those not in the ROTC will undergo screening of a perfunctory sort on enlistment or induction, but, for all, dossiers are established; the peril of being caught later in some misrepresentation or falsification on their Personnel Security Questionnaires or "PSQ's" will hang over their heads for years. But this is only a small part of a personnel security system which now covers millions of others; and it is doubtful whether its specifically military aspects are of much independent significance.

In one way, the universal military obligation did introduce glaring injustice into the personnel security system. The government would draft a man; it would then use its draft power to compel him to reveal under oath any past subversive beliefs or associations; if he did so (or if it was later discovered that he had concealed any) it would put him on menial duties, deny him the usual opportunities for promotion, and separate him from the service at the end of his term with less than an honorable discharge even if his conduct had been exemplary. This amounted to using the power of compulsion as an instrument for detecting subversive associations and then using the two-year service term as a kind of jail sentence for punishing this (non-criminal) prior activity. The government's power to draft a man in the first place rested only on the assumption that his military service was necessary to the national defense. If he

was so much of a risk to the national security that it could not fully use his skills and must deny him equal treatment with his fellows, then it seemed that he should not have been drafted at all or, when the circumstances were discovered, he should have been released from servitude. But the Secretary of Defense opposed this with the argument that it would make it too easy for anyone to escape the draft simply by claiming to have been a Communist. More than ever this made the draft appear, not as a means of securing required military service, but as an instrument for punishing subversives. The position was so untenable from the point of view either of defense or of internal security that it has been greatly modified in subsequent regulations and the issue is probably not now of major significance to freedom.

THE RESERVE ACT OF 1955

Despite the imperfections noted, the manpower system established under the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 represented a reasonably successful combination of individual with political freedom under the conditions of 1951, when the demands both of the Korean War and the accompanying partial mobilization required the services of virtually all physically qualified young men. Even at the time, however, the act seemed unsatisfactory as the embodiment of a permanent peacetime military policy. During 1953 and 1954 the Eisenhower Administration and the Congress spent a great deal of time and effort in working out a revision of the manpower system. The chief objection to the 1951 act lay in its failure to deal adequately with the reserve problem. The Korean crisis had necessitated calling back to active duty a large number of World War II veterans, who were virtually the only source of trained manpower. Many of the veterans and the nation generally felt acutely the injustice of this form of "double jeopardy." So far as Korea went, there was no help for it; but it was believed that a permanent peacetime military

system should generate its own trained reserves, so that in the event of another "emergency" veterans of a previous war would not have to be used. The first aim of the proposed revision was to create a "drilling," mobilizable reserve into which all (with the exception of some specialists essential for civilian war industry) would pass on the completion of their active duty.

But by this time the conditions of 1951 were beginning to change; already the problem of both providing the requisite military manpower and equitably distributing the burdens of military service ran deeper than the mere creation of a drilling and genuinely "ready" reserve. With the end of the fighting in Korea, the chance that active duty would also involve *combat* duty fell rapidly toward zero; the chance that those serving in National Guard or other ready reserve formations would be called to active duty dwindled likewise. The pressures of economy were beginning to reduce the numbers of the active forces; the development of the new weapons systems was at least threatening drastic changes in the need for military manpower and the nature of reserve requirements. All these factors tended to complicate the problem of equitably distributing a military obligation which Congress had declared to be universal.

It was considered impossible to maintain the active, or regular, forces at the levels thought necessary without the compulsion of the draft, which was at that time renewed for another four years. But even at the 1955 levels, there were not enough places in the active forces to absorb all the young men coming of military age. The projections indicated that over the next few years some two or three hundred thousand more men would enter the "manpower pool" each year than would be withdrawn from it by all forms of military service. The result would be a rising mass of men who could not be enlisted or drafted because there was no place for them, and who in the result would escape military service altogether. If the draft ceased to be the certain fate of the non-volunteer, volunteering would probably collapse. Theoretically, any such decline in volunteering could be made good by expanding the draft calls, but the result would be less desirable personnel brought in on

less desirable terms. And meanwhile, the basic difficulty would remain. The country would still be imposing compulsory service on only a part of those eligible, while hundreds of thousands of others, for whom the military establishment had no place, would be going free. No compulsory system which is not universal and non-discriminatory in its impact can long survive in a free society. The Reserve Act of 1955, which was originally a part of the act renewing the draft and, like the latter, was to run for four years only, was in large measure an attempt to solve this problem.

One form of reserve service, the National Guard, had already been used to keep down the ominously-rising "manpower pool." A youth who, before reaching draft age, enlisted in the National Guard would be deferred from the draft so long as his Guard service continued to be satisfactory. This meant that in return for release from two or more years of active duty, he would engage himself to take two weeks of summer training and up to forty-eight evening drill periods a year throughout his eight-year military obligation. This option was offered partly to maintain the strength of the Guard, but partly to reduce the surplus in the manpower pool. It was in any event an option freely offered by the government, and to call those who availed themselves of it "draft dodgers," as Defense officials often did, seemed hardly just. In 1955 the principle was extended to the reserves as a whole.

The bill proposed to meet the need for a genuinely ready reserve by requiring varying periods of "drilling" reserve service from all those passing out of the active forces at the expiry of their terms. This would doubtless have met all real requirements for trained reserve personnel. But the imposition of this onerous additional burden on those who had volunteered or been drafted for active service would only heighten the glaring injustice of an obligatory system which threatened to leave large numbers altogether free of any military service at all. Provision was consequently made for receiving up to 250,000 young men a year as enlistees directly into the Federal reserve. They would be given six months' active duty training and

thereafter serve out their military obligation in weekly and summer drill periods comparable to those of the National Guard. There was no real military requirement for this particularly useless form of reserve training; it was, rather, simply a device for insuring that there would be enough military places, active or reserve, to absorb substantially all those reaching military age and thus to maintain the universality of a system which, to be just and to survive, had to be universal in fact. The House Committee report explicitly stated that the new system would provide a "control factor" over the manpower pool.

What evolved out of these considerations was a manpower system which seemed primarily designed to insure that every American of military age would do some roughly equal form of military duty in peacetime, rather than to insure that the United States would in the event of war have available the kind, quality, and numbers of trained manpower that war would demand. The American male approaching military age was offered by his government a complicated series of options. He could volunteer for reserve officer training, contributing considerable time and energy to it during his college career and two or three years' active duty as an officer thereafter. He could volunteer as an enlisted man for four or three or two years' active duty. He could "volunteer for the draft," giving him a chance of getting his two years' obligatory service over with promptly, thus permitting an earlier return to his civilian vocation. He could wait to be drafted. While waiting, no professional or settled career was open to him, though there was an increasing chance (which the government could not conceal) that the draft call might never come. The bill proposed that under any of these options the individual would pass at the end of his active duty into part-time training with the Ready Reserve. After a combined total of six years in both active and Ready Reserve duty, he would pass into the Stand-By Reserve for the last two years of his obligation, required to take no further training and liable to recall only in event of a Congressionally declared war. If he took none of these options

he could enlist directly in the reserve (six months' active duty training and seven and a half years thereafter in an onerous course of part-time training). Or he could enlist in the National Guard, with much the same result except that the initial six months' active duty training was not originally exacted.

There were some variations of detail, not noted above, while the bill itself underwent considerable modification before enactment. In fairness to those who had already made choice of their military careers, the compulsory drilling reserve duty was required of none already in active service; it meant that this feature was automatically postponed for two years in the case of drafted men and for longer in case of the volunteers, from whom the most useful elements in the reserve system might be expected to come. Not until August 1957 were the first compulsory recruits for the drilling reserve available, and by that time the problem of what to do with them was more acute, by far, than it had seemed in 1955. The proposed compulsory assignment of time-expired men to the National Guard was dropped on the insistence of the Southern states; for this would have permitted, if not required, the Defense Department to assign Negroes in due proportion to the still lily-white Southern Guard units. One possible lever for justice and equity in our military manpower system was thus lost.

In the meanwhile, the creation of the mobilizable, trained, and ready reserve has depended on the influx of volunteer reservists, the least useful of material for such a structure. It may be said that in time, with the compulsory feature now first coming into operation, this situation would cure itself. But the necessity for balancing out the various options into a rough equality of sacrifice—not only in the interests of justice but in order to prevent undue competition between them—has distorted the military utility of the system in other ways. National Guard and volunteer reserve training had to be kept at eight years, since, with a much shorter period, these options might have become so attractive as to undermine volunteering for the regulars. But eight years is a much longer period than can be usefully spent in a form of part-time training that has never

yet succeeded in producing anything approaching combat-ready formations (one excepts a few specialized air, anti-aircraft, and technical units) on the approach of war.

On the other hand, the three- or four-year enlistments of the regular forces are too short to produce the technically expert personnel required in modern war. They cannot be lengthened, however, so long as the draft term is for two years only; otherwise, service under the draft would become too attractive, and volunteering would fade. The two-year draft term is militarily unsatisfactory. Too short to produce the requisite highly-trained personnel, it is too long for instilling the kind of basic training with some rudimentary specialist education which is all the average two-year man gets out of it. Much of the two-year man's time comes close to sheer waste. But the two-year term is now popularly accepted, and it is hard to change it. If shortened, it would again imperil the long-term volunteering on which the backbone of the services is built; if lengthened, it would threaten the whole system with being swamped in the rising manpower pool with which it even now cannot keep up.

THE PROBLEM CHANGES

The manpower system was thus thrust into a curious form of calculation much more like those of the economists than those of the personnel manager. The problems were those of supply and demand, the manipulation of human responses rather than the utilization of human resources. The solutions arrived at in 1955 had their defects, from the military no less than from the human point of view, but, under two assumptions then tacitly accepted, it may be that no better solutions could have been devised.

These two assumptions were: first, that the problem was to prepare the United States for a more timely repetition of a massive general mobilization on the Second World War pattern; and second, that to do this would require much larger

regular, standing military forces in peacetime than could be obtained without the spur of the compulsory draft and the universal military obligation upon which it rests. Both assumptions have since come increasingly under challenge.

The general introduction of nuclear weapons into tactical as well as strategic warfare—in part a response to the pressures for economy in combat manpower—has changed our concepts of war and of the requirements of a modern peacetime military establishment. No one knows what a future war would be like —or even whether there will ever be one on a major, global scale —but it seems most improbable that it could call again, as in 1917 and 1942, for a maximum mobilization of infantry or armored divisions as the basic instruments. If we ever mobilized the thirty-seven infantry and armored reserve divisions envisaged by the 1955 Reserve Act it seems most unlikely that we could transport or supply them over railways, through ports, and across beaches smoldering and radioactive from the nuclear fires. The ground soldier is thought of today principally as an instrument for limited or "brush-fire" wars; as such, he is scarcely any longer a ground soldier, but must be air-transportable, which limits his numbers severely. Military men now pretty generally believe that any major war will have to be fought to the end with whatever was ready at the beginning—and that means combat-ready—and even those who foresee a period of what the British have called "broken-backed" war, after the great bombs have all been expended, do not foresee that it could utilize the big and massively equipped divisions, with their exorbitant logistic demands, of the two world wars. Even if we should again be required to mobilize great masses of manpower, comparable to the 15,000,000 raised in 1941-'45, most of them would have to be trained to complex technical skills not usually acquirable from the kind of training one gets in boot camp or in National Guard and reserve divisions.

Meanwhile, under the relentless pressures for economy, the Ready Reserve and its training tend increasingly to lose what little realism they ever had. Existing reserve units have been cancelled; it is impossible to provide armories and weapons for

the expansion of the reserve which was to result from the 1955 act. There is no longer enough room for ROTC graduates; increasingly, the active duty terms to which they were obligated have had to be curtailed or eliminated. This adds to the imbalance of the system. While some men are relieved of duty, others are compelled to waste long periods of their time in training of little use to the nation or to themselves. At the same time, the dwindling draft calls, consequent on the continuing reduction in active strengths, leave more and more young men to escape the call altogether, even though the unfilled obligation hangs over their heads and their careers.

Taken as a whole, it may be said that the universal military obligation and the manpower system which has been built around it fails to meet the real requirements of national defense today, is inefficient in fulfilling the supposed requirements, and is increasingly unjust and discriminatory in its operation. It thus fails all three of the tests suggested in the introductory section of this paper. But on the second of the above assumptions—that we must maintain active forces larger than can be supplied by volunteering alone—there seems no good alternative. If we cannot relinquish the draft, then we cannot relinquish the universal obligation, and a universal obligation, if it exacts duty from some, must try to exact it from all. Some such manpower structure as that established in 1955 is the unavoidable result.

But the necessity for continuing the draft has been directly challenged, notably by Ralph J. Cordiner, president of General Electric, who headed a special committee of the Defense Department on the military pay structure, and who insists that if the committee recommendations were adopted it would be possible to reduce the active forces by a further 10 per cent and abolish the draft. What this implies is a fundamental reconstruction of the military system itself, its conversion to a long-service, highly-trained professional force, free to take only those men whom it really needs and can use in genuine military duty, free to design a reserve system which will meet the actual requirements, and no more than the actual requirements.

A REDESIGN OF THE MILITARY SYSTEM

Many Defense Department officials question the Cordiner conclusions, though most military men would doubtless like to return to a professional, long-service (and better paid) volunteer system if it could be done. To do it, however, would certainly call for more than a revision of pay scales and the elimination of military personnel from the many civilian-type jobs that are now performed by men in uniform. It would seem, in the first instance, to call for a firm military determination that it is no longer necessary to consider or plan for a Second World War type of military and industrial mobilization. The actual military requirements of the next twenty years would seem to include: a strategic air force, powerful enough and sufficiently backed by air defenses to deter the outbreak of any major war; relatively small but highly trained and elaborately equipped conventional forces, supported by comparatively small reserves, also highly skilled, to fight such limited and local wars as cannot be avoided; a disaster relief system, manned and trained for its task, to deal so far as may be possible with the consequences if the deterrent fails to deter. But unless military opinion comes to have full confidence that this is correct, it will be very difficult to redesign the existing military structure.

A fundamental re-design would also require a widespread change in popular attitudes toward military service. We are still deeply imbued with the idea that the man entering military service is offering himself as a young champion who will face death on the battlefield to preserve the lives, liberties, and comforts of the vast civilian majority; and, while we have the right to compel him to do so, we cannot exact so great a sacrifice from one youth without requiring it of all. But this overlooks the realities of today. Peacetime military service is, except in a few branches, no more hazardous than civil life. Even in the Second War civilian workers in war industries or inhabitants of large cities in the combat zones often withstood more hazards than many in uniform. The large "tails" of administrative and service troops which the combat forces dragged behind them,

the great numbers of administrative posts of a basically civilian character which kept uniformed personnel far from any war zones, were even then tending to make military service more civilian in character just as civilian service was becoming more military. If we ever do see a nuclear strategic war, the civil population will bear the brunt, and the man in uniform may well be in the least hazardous position of any. In terms of a major war, the hazards imposed on men who are now, as trainees or reservists, subject to call seem hardly greater than those accepted by all. This would not be true in the event of another Korean operation, though of all those liable to call the chances of actually reaching combat would not really be very great. Some forms of peacetime military service, such as flight training, parachute jumping, and other activities, are considerably more hazardous than are most civilian occupations; and if we seriously redesigned our forces on the principle that any future military action would have to be concluded with what was combat-ready at the beginning the men in the active forces would of course be exposed to a special risk. But so are those in many other dangerous trades.

It might be found that if the nation revised its estimates of what kind and size of military force was actually required by the conditions of today; if it revised its attitude toward military service to accord more with the real hazards of war; if it then gave to military service the special dignity and recognition of a profession, and put more meaning and reality into the military training, it might be possible to secure from volunteering all the men really required. We could then rely on longer service terms, save the heavy costs of repeatedly training new men to meet the turnover, improve the efficiency of the active forces, and avoid wasting the time and talents of the others. If a reserve were needed, it could be built up from the requisite technicians and specialists without compelling them to go through long periods of infantry training.

The question is one on which we must doubtless look to the professional soldiers for decisive answer. We may, however,

insist that at least they study it with greater imagination and greater earnestness than they have yet given to it. They are not unaware of the problem—indeed, they cannot escape it, since both the draft and reserve acts terminate in mid-1959, and so must be reviewed next year. But we cannot expect the military to solve the problem unless the popular mind, also, is freed from old traditions and old military concepts not really applicable to the situation before us.

THE CONTROL OF SEDITION

In May 1930 the House of Representatives established a special committee under Representative Hamilton Fish to "investigate Communist propaganda in the United States and particularly in our educational institutions." Eight years later it established the famous Dies Committee with a mandate to investigate "the extent, character and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States," the "diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda" of both domestic and foreign origin, and "all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

These investigations were the forerunners of a great mass of governmental measures – investigations, executive orders, regulations, statutes, and court decisions–directed toward the defense of our free society from the dangers of sedition and subversion. Not since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 had the Federal government moved in peacetime against sedition as such; never had it moved in such varied ways and on so great a scale. Different as they were, the formidable measures which resulted shared a common characteristic. Although they were justified, like the 1798 enactments, as essential to the defense of the country against *acts* of treason, espionage, sabotage, violent revolution, and the treacherous influencing of policy in the interests of a hostile foreign power, the method of defense was not to suppress such acts themselves but rather the faiths, political beliefs, and utterances from which the acts were believed to result.

The same principle underlies all the great group of measures here considered. Since, it is argued, dangerous consequences of a belief in Communism are difficult to foresee and avert, effective defense requires that the teaching and advocacy of Communism itself be suppressed. Since espionage is not easily detected and prevented, a successful defense against it requires the exposure of those who may hold or might come to hold pro-Communist loyalties, such persons being considered the most probable source of Soviet espionage agents. Since it is the Communist political faith which appears to be the root of the apprehended evils, the faith itself must be extirpated, not only by exposing but by heavily penalizing those who may be "guilty" of entertaining it. It is this common characteristic of attacking faith, belief, and utterance which makes all these properly anti-sedition measures. Since Hamilton Fish started out to investigate Communist "propaganda" with a view to legislating its suppression (a subject on which Congress is supposed to make "no law" and made none at the time) they have grown into a colossal system for the control of sedition, at almost every point at variance with the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution.

THE BUILDING OF THE DEFENSES

A brief summary of the process may better indicate its significance. From 1938 onward the Dies Committee devoted its main efforts to exposing Communists, or supposed Communists and Communist sympathizers, in the Federal government. The first echo of the old Alien Acts came later in the same year, when the McCormack Act decreed that anyone who served as an agent of a foreign principal must register with the Secretary of State. In 1939 the Hatch Act (originally adopted to debar Federal employees from partisan political activity) was amended to forbid government workers belonging to any organization "which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government." In the same year a proviso was added to the Emergency Relief Act forbidding the payment of relief to any one advocating violent overthrow. It was the first of the riders which were subsequently added to every appropriation bill, forbidding the use of the funds to pay those advocating violent overthrow and making it a felony for such persons to accept such wages or salaries. Since the '40's it has thus in effect been unlawful for a Communist or pro-Communist to have a place on the Federal payroll.

Tensions already high were greatly increased with the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, as a result of a temporary alliance between the Soviet and the Nazi dictatorships. Our first explicit peacetime sedition act in nearly a century and a half came with the Smith Act of 1940. True to its prototypes, it was actually both an alien and a sedition act. It provided for the registration and fingerprinting of all aliens; it decreed the deportation of any alien who at any time after entering the country had advocated violent overthrow; finally, it made it a criminal offense to teach and advocate, or to conspire to teach and advocate, or to have membership in a party which taught or advocated, the violent overthrow of the government. These clauses, seemingly in direct violation of the Constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly, were not to meet ultimate court test for another eight years—partly

because the Attorneys General of the time were reluctant to use them, mainly because, after June 1941, the Communists were aligned with the democracies, while after Pearl Harbor any Nazi seditions would have been only absurd. But the Smith Act represented a foundation stone in the great defenses against sedition which were to be erected with the reviving tensions of the cold war after 1945.

The requirements of military secrecy in wartime brought a considerable development of personnel security screening, not only of the military and of Federal government employees but of private employees in war plants and, in particular, the new and super-secret atomic energy industry. As early as 1942 the War Department instituted a strenuous, but generally voluntary, program for the "discharge of subversives from private plants of importance to Army procurement." By the end of the war the security officer, with his investigations into individual backgrounds, beliefs, and associations, was a familiar figure. His dossiers and fingerprint files were beginning to accumulate, but his efforts were not yet systematized on the grand scale later adopted. Other protections against subversion were developed as war measures. Few have since been willing to defend one of them, the mass evacuation from the West Coast of persons of Japanese ancestry; yet the principle behind it was later to be embedded in the Internal Security Act. The war was not yet over when the discovery of large numbers of classified papers (few, apparently, of much real security significance) in the office of the small magazine *Amerasia* awoke some interest in Communist espionage and in the seemingly subversive citizens who might supply its agents, but this was of no great popular concern at the time.

The onset of the cold war coincided, however, with two developments which were enormously to expand the popular demand for better defenses against sedition. One was the appearance of the staggering problem of the atomic bomb, the intense debates over a proper atomic policy, and the tremendous emphasis placed upon "keeping the secret from the Russians." The other was the revelation by Igor Gouzenko, the

defecting Soviet code clerk, of the existence of extensive Soviet espionage networks in Canada and the United States, largely staffed from natives recruited from the native Communist parties and study cells. With the conviction of the English nuclear physicist, Alan Nunn May, these nets were shown to have reached even to the periphery, at least, of the greatest and most jealously-guarded of all national secrets.

The defenses against sedition were rapidly strengthened. Other Congressional committees joined the House Un-American Activities Committee in its work of exposing Communists, pro-Communists, and suspected pro-Communists, not only in government service, but in the trades unions, the motion picture industry, the universities and schools, and in the press. The Atomic Energy Act of 1946, in making the most stringent provisions for secrecy, required the Atomic Energy Commission to establish a rigid screening of its own and its contractors' employees for "character, associations and loyalty." In 1947 President Truman promulgated the first formal loyalty program, requiring an investigation of the "loyalty" of all persons entering Federal civil employment and providing for the hearing of charges of disloyalty brought against any in the service. In the same year the Taft-Hartley Act required a non-Communist oath from officers of trades unions.

While the investigating committees had long been exposing suspected Communists in government, it was not until the summer of 1948 that the testimony of Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers brought to the public the first tangible evidence that, at one time at any rate, there had existed Communist cells within the government which had assisted Soviet espionage or been in a position improperly to influence government policy. This helped to awaken powerful support for the Mundt-Nixon bill, introduced by the Un-American Activities Committee earlier in the year. The Mundt-Nixon bill (not itself enacted, but largely incorporated in the Internal Security Act of 1950) adopted a rather new approach. In 1940 the Voorhis Act had sought to compel subversive organizations to register, to disclose their membership, and reveal their finances and

activities. While the Communist Party was the principal target, the word "Communism" was not used, and the act was of no effect. The Mundt-Nixon bill now boldly defined "Communist action" and "Communist front" organizations, required them to register and make disclosure, and empowered the Attorney General to see that they did so. The Communists would thus expose themselves, and render themselves subject to the various disabilities that had been or might be imposed upon "subversives." Reliance on the principle of disclosure was believed preferable to the "outlawry" of Communism, as well as less repugnant to the Constitution. In effect, Communists would be isolated from the rest of the community, making it possible to reduce them to a status of second-class citizenship without, it seemed, imperilling the liberties of the great non-Communist majority. To many this seemed a valid solution for the problem of how to control those who were exploiting our freedoms in order to destroy them, without in the process risking the destruction of the freedoms themselves.

To the President it did not seem a valid solution, and he believed that the Congressmen's passionate concern with the Communist menace was motivated largely by their partisan desire to defeat him in the 1948 election. When the Un-American Activities Committee began to develop the case against Alger Hiss in the latter part of 1948, the President dismissed the matter as a partisan "red herring." But the popular pressures that had been generated forced the Administration into a competitive demonstration of its own ability to deal with Communism in its own way. It took up the Smith Act as its weapon, securing the indictment of the twelve principal leaders of the American Communist party for criminally conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government. The trial began in January 1949 and continued through the next ten months—an extraordinary proceeding, with its elaborate review of Communist literature and teaching, its revelation of some of the paid informers with whom the FBI had been infiltrating the Communist apparatus, its testimony as to the "Esopian" language and clandestine rituals of the Communists, and its dem-

onstration, by the excesses of defense counsel and the organized mobs in the streets, of the extent to which the Communists were capable of going in exploiting the liberties guaranteed to them by the Constitution to which they were avowedly opposed.

The jury finally determined that the teaching and advocacy of Communism was equivalent to the teaching and advocacy of violent overthrow and therefore a criminal sedition. Meanwhile the trials of Alger Hiss, on what amounted to a charge of Soviet espionage, were going on; while the witnesses before the committees were more voluble than ever. From the breaking of the Hiss case, according to one writer, "indignation grew with each month. Congressional committees, loyalty boards and the FBI began to track down present [a questionable adjective] and past members of Soviet apparats, most of them American citizens." Alger Hiss was convicted in January 1950; in February Senator Joseph R. McCarthy opened his celebrated campaign against subversion by announcing that there were "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department; in March there came the most sensational of all the espionage disclosures with the confession of Klaus Fuchs, the high-ranking nuclear physicist who had allegedly been a Communist in Germany. And at the end of June there came the onslaught on Korea.

The defenses against sedition were raised higher still. In August 1950 Public Law 733 granted the power of summary dismissal on national security grounds to the State Department, the military departments, and other sensitive agencies. The Magnuson Act required security clearance for all merchant seamen and many longshoremen. And the Internal Security (or McCarran) Act consolidated the provisions of the Mundt-Nixon bill with other proposed measures into one comprehensive measure for the control of, explicitly, Communist sedition. It opened with a finding of fact and necessity, declaring the existence of a "world Communist movement" directed and controlled by "the Communist dictatorship of a foreign country"; and declaring that the Communist organization in the United States was a part of this movement and as such presented "a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and to the

existence of free American institutions." It went on to define with all the precision possible what constituted "Communist action" and "Communist front" organizations; it established a Subversive Activities Control Board to determine what groups came within the definitions, and required such groups to register with the Attorney General and make full disclosure of their officers, members, and activities. It imposed extensive disabilities on members of Communist organizations, as members, debarring them from the receipt of passports, denying them the right to non-elective office or employment under the United States or in a "defense facility," requiring them to label all publications sent to two or more persons through the mails or over the air. The authors of the act (passed over Presidential veto) did all they could to ensure its constitutionality; the well-founded doubt on this score is yet to be resolved by the Supreme Court and the lengthy processes of appeal have left the act so far ineffective.

On the other hand, the Court in 1951 (the Korean War was still near its height) upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act under the First Amendment. In so doing it accepted a certain modification of the doctrine of "clear and present danger." It was no longer the imminence of the peril of seditious speech which justified the suppression, but its probability. It was only too obvious that the danger of violent overthrow to be apprehended from the teachings of the tiny handful of remaining Communists was exceedingly remote, but the majority held that the evil would be so grave if it ever resulted, and the result was at least sufficiently probable in the light of Communist infiltrations elsewhere, as to authorize the ban. It was also in 1951 that the President was led to revise his loyalty order. It was no longer necessary to establish reasonable grounds to believe a man disloyal in order to exclude him from government service; it was enough to establish reasonable doubt that he was loyal.

With this, the major legal defenses against sedition and subversion were more or less complete. Subsequent expansions of the anti-sedition system were less matters of law or principle than of methods, administration, and popular attitudes. The savagery with which the McCarthy and other Congressional committees were to pursue Communists, pro-Communists, and those allegedly "soft" on Communism in government and elsewhere, and the patience with which they dug back into an often rather remote past to prove the existence and balefulness of Communist conspiracy, greatly heightened the impact of the anti-sedition defenses upon those affected by them. The trial of the Rosenbergs in the spring of 1951 on charges of atomic espionage, resulting in their conviction and subsequent execution, drew a sensational picture of appalling perils to be apprehended from Soviet espionage based on conspiratorial Communism. It fed the excesses of those who were exploiting "the Communist issue" for personal or partisan advantage. It put heavy pressures on loyalty boards and reviewing officials, leading them to an illogical and at times grotesque severity in their decisions. Enflamed popular opinion tended more and more to distort what was designed as a system for arriving at a rational estimate of an individual's loyalty and reliability into a system simply for ascertaining, in a fairly routine way, whether he was or ever had been in any way connected with Communism. Numerous state and local enactments were added to the Federal measures; teachers had to be screened for security, licenses to practice piano-tuning and other innocuous occupations were withheld on "security" grounds. The American Bar Association was vigorously to argue the question whether a lawyer, as an officer of the court, should be disbarred for Communist inclinations or associations; and various attempts at formal disbarment on these grounds were made, although so far they have been defeated in the courts.

In 1953 the Eisenhower Administration introduced important modifications in the Federal personnel security system and

other defenses against subversion, but these did not alter the structure in principle nor, at the beginning, markedly in practice. In the spring of 1954, when the televised Army-McCarthy hearings initiated the first shift in popular attitudes and reactions, the defenses against subversion and sedition stood at their greatest height. The nation had unquestionably accepted the conviction, to which the bi-partisan Commission on Government Security (the Wright Commission) still clung in mid-1957:

> *That, in the final analysis, with rare exceptions, the real danger to the nation from this source ["security risks"] lies with that small coterie of individuals who are now or may later be disloyal to the United States. A careful review of our record of infamy to date – the Hiss, Remington, Greenglass, Rosenberg, Gold, White and Silvermaster cases, and many others—makes it clear that their perfidy can be traced to a fundamental allegiance to another cause, principally communism, and a deep-seated disloyalty, or lack of loyalty to the United States.*

It had become unlawful to conspire to teach or advocate Communism, and scores of party officials had served jail sentences or were on trial for having committed this crime. No subversive alien could be admitted to the country, and any resident alien with subversive associations or beliefs was subject to deportation. None suspected of subversive belief could in practice secure passports for foreign travel. Officers of trades unions making use of the National Labor Relations Board facilities were required to swear that they were not Communists, under penalties for perjury (which were in fact adjudged against several) if it could be shown that they had sworn falsely to their beliefs.* (The measure was relatively ineffective. Fears of

*Throughout this discussion there has been no attempt to confine the terminology within its strict legal meaning. It is immaterial for present purposes that union officers are technically required to swear to their status rather than to their beliefs; that to be a Communist is not in law a crime; that a security hearing is not a trial at law, or that dismissal from one's job is not a legal penalty. The effort is to avoid such technical issues in order to discuss these problems in terms of the broad concepts of right and justice which seem applicable to them.

Communist-led unions were pretty well met, by other than governmental action, when in 1950 the CIO itself expelled such unions, setting up rival unions of its own in competition with the most important of them; but the Communist Control Act of 1954 still sought to plug this hole in the anti-Communist dykes by adding a definition of "Communist-infiltrated" organizations to those of "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" groups, and barring "infiltrated" labor unions from NLRB privileges.)

Some ten or fifteen million Americans in the armed services, in Federal civil employment, in defense plants, and in many forms of state and local employment were required to submit to security screening. For the vast majority this amounted to taking a kind of test oath, the Personnel Security Questionnaire or "PSQ," swearing, in effect, that they were not subversive in their beliefs and had no subversive associations. If they revealed such associations or beliefs they were dismissed, or refused initial employment or (if in the armed forces) confined to trivial and punitive duties. If they falsely concealed them they were liable to prosecution for perjury or at least dismissal for misrepresentation. In the case of a comparative few in sensitive positions it meant intensive, and at times embarrassing, investigation into all their past lives and associations; for all, it meant the establishment at the least of files and fingerprints, by which they could be followed throughout their lives and to which any "derogatory information" that might ever develop against them could be added. Merchant seamen and many port workers were under the special disability that in order to practice their trade they had to have security clearance from the Coast Guard, even though they were in wholly private employment, unconnected with classified defense contracts.

It was generally accepted that no Communist could be a school or university teacher; and teachers, with many other state or local officers, were widely required to take loyalty oaths in forms similar to those of the PSQ's. Anyone, from any walk of life, suspected of present or past association with or sympathy for Communism, might be haled before a Congressional investigating committee and subjected to hostile questioning about his

beliefs, utterances, and associations. If he confessed to a taint of Communism the usual result was immediate dismissal from his employment, whether public or private, unless, by "cooperating" with the committee, he demonstrated the fullness of his recantation. If he took refuge in the Fifth Amendment, he was safe from prosecution, but convicted himself in the public mind of still bearing the taint, and ordinarily the punishment—loss of his job—was the same. Nor does this exhaust the list of disabilities, in law or in public esteem, laid upon Communists, ex-Communists, persons suspected of a sympathy for Communism, by reason not of their acts but of their supposed beliefs.

FREEDOM AND SEDITION

Such, in brief, were the defenses against sedition and subversion which by 1954 had been erected in the United States. Were they compatible with the requirements of freedom and justice under contemporary world conditions? In attempting an answer one faces not one but two basic issues. The first is general and theoretical: Can a free society enforce such a proscription of a belief, as such, without peril to its freedom? Let it be assumed that the whole system for the suppression of Communists and Communism operates accurately, that all caught in its toils really are Communists at heart, loyal to the faith and to the domestic and international organizations which embody it, as, indeed, a great many unquestionably are. Is such a proscription of belief allowable? Thomas Jefferson, when he drafted the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, thought not:

> *To suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the possession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy . . . Truth is great and will prevail if left to herself . . . errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.*

Those who today take the contrary view usually do so on the ground that it is not error which they wish to combat but the conspiracies which it engenders, as Sidney Hook put it in a catchy title: "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No." Yet virtually all heresies – from the time, if one likes, of the early Christian martyrs—assume some conspiratorial characteristics, and virtually all efforts to suppress heresy have been justified on the ground that it is the conspiracy, not the error, which is the object of the repression. Jesuit missionaries in the England of the Tudors and the Stuarts were hounded primarily as secret agents of a foreign power rather than on the ground that their teachings were erroneous. Sometimes the conspiracies are quite real—no one can deny that the Catholic plotters under Guy Fawkes introduced actual barrels of gunpowder into the cellar of the House of Commons and came near to destroying the Protestant King and Commons together. Sometimes they are fictions of overheated imagination, like Titus Oates' fantastic allegations, or like the conspiracies to commit murder and child sacrifice described in the celebrated anti-Semitic forgery, "The Protocols of Zion." Sometimes, as seems to have been the case with the heretical "deviations" so savagely suppressed by Stalin in the '30's, real elements of dangerous conspiracy are mingled with the febrile and fearsome inventions of the tyrants and their secret police. The Hook principle, "Conspiracy, No," since it has been invoked in nearly every heresy hunt in history, is of little use in answering the theoretical question.

The answer returned by the Supreme Court, in its various free speech decisions, turns upon the reality and urgency of the perils, whether of persuasion or of conspiracy, actually presented by the heretical or seditious belief. A free society may, indeed must, defend itself from genuine dangers arising from seditious teachings and disloyal beliefs. Whether the danger is that the seditious teaching will inflame enough minds to make possible a violent overthrow of our institutions by mob action, or whether it is that the disloyal faith will engender a dangerous infiltration of these institutions to distort their purposes and penetrate their secrets in the interests of a foreign

power, makes no difference. There is quite obviously not the slightest present danger of violent overthrow as a result of the educational efforts of the Communist party or its schools and missionaries, yet the Court found that the party's conspiratorial activities were at least so dangerous that Congress could not, despite the First Amendment, be denied power to legislate against them by prohibiting (in the Smith Act) the teaching and advocacy of the Communist belief.

The true theoretical argument revolves, then, around the reality of the peril—not the peril presented by specific Communist spies, saboteurs, or infiltrators, but the peril presented by the holding and teaching of the belief which presumably incites such persons to their acts. There is no question that this danger has been enormously exaggerated in the public mind by many forces, operating from many motives. The natural fears of the society as a whole engendered by a difficult and awesome international situation are by no means a complete explanation; these fears have received powerful reinforcement and exploitation from the pressures of personal ambition and partisan fury, from the tendency of the security officers and secret police to magnify their accomplishments and justify their function in society, from the reactions of those who see in Communism less a threat to the free society as a whole than to their own positions of power or profit, from the natural, if irrational, hatred which most men feel toward any heretical or non-conformist challenge. The dangers have been grossly exaggerated. Yet there is also little doubt that they are in some measure real. They are doubtless real enough to authorize some departure from the spirit of the First Amendment and the Jeffersonian principle that the civil authority may not "intrude his powers into the field of opinion." They are hardly real enough to authorize all the departures of the past few years. This has recently been increasingly recognized in court decisions and popular reactions. Yet the problem of just where and how to draw the dividing line remains; it is probably the most basic of all the issues which divide the devoted "anti-Communists" from the devoted "libertarians."

In an interview a couple of years ago the Attorney General of the United States adopted the extreme position that "it took only one Hiss, one Remington, one Coplon to be in a position to do incalculable harm," and in replying to a question disagreed with the proposition that "it is better that ten loyalty risks stay in the government than that one innocent man be dismissed." This seemed to him a "fanatical" attitude, which "of course would make it impossible to maintain an organized society." The nation's chief law-enforcing officer could not so violently have reversed the principle that it is better that the guilty should escape than that the innocent should suffer except on a very high estimate of the perils of sedition—an estimate for which there is no support. It has never been shown that the harm done by Hiss, Remington, and Coplon put together even approached the "incalculable"; the actual damage they did to the security of the nation seems at the most to have been of a very modest sort.

The episode well illustrates the unsatisfactory nature of the debate over the reality of the subversive peril. The "anti-Communists" emphasize the fact that Communists or crypto-Communists have been the chief actors in most (not all) of the actual espionage cases that have arisen since the war. They emphasize the Allis-Chalmers strike, during the period of the Stalinazi pact, one fairly clear case in which a Communist-dominated union leadership utilized a strike in a war industry for political reasons and in support of Soviet policy. They emphasize the *potential* threat of sabotage represented by Communists with access to war-vital industry. They emphasize the access to policy-making councils enjoyed by the known Communist cells in government between the '30's and the late '40's, and they strive to establish instances in which this access to policy-making was used to urge pro-Soviet policies.

Their opponents may grant that these Communist cells did use their positions to bring other Communists into office, but will point to the extremely tenuous nature of the proof that they succeeded in treasonably influencing policy. They point out that since the beginning of the Second War there has been

no known case of sabotage, and that there was no Communist sabotage even during the Korean War period. They may grant that Communist domination of union leadership has introduced a troublesome, irritating, and clandestine element into domestic labor relations, but will argue that it has represented no peril to the national security and has not even advanced the Communist ideology, since Communist leadership has rarely converted any large body of the union rank and file. And they point out that the instances of espionage which have come to light have been very few and, with perhaps the single exception of the Fuchs-Rosenberg atomic espionage, have done only the most minor damage, at the most, to the security of the state.

The theoretic issue over the suppression of sedition as such must turn primarily on the estimate of the dangers which sedition presents; and this estimate, depending so largely on passionate emotions, preconceptions, misunderstandings of the politico-military process, with a fair amount of outright mythology present on both sides of the debate, is not easily arrived at. A tentative conclusion is that, where the perils are real, the free society is warranted in proceeding against subversion as such; it is justified in isolating a dangerous sedition and adopting against it methods which it may not use against the non-seditious or loyal members of the free community. The subversives who, like the Communist writers who once stormed the Un-American Activities Committee, flaunting their constitutional rights as a means of concealing their own clandestine commitment to the destruction of those rights, need not as a matter of principle be granted all the immunities enjoyed by free men. But if this principle be accepted, it must at the same time be recognized as one peculiarly open to abuse; it cannot be applied in the suppression of any or every dissentient or "disloyal" political faith; it can safely be invoked only where the dangers to be apprehended from the sedition appear, under as calm, unbiased, and realistic an analysis as is possible, to be real, grave, and "present" dangers.

The second basic issue, or set of issues, to be considered is of a different kind. The foregoing has been assuming an ideal

anti-sedition system, operating perfectly within its own assumptions, identifying, controlling, and penalizing only those who really hold the seditious faith. But granting for the sake of argument that it is both necessary and legitimate to apply special disabilities and penalties to Communists, it cannot be legitimate to apply them to those who are not Communists at all. If the principle is allowable, justice clearly requires that the practice should accord with it. If pro-Communist believers are adjudged so treacherous, unreliable, and potentially dangerous as to warrant their exclusion, as a class, from full participation in the affairs and privileges of the community, this certainly does not warrant the similar exclusion of many who are in no way pro-Communist believers, as a result of suspicion, rumor, malice, or mistake. The second basic issue concerns the question of how far the anti-sedition system operates justly within its own premises.

It is important to distinguish the two issues, because they are usually inextricably confused in debate over such specific problems as the protections of the Fifth Amendment, the right of confrontation in security hearings, the right of the defense in criminal cases to examine the reports of FBI witnesses, and many similar issues of due process. In confronting such debates it is usually difficult to know (and the disputants usually do not seem to know themselves) whether the issue is over the rights of any citizen in defending himself from the charge of being a Communist or the right of a Communist not to be penalized or held blameworthy solely because of his Communism. The non-Communist position is: You may not invade my thoughts or require my testimony under oath in order to prove me guilty of Communism because with such methods too many mistakes are made. The Communist position is: You may not invade my thoughts or require my testimony in order to prove me guilty of Communism because Communism is no crime and you have no right to make it so in either law or common practice. These are quite different positions.

An attempt has been made to deal with the second in the preceding discussion of the proscription by a free society of

sedition as such; the conclusion was that the Communist's position cannot be sustained if the perils of the sedition are sufficiently grave. But this does not affect the validity of the first position. It is, of course, well recognized that any requirement of due process intended to protect an accused who is innocent may (and frequently does) operate to protect the guilty as well. In insisting that our defenses against subversive belief should not operate to entangle those who are innocent of subversion, we must inevitably ease to some extent the path of those who are guilty of it. But there is an important difference between protecting the individual wrongfully charged with what we consider to be a crime and protecting the individual rightly charged with what we do not believe to be criminal.

Our second basic issue, then, concerns the justice with which the anti-sedition system as a whole operates against the evils which it apprehends without invading the liberties of those not party to the evils. No war against disloyalty, sedition, or heresy can be carried on without the use of self-incrimination, condemnation by association, and tests for utterance or for received opinions and reading matter, since disloyalty or sedition are matters of the inner mind and emotions, and these are accessible to the investigator in no other way. If it is believed that the safety of the state requires that we ascertain whether a man is a heretic, or schismatic, or disloyal, or a Communist, these are the methods which must be employed. They are also methods which the experience of some two or three centuries of struggle had taught the liberal rationalists of the late Eighteenth Century to regard as abhorrent and incompatible with free popular government. Whether a government of free men ought to try and condemn for opinions of ill tendency was a question to which more than one answer might be returned; but there could be no doubt as to the cruel mistakes and miscarriages of justice which resulted whenever it sought to do so.

The origin of the privilege against self-incrimination is often ascribed to the desire to prevent physical torture. But even in the later Eighteenth Century people were not particu-

larly sensitive to torture. The objection to torture was not the agonies it inflicted but the unreliability of the evidence which it elicited. The development of the privilege in Anglo-Saxon law goes back to the struggles in Tudor times over the power of the ecclesiastical courts to try and punish for heresies and other errors; in exercising these powers they employed the "oath *ex-officio,*" requiring (like a modern "PSQ") that the suspect swear to his innocence, and then answer fully and truthfully all subsequent questions put to him. The result was not to elicit the truth, since the investigation was into the intangibles of belief, but to make it easy to entrap the subject into inconsistencies, apparent perjuries, and confessions of guilt as meaningless (although just as fatal to the defendant) as those with which the Russian treason trials of recent times have made us familiar.

When men are, in effect, tried for seditious belief (however the charge may be worded, or whatever the extra-judicial character of the tribunal or the punishments imposed), conviction can be obtained only by forcing them to incriminate or entrap themselves. A striking demonstration of the meaning of the ancient oath *ex-officio* (and of the reason for the privilege against self-incrimination which resulted from it) was provided by the Lattimore case in 1952, perhaps the one most extraordinary episode in the war upon subversion.

Lattimore was called before the McCarran Internal Security Subcommittee. He swore to his innocence at the outset—that he was not and never had been a Communist, a sympathizer, or "any other kind of promoter of Communist interests." He was then subjected to rigorous examination under oath for no less than twelve days running—an examination into his writings, his editorial work, into long-past associations and events of suspicious character. It could not be proved that he was or had been a Communist. But the committee and the Department of Justice believed that enough had been amassed to indict him for perjury, on the ground that he had sworn falsely in his initial oath that he had never been a "sympathizer or promoter of Communist interests." Minor discrepancies or slips in his

testimony were made the ground for six further counts in the indictment—not because the alleged perjuries were significant in themselves, but because, if they could be established as perjuries, they would indicate an evasiveness which would support the main charge: that Lattimore had lied in swearing that he was not a Communist sympathizer.

The indictment was struck down by the District Court as being hopelessly "nebulous and indefinite . . . To probe the mind in a situation like this would give rise to nothing more than sheer speculation on the part of the prober," an opinion sustained by an 8-1 vote of the Court of Appeals. The remarkable fact here is not the quashing of the indictment but the inability not only of the McCarran Committee but of the Department of Justice to understand the logic behind it. The Senators and the government attorneys had convinced themselves that Lattimore *was* a Communist sympathizer and promoter of Communist interests; they quite sincerely believed that he had lied in denying this—as an ancient Grand Inquisitor would sincerely believe that an accused must be lying in his denials of having harbored heretical belief – and they still thought that he ought to be punished for the perjury, the only means of punishing him for his wicked tendencies. Lattimore was actually re-indicted (a slightly different wording being adopted for essentially the same charge) and even after the second indictment was struck down, the District Judge telling the prosecution bluntly that if it stood it would "make a sham of the Sixth Amendment," the Justice Department persisted (unsuccessfully) in trying to put him in jail.

"When the propriety of obnoxious or unorthodox views about government," as Justice Black said in his partially concurrent, partially dissenting opinion in the California Smith Act cases, "is in reality made the crucial issue, as it must be in cases of this kind, prejudice makes conviction inevitable." It was the impossibility of proving—in any meaningful sense—a charge of heretic or seditious belief, and the virtual certainty that process of this kind must run riot in persecutions, false confessions, mistaken condemnations, executions on mere suspicion or mob

excitement, which led the authors of the Constitution to their effort to bar all such process from American practice. This is probably the deepest root of the First, Fifth, and Sixth Amendments, of the narrow definition of treason, and of other guarantees of the original Constitution and the Bill of Rights. It was essential to the liberties of the free America these men were trying to construct that its citizens be free in speech, assembly, and belief, and that men not be tried for their private beliefs or thoughts, nor condemned for heresies or seditions, whether they actually entertained such heresies or not. By 1954 we had, in the name of the national defense, built a vast system for doing just this; and it was producing, in affairs like the Lattimore case or the extravagances of Senator McCarthy or in hundreds of other episodes, the results in folly and injustice which were to be expected.

THE COURTS INTERVENE

Controversy naturally arose; and it tended generally to follow two lines. Those who argued that the pursuit of sedition was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution were answered with the argument that it conformed to the letter. In seeding a man out of Federal employment because of past Communist association, the government was not trying and punishing him for his beliefs; it was simply weighing him and finding him wanting for confidential employment—something which any employer must have the right to do. And to those who argued that the weighing system was both unjust and inaccurate, introducing into large areas of American life the injustices and destructions of morale which must flow from any arbitrary and capricious control over access to the means of livelihood, the answer was that the perils were so great that the injustices would have to be accepted. One Hiss, as the Attorney-General put it, could do such "incalculable" harm that it was better to penalize ten non-Hisses than to let one potential Hiss slip through.

As to the first of these two types of argument, it had to be

admitted that the requirements of defense, as indeed the requirements of many other modern institutions, might well necessitate a departure from a strict construction of the Constitution; and that here the letter was generally sufficiently regarded. The second type of argument was, however, to open unexpected avenues toward a resolution of the problem. What really were these menaces against which such extreme protections had to be erected? It was when the public began to get a little bored with the perils of Communism, and when (one may infer) Federal judges began to ask themselves a little more seriously what really were the "clear and present dangers" in response to which so many departures from established concepts of freedom and due process had been authorized, that the issues began to sink to manageable proportions.

The upholding of the Smith Act in the *Dennis* case in 1951 represents both the high point in the judicial validation of the war on sedition and the high point of judicial fears as to the dangerous nature of Communist conspiracy. The *Bailey* case in the same year (decided by a tie vote in the Supreme Court without opinion) upheld the loyalty-security screening procedures, essentially on the ground that the international peril must outweigh the normal claims of fairness and justice to the individual. But within four years the courts were beginning to take a closer view, both of the perils and of the invasions of individual rights which the perils were advanced to justify. The first striking manifestation of this tendency was to come with the decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, in October, 1955, in *Parker vs. Lester*. The case involved certain West Coast seamen refused clearance by the Coast Guard as security risks, and thus debarred from the practice of their private trade, without adequate notice, adequate knowledge of the charges against them, or opportunity to confront hostile witnesses. "The whole question here," the court observed, "is whether the danger or possible danger to national security is of such character and magnitude that the ancient and generally accepted rights of notice and hearing envisioned by the Fifth Amendment may be denied to these seamen citizens."

The court recognized that the national safety might require the security screening of merchant seamen, but it insisted that the screening could be carried out under regulations that protected the individual's rights in respect to notice and an opportunity to be heard. "Such a system might make more work for the investigating officers and pose more difficulties," but if this involved any added peril to the national security it would be too slight to outweigh the rights of the individual. "The question is: Is this system of secret informers, whisperers and talebearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying to the citizen even a modicum of the protection traditionally associated with due process?" The court's answer was an emphatic negative.

Other court decisions, though seldom going so directly to the constitutional issue, began to look in the same direction. A series of manifestly unjust, even grotesque, security determinations coming to public notice resulted in a considerable improvement of personnel screening procedures and the regulations governing them. The State Department's power to deny passports without hearing was curbed. The defenses against sedition were made to work less unjustly in practice; but such measures tended to strengthen, rather than weaken, the basic assumption that sedition, as such, was a peril against which defenses must be maintained. The more accurately the system operated to identify and disqualify only those who were really seditionists—that is to say, Communists—the more firmly did the necessity and desirability of suppressing sedition become embedded in the popular mind and in official practice. The examination into belief, self-incrimination, punishment for associations became more acceptable as the system was modified to ensure that these sanctions would be applied only against Communist believers. The many who were outraged when Midshipman Landy was denied a reserve commission because he had continued to associate with his mother, who had once been a Communist, would only have applauded if there had been some real showing that his associations indicated a pro-Communist bias on his part. If the practice was being improved, the theory

of the defenses against sedition remained unimpaired.

It was only when majorities on the Supreme Court (supported by increasingly large segments of public opinion) began to ask what, actually, were the perils of sedition as such, that the defenses against sedition began to be restrained more nearly within the spirit of the Bill of Rights. In *Cole v. Young* (June 1956) the court held, in effect, that government employees could not be dismissed as security risks unless they were in a position to endanger the national security. The decision was technical—on the ground that the statute on which the Eisenhower Executive Order setting up the Federal personnel security system was based did not authorize the extension of the system to all Federal employees—but the underlying reasoning was both obvious and persuasive. The subject in this case had been a Federal meat inspector, who could not, except in the wildest flight of fancy, have imperilled the national security any more than almost any one of his 160 million fellow-citizens. The idea that dismissing this man from his Federal employment was any real contribution to the safety of the state was so absurd that it collapsed of its own weight. The professional anti-seditionists in Congress argued that the court, in confining security dismissals to sensitive positions only, was imperilling the national security; but nothing has yet come of their legislative proposals to restore full statutory authority to the Eisenhower system. The decision, according to Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, had the effect of opening the entire government "to the infiltration of our mortal enemies." But in the year which has since elapsed no one has shown that it has had the slightest effect upon the security of the state.

The court was to continue with a series of striking decisions, all directed toward a reduction of the defenses to accord more appropriately with the dangers against which they had been erected. In the *Nelson* case (April 1956) it had already struck down the numerous state sedition statutes on the ground that the field had been pre-empted by Federal legislation. Thirty-five state attorneys-general declared that it was "dan-

gerous to public safety" to "leave the states impotent to regulate acts of sedition or subversion occurring within state borders," but no evidences of the danger have as yet appeared. In *Slochower* (April 1956) it had held that New York could not constitutionally discharge a school teacher solely because he had used his constitutional privilege to plead the Fifth Amendment. In the *Schware* and *Konigsberg* cases (May 1957) it denied a state's power to exclude a man from admission to the bar on the ground of Communist association. In *Witkovitch* it held that an alien under order of deportation as a Communist, but remaining in the United States under supervision of the Attorney General because his own country would not receive him, was not compelled to answer questions about his Communist activities. The majority of the court turned a deaf ear to the government's argument that this would "jeopardize internal security."

In June 1957 the Supreme Court handed down a series of remarkable decisions, all tending to restrict the war against sedition within narrower limits. The *Sweezy* case involved a New Hampshire university professor convicted of contempt for refusing to answer questions by the state attorney general about his teaching, his political opinions and associations. Chief Justice Warren's opinion, setting aside the conviction, was an eloquent reassertion of the rights of academic freedom as against the demands of anti-Communist investigators: "We believe that there unquestionably was an invasion of petitioner's liberties in the areas of academic freedom and political expression—areas in which government should be extremely reticent to tread."

This decision was followed by *Watkins,* in which the Court set aside the contempt conviction of a man who, while freely disclosing his own past Communist associations to the Un-American Activities Committee, had refused to name past associates whom he believed to be no longer Communists. The decision was again on narrowly technical grounds. Under the statute, for contempt to arise the question which the witness refuses to answer must be "pertinent" to the purposes of the investigation. The Court held that the vagueness of the Un-

American Activities Committee's mandate and its failure clearly to explain its purpose made it impossible for Watkins to determine whether the questions were pertinent and consequently to know whether, in refusing to answer them, he was committing a contempt or not. The Chief Justice's opinion did not in terms deny the committee's right to use the investigatory power for the purposes of exposing Communists or to demand that witnesses inform upon long-past associates; but it was filled with eloquent dicta on the powers of investigation into a witness's "beliefs, expressions and associations" which suggested that the Court would tend to draw closely the limits upon this type of Congressional enquiry.

On the same day the Court ordered the acquittal of five defendants and a new trial for nine others convicted in California under the Smith Act for conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government. While sustaining its 1951 decision, in the *Dennis* case, as to the constitutionality of the statute, it construed the statute itself in a way which came as close to reversing *Dennis* as was possible without actually doing so. The Court rejected the assumption, universal since *Dennis,* that the teaching and advocacy of Communism was tantamount to teaching violent overthrow and had therefore been made criminal under the act. The opinion (by Justice Harlan) held that the mere teaching of Communism, or the teaching of violent overthrow itself, "as an abstract doctrine" was not debarred. "The statute was aimed at the advocacy and teaching of concrete action for the forcible overthrow of the Government, and not of principles divorced from action." The Court could find no evidence against the five whom it acquitted other than that they had been active in the Communist party; this was insufficient in itself to convict them of "advocacy or teaching in the sense of a call to forcible action at some future time." Against the others, remanded for a new trial, there was more evidence that they may have taught "illegal action," while it was possible that in a new trial the government, warned of the necessity of establishing this crucial element in the crime, might produce further evidence against them.

The Court admitted the "subtlety" of its distinction, but, subtle though the point was, it notably restored a large area of the First Amendment protections to free speech and belief. And it did so basically upon a reappraisal of the dangers to be apprehended from seditious teaching. Prior to *Dennis* seditious teaching could be suppressed only when its dangers were "present" as well as "clear." By 1951 the perils seemed so great that the state could be protected against seditious teaching threatening only future evils, provided they were grave enough and there was some probability that they might one day eventuate. By 1957 the Court considered the dangers from sedition taught as an "abstract doctrine" to be negligible; the most which was required by the needs of the common defense was protection against the teaching and advocacy of criminal action at some future time.

A similar reappraisal plainly lay under one more notable decision, in the *Jencks* case. Jencks was convicted of falsely swearing to a Taft-Hartley non-Communist oath, largely on the evidence of two FBI informers as to his Communist party activities. Relying on an accepted rule of criminal law, the defense asked to see the written reports originally submitted by these informers, as a means of testing the credibility of their oral testimony in court. In deference to the unvarying claim of the FBI that its reports must remain inviolate in the interests of national security, the documents were refused. The Supreme Court held that this constituted a reversible infringement of the rights of the defendant, and remanded him for a new trial. By putting its informers on the stand, the FBI obligated itself to disclose those of their written reports which were relevant to their testimony. The Court recognized the government's right to keep documents secret where "the protection of vital national interests may militate against public disclosure," but in a criminal case it could not invoke this privilege at the cost of the rights of the defendant. This was because, in a criminal case, the government "which prosecutes an accused also has the duty to see that justice is done," and it would be "unconscionable" to allow it first to put a man on trial and then use its evidentiary

privilege to deny him "anything which might be material to his defense." Quoting an opinion of Learned Hand's, the Court declared that "the Government must choose; either it must leave the transactions in the obscurity from which a trial will draw them, or it must expose them fully." While the government could suppress the documents if it felt that national security demanded, it could do so only "at the price of letting the defendant go free."

The point at issue clearly had wider implications. The FBI had long taken the position that the absolute inviolability of its files and complete secrecy as to its investigatory methods and its informer system were vital requirements of the common defense. Had the Court felt (as did Justice Clark in his dissenting opinion) that the perils against which it was claimed that this secrecy was necessary to protect us were grave ones, it would probably have hesitated in requiring the FBI to make even this degree of disclosure of its files. If it had believed that letting those accused under these circumstances "go free" represented a greater danger to the safety of the state and the freedoms of its people than would permitting the FBI to depart in this respect from the ordinary rules of due process in criminal law, it would doubtless have followed Justice Clark's reasoning. As it was, the decision amounted to a finding that the FBI's appeals to the vital requirements of national security in order to protect the secrecy of its files and its informer system were at best somewhat exaggerated.

The opinion actually made no great breach in the FBI's system of secret files and informers. The only files it would open would be those in cases in which most of the reasons for secrecy had disappeared when the informers had been put openly on the stand. The only prosecutions it would estop would be those in which the FBI, although willing to produce the informers, was unwilling to produce their relevant reports; and while these might be the cases most necessary to convict men (under one guise or another) of seditious belief, it was unlikely that they would involve crimes really dangerous to the national security. Perhaps the point was minor. But just as the Smith Act decision

restored the First Amendment protections over a considerable area, *Jencks* restored a small, but nevertheless significant, area of the Fifth and Sixth Amendment protections of due process.

This whole group of decisions has come under violent—though, not it would seem, very widespread—attack from Congressmen, security officers, lawyers, attorneys general, and others especially interested for one reason or another in building the defense against sedition and subversion as such. Attorney General Brownell declared that *Jencks* had created a "grave emergency in law enforcement," and the Administration rushed a bill into Congress to correct the situation. Loyd Wright, chairman of the Commission on Government Security, demanded "immediate legislation . . . to negative the grave consequences that will flow from this confusing decision." James Burnham demanded, in *The National Review*, that Congress investigate the Supreme Court, for its usurpations of power and for its "legal sabotage of security measures." Rep. Walter has announced an omnibus security bill to repair the breaches made by the court. But nowhere in all this was there any very persuasive rebuttal of the Court's reduced estimate of the perils from sedition and subversion; the impression remained that Mr. Burnham's phrase was accurate—what the critics were objecting to was the "sabotage," not of the national security, but of the "measures" which had been adopted in its name.

THE PRAGMATIC ISSUE

Here the really basic issue seems to be whether the courts, in placing some curbs upon the measures, have materially weakened any defenses really demanded by the requirements of the national security. To their critics they have been destroying the protections painstakingly erected against Communist subversion, flinging open the gates to all the perils apprehended from it. It is not really responsive to reply that they have, nevertheless, restored in the process important parts of the old ramparts raised a century and a half ago against the dangers and injus-

tices inherent in any war on sedition and subversion. The basic problem is, precisely, how far these old ramparts may properly and justly be maintained in the face of modern conditions. It is a problem which can only be resolved by a calm, pragmatic analysis of the actual dangers (of both kinds) and of the new appraisals which the courts, to say nothing of larger and larger sections of public opinion, are putting on them.

The trouble is not so much that wrong answers are returned to these pragmatic issues; rather it is that they are not debated in rational terms and therefore are never answered at all.

As an example, one might cite the discussion of the port security program—involving the security screening of seamen. The Special Committee of the New York City Bar Association (the Bonsal Committee) put a low estimate on the real dangers against which this program was capable of protecting the state, and recommended its abolition. The Commission on Government Security (Wright Commission) on the other hand strongly recommended the retention of the program as "necessary to protect United States shipping, ports, harbor installations and the Panama Canal from destruction and crippling damage by saboteurs and subversives." In reaching this conclusion it did not dispute, or indeed, even notice the Bonsal Committee's very different estimate, while its own estimate of the danger was certainly no contribution to the clear and rational discussion of this question.

The very phrase it used—"crippling damage by saboteurs *and* subversives," later changed into "destruction from sabotage *or* subversive acts"—indicates a confusion of mind. What are the dangers from "subversives" and "subversive acts" which do not involve sabotage? The supporting statement that the dangers which led to the creation of the port security program "continue to confront the nation, as there is substantial Communist control of certain maritime unions" throws little light on what these dangers of "subversion" other than sabotage really are; though it may perhaps reflect the mixture of motives behind the passage of the Magnuson Act, which instituted the program.

Until the debate on this basic issue of the real nature and magnitude of the perils apprehended from subversion and sedition as such can be recast into more meaningful terms it will be impossible to come to any conclusion as to what are the true requirements of the common defense in this respect. It will be impossible to know to what extent, if any, the Eighteenth Century prohibitions on wars against sedition must be modified to meet the necessities of modern conditions. The courts, by holding in effect that they need not be modified to anything like the extent to which we have gone, have arrived at what is after all a rather rough rule of thumb decision. It would seem incumbent upon those who challenge it as imperilling the national security to give some better demonstration than they yet have done as to just how and why and in what degree it imperils real security. It is equally incumbent upon those who believe that these court decisions have not gone far enough in the restoration of ancient liberties to give some demonstration that the defense will not be imperilled by further reducing the safeguards against sedition.

SECRECY AND SECURITY

Those defensive measures which are directed primarily against subversion, rather than against the acts which it is supposed to incite, are in a sense negative in character. Interlaced with them are a series of more positive protections, raising for the free society issues of a superficially similar yet rather different kind. These include the elaborate measures now taken to preserve government secrets and to prevent sabotage, the legal penalties for unauthorized disclosure, and the police and intelligence systems used to detect and prevent actual espionage and treason, as well as to collect information concerning potential enemies.

ESPIONAGE AND SECRECY

The foundation of the whole internal security structure is provided by the system for the "classification" of government and defense documents, weapons, machines, and so on. The need for some measure of governmental secrecy in the interests of defense and security has, of course, long been recognized. It was President Washington who established the right of the Federal Executive to withhold even from the Senate public papers the disclosure of which would not be in the national interest. The necessity for military secrecy in wartime has always been accepted, though in the past the United States was notoriously careless in such matters. Toward the end of the Nineteenth Century the increasing complexity of military technology, and the competitive war planning of the European general staffs, began to put an increasing premium on military secrecy and espionage even in time of peace. One of the items of information which Captain Dreyfus was wrongfully accused of transmitting to the Germans was technological, referring to the design of a new artillery recoil mechanism; another concerned the war plan—Plan XIII—then being developed by the French general staff. Led by the efficient Prussians, all the great powers began to develop elaborate secret intelligence, espionage, and counter-espionage networks. At the same time the development of revolutionary terrorist conspiracies in the autocratic empires made the secret political police operative a familiar figure. By the turn of the century, secrecy, espionage, and counter-espionage were becoming an increasingly necessary and normal part of the peacetime relations of the military powers.

The First World War greatly enhanced the American consciousness of military secrecy and its counterpart, espionage; but with the end of that "war to end war" the interest flagged. In the earlier interwar years, little attention was paid to the protection of information on weapons design, troop strengths, and so on. The armed services maintained intelligence and counter-intelligence branches and engaged in at least some

"covert" operations; but intelligence was normally staffed from the least rather than the most promising of the officer material. Within the government as a whole secrecy, for defense or other reasons, was at a minimum.

With the rising tensions of the mid-30's, however, interest in secrecy and secret operations dramatically revived. In 1936 President Roosevelt ordered the FBI to undertake a secret investigation of Communist and Fascist activities within the country, so as to provide him with a "broad intelligence picture." Secrecy for the government's own operations, especially in the military field, was greatly intensified. It is true that as late as December 1941 the *Chicago Tribune* could see nothing improper in publishing the highly secret strategic plans of the Army and Navy—a disclosure which would today ruin the greatest of newspapers. The fact that its motive was primarily political—the *Tribune* hoped to alter the Roosevelt Administration's interventionist policies, to which it was bitterly opposed—makes this an interesting illustration of the relationship between military secrecy and free, popular government. But with the attack on Pearl Harbor such publications became impossible.

The requirements for secrecy of many kinds during the Second World War were real and urgent. Voluntary censorship was established to enforce an increasingly regularized and extended system of classification or secrecy; the public was made secrecy conscious and overconscious by intensive campaigns of education and propaganda. The notion was driven home that the most useful military intelligence work is accomplished, not by cloak and dagger methods, but by the patient assembly of bits and pieces of information of seemingly the most innocuous character. The good citizen was taught to guard his tongue in everything, great or small, lest he contribute unwittingly to the deaths of American men in battle. The FBI extended its intelligence operations widely through Latin America, as well as through the United States. Great numbers of competent men were trained in the military and diplomatic intelligence services and in the OSS. Secrecy and secret operations became, it seemed, a major key to national survival.

The effects of this experience would in any event have carried over into the cold war period which ensued. But they were vastly exaggerated by the enormous popular interest in "the" secret of the atomic bomb. In the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 Congress not only decreed the first formalized loyalty-security personnel program; at the same time it decreed that *all* data concerning atomic energy and fissionable materials must be kept secret, except as the AEC might determine that they could be published "without adversely affecting the common defense and security." Under the shadow of our own creation, we thus entered the non-war period under almost an obsession with secrecy, in which misconceptions as to the nature and significance of the atomic secrets, jumbled with the experiences of the "shooting war" and hazy notions derived largely from the spy-thrillers of the pre-1914 period, were carried over into an unprecedented world situation to which many of these ideas were inapplicable.

THE CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

The result is the vast and spreading structure of governmental secrecy, regularized and formalized in the classification system. In its present form (established by the Eisenhower Executive Order 10501 of November 1953) this gives unrestricted authority to seven agencies – the Departments of State, Defense, Treasury, Justice, and Commerce, the AEC, and the CIA – to classify as "confidential," "secret," or "top secret" information the unauthorized disclosure of which "could be prejudicial" or worse "to the defense interests of the nation." In seventeen other agencies classification stamps may be affixed by the head of the agency alone; twenty-eight other agencies (ranging from the Battle Monuments Commission to the Veterans Education Appeal Board) are forbidden to classify on grounds of national defense or security, though they retain the powers normal to any public or private organization for safeguarding their files and controlling the release of information.

Information once classified, for whatever reason and whether of great or only trivial import, is protected by stringent penal statutes. For a government official to make unauthorized disclosure of classified material, or for a private individual to make such disclosure with intent to injure the United States or further the interests of a foreign power, may entail heavy fines and imprisonment. The classified secrets are perhaps even better protected by the wide popular notion—shared by administrators, courts, and juries—that they are all of equal value to the security of the state and that *any* breach of the classification system is in itself a serious threat to the national safety.

The Executive Order makes some attempt to define and restrict the categories of material which may be protected by these powerful sanctions. Thus, it authorizes the "secret" classification "only for defense information or material the unauthorized disclosure of which could result in serious damage to the Nation, such as by jeopardizing the international relations of the United States, endangering the effectiveness of a program or policy of vital importance to the national defense, or compromising important military or defense plans, scientific or technological developments important to national defense, or information revealing important intelligence operations." The intent seems to be to confine this formalized structure of secrecy to three general categories of information: (1) on international negotiations and reports and on internal policy discussions and decisions; (2) on war plans, weapons design and performance, scientific and technical discoveries of direct military importance; (3) on intelligence, espionage, and counter-espionage operations. The categories are, however, far too loosely defined to be applicable in any given situation. "Endangering the effectiveness of a program or policy of importance to the national defense" seems almost meaningless, for example, since almost any governmental program may be thought to be of some relevance to the national defense, while the disclosure of almost any sort of information about it may be considered to "endanger its effectiveness." There are, moreover, wholly legitimate reasons for governmental secrecy which seem not to fall within

even these broad definitions, but which nevertheless tend to expand the classification system—examples include secrecy for Treasury operations, to prevent individuals from improperly benefiting through advance information, or secrecy in personnel matters to avoid unjust injury to the individual.

The several agencies have, of course, endeavored to establish their own more precise criteria for the classification of information; but it still appears to be almost impossible, where there are so many authorized reasons for secrecy, to erect rational and meaningful standards. As a governmental spokesman recently said, in specific cases "judgment" becomes "the decisive factor," and judgments in the face of such conflicts of values as confront every classifying officer are bound to differ widely. With thousands if not tens of thousands of individual officers endowed with the authority to classify, with the official and popular obsession with secrecy almost for its own sake, with every pressure in favor of classification when in doubt and with virtually no pressure in favor of declassification or refusal to classify, it is inevitable that governmental secrecy should spread far beyond the bounds of the reasonable and necessary. Nearly everyone who has examined the subject has agreed with the Defense Department's own Committee on Classified Information (under Charles A. Coolidge) that there is a tremendous over-classification of documents. But in spite of elaborate regulations for restraint and declassification no one seems yet to have discovered an adequate means for controlling the process.

Secrecy breeds secrecy. An important example is the way in which Congressional committees have, because they find themselves dealing with classified matter, expanded their use of executive sessions and thus concealed their own operations from the scrutiny of their constituents. Secrecy for certain technological developments, because of their immediate military importance, invites secrecy for related developments, of less direct significance, and so on in widening circles. Where authorized reasons for secrecy are so numerous, it becomes easy to use secrecy for mere administrative convenience, for public relations, and so on. One would hesitate to criticize such admin-

istrative suppressions in themselves; it is only when they are supported by the tremendous legal and popular sanctions surrounding "the national security" that they become questionable.

When almost any bit of information about a country can conceivably be of some use to a potential enemy, it becomes difficult to discriminate between secrets which can be kept, secrets which cannot be kept, and secrets which are not worth keeping. In the *Sperry Gyroscope* cases, the company insisted that the whole of its plant, and not merely those areas in which classified work was going on, should be classified. It was seriously argued that a truck driver coming in simply to pick up packaged shipments might, if he were a Soviet agent, convey valuable information merely by noting the bulk, numbers, and addresses of the shipments. It is just possible that in time of war information of this kind might to some slight extent ease the work of a hostile intelligence service; it is incredible that in time of peace any Soviet intelligence agency would waste much time or effort in suborning truck drivers to copy addresses on Sperry shipments, and certain that if they did so the military value of the information would be negligible. Presumably, the company's real reason for wanting the whole plant classified was to simplify the administrative and managerial tasks imposed by the complications of the security system itself, if not, as some believed, to enable it to bar from its plants employees whom it regarded for other than security reasons as "undesirable." The whole issue was irrelevant to the real security of the nation, but was solemnly debated as though it were.

THE SECURITY POLICE

The classification system entails other consequences. The scope of the classification determines the scope of the personnel security screening system since (in the industrial security system wholly and to a large extent in the others) access to classified material determines who must be screened. The wider the reach of classification the more individuals must be screened, the

more numerous grow the personal files and dossiers, and – it might be added – the farther removed does the whole system become from its supposed job of protecting secrets of real significance to the security of the state.

The greater the mass and variety of classified material, the more elaborate must be the counter-espionage and counter-intelligence systems set up to protect it. And because counter-intelligence must by its very nature be largely secret, this breeds still more secrecy. In the name of the national security, the secret police and intelligence agencies claim a complete secrecy not just for some but for all their operations; they thus pass quite beyond the normal controls of publicity and debate which free societies are accustomed to apply to their major institutions. It was the imagined imperatives of national security which led to Captain Dreyfus' being tried and condemned in secret for crimes he did not commit. It is assumed that American intelligence agencies could never be guilty of so gross a transgression of justice and due process. But in the *Jencks* case (discussed in the preceding section) the Supreme Court felt constrained to issue what amounted to a warning.

In *Jencks* the Court held, in effect, that if the government (or the FBI) felt it necessary and desirable to place a man on trial, then it must accord him all his rights as a defendant. It was for the government to choose between the loss to security resulting from leaving an accused untried and the loss resulting from giving him a fair and open trial. The appeal to the "interests of national security" could not override even to this degree the Constitutional requirements of due process.

The reasoning was persuasive; but it did not seem so to the FBI and its more ardent Congressional supporters. Only the obsessive overvaluation of secrecy, espionage, and counter-espionage in the protection of the modern state could explain the immediate campaign that arose against the decision. A bill was introduced (finally enacted in modified form) to override the Court. J. Edgar Hoover intimated that dozens of cases against spies and subversives would have to be cancelled as a result of the decision. Fortuitously, a case developed at this

time against Rudolf Abel, allegedly the head of a Soviet spy ring. It was put about that the Supreme Court ruling would render a prosecution impossible. This hardly seemed logical at the time, since it was reported that the chief witness would be a defecting Russian agent whose prior reports could hardly have had much security value; and the government in fact went forward with the prosecution apparently unembarrassed by *Jencks*.

THE COSTS OF SECRECY

The present great system of governmental secrecy and its concomitants of intelligence and counter-espionage have had adverse effects upon both the individual and the political freedoms of Americans which are obvious, though also, unfortunately, non-measurable. It has had some effect in hampering free scientific enquiry. This limits the individual freedom of the scientist to pursue his goal of ascertaining truth; it restricts the political liberties of the rest of us to enjoy, in our own defense, the fruits of an alert and powerful scientific advance. It clogs to some extent our technological progress. It reduces the individual liberty of the armaments manufacturer to advertise his wares, and secure acceptance of his products; it adds to his managerial difficulties and his costs. It is probable that for some scientific-technical defense projects, as much as one-third or more of the money costs may be absorbed by the direct and indirect requirements of security. If, as is generally the case, the money costs are passed back to the taxpayer, then they reduce his individual liberties by that extent, while they diminish his political liberties—his interest in defense—by the extent to which they hold up technological development of improved weapons systems.

Secrecy has personal and social consequences which are not negligible. The classified research contract divides academic communities, reduces their freedom of thought and communication, introduces the great class distinction between the

"cleared" and the "uncleared." It erects barriers within the most intimate of all social organisms, the family, by dividing husband from wife. Probably few who have not engaged in top secret work can appreciate the personal and social and educational consequences of a situation in which a husband cannot even mention to his wife or children the matters which engage his whole working time and energy.

Secrecy affects the political liberties of all. It closes off, not only the operations of the secret agencies, but the work of the most important organs of public policy formation from the scrutiny of the public for whom they profess to act. The classification system was recently defended by a government spokesman on the ground that after all it made little difference, since most of its secrets, while hidden from the public, were disclosed to the public's representatives in executive sessions of the Congressional committees. The representatives could adequately guard whatever public interest there might be in the information. This, of course, quite overlooks the important public interest in checking upon the representatives; it is another example of the tendency of modern big government to revert to authoritarian concepts which, while acceptable in the early days of parliamentary and representative institutions, when legislative sessions were normally secret, seem hardly consonant with the free society of today.

Secrecy is the foundation of the current system of government by "leaks." It is the unlovely parent of the calculated leak no less than of the calculated suppression. A good example may be found in the figures on Soviet airplane production. American intelligence has, presumably, fairly accurate statistics. There are valid reasons for not releasing these statistics as official statements. They may be wrong, in which case Soviet planners would be given a valuable insight into the basis for our plans; they may be precisely right, in which case the Soviet Union would be warned that chinks existed in its own armor of secrecy. But there is no particular reason for not letting the figures be known, so long as they do not carry authentication as the official estimates of the United States Government. Thus, partial and frag-

mentary intelligence statistics are readily "leaked" in support of one side or another of inter-service or inter-governmental policy disputes. The public, the supposedly final arbiter in great policy issues, is compelled to debate them on partial facts, the authenticity of which it cannot know. The result is conflict, not of policy but of propaganda, which would be impossible except for the original classification of all the relevant facts.

Secrecy is the parent of the secret police and intelligence operations. These affect our political liberties by the extent to which they make policy decisions dependent on secret intelligence material fed to the policy-makers. This, it may be said, is a subject about which little is known. All secret intelligence systems apparently endeavor in some degree to use their secret information as a weapon to influence policies; on the proven principle that "knowledge is power" those who possess (or imagine that they possess) superior knowledge are almost compulsively driven to employ it to enhance their own power and importance. On the other hand, the policy-makers are normally resistant to these drives. Whether in Hitler's Chancellery or the recesses of the American National Security Council, the policy makers don't read the intelligence reports, or don't believe them if they do read them, or don't agree with the policy conclusions which may be concealed within the "factual" estimates. The real significance of this aspect of "intelligence" in a free society has, so far as the writer is aware, barely been touched on by contemporary studies of government.

The promotion of the secret police and intelligence agencies to their present high estate within our community is bound to infringe the individual liberties of the citizen to some extent. The *Jencks* (and also the earlier *Coplon*) case may be cited in support, since here the courts in effect reproved the FBI for violating individual rights of defendants. Because the FBI and the military intelligence agencies have apparently removed themselves beyond any possibility of public examination or analysis it is not easy to speak with confidence on this subject. Many believe that J. Edgar Hoover occupies a position of power and influence in the community inappropriate, in a free society,

to the head of a secret police agency. Many others believe that his efforts to protect us from imminent dangers of sedition and espionage are so significant to the survival of the state that they should not even be questioned. The FBI and intelligence agencies do raise issues of importance to the free society. They are not issues easily dealt with.

These are some of the costs of secrecy in terms of individual and political liberty. Unfortunately, as has been said, they are not measurable; and if they were, the values would prove incommensurate with the gains to liberty which secrecy may bring with it. A different approach seems to be required. Perhaps it can be found through a better analysis, not of the costs of secrecy and espionage, but of their practical function and utility in the lives of modern states.

THE FUNCTIONS OF INTELLIGENCE

There can be no doubt that the true role of secrecy, espionage, counter-espionage, and intelligence in contemporary international relations is widely misunderstood and grossly overvalued in contemporary attitudes. The old picture of the spy—despicable if he is working for the other side, heroic if, like Nathan Hale or an FBI informer, he is one of ours—whose machinations control the outcome of decisive battles or send thousands of soldiers to needless death, still dominates a complex of contemporary problems to which it has little relevance. The spy is probably the least significant of all figures involved in the great modern apparatus of intelligence, counter-intelligence, and secrecy. Historically, he never had half the importance attributed to him in myth and legend; today, when the real problem is not the detection of espionage but the sound formulation of strategic and national policies, he can have very little.

It seems impossible that a judge who had any real understanding of the actual operation of intelligence and espionage in the contemporary world could have sentenced the Rosenbergs to death on the ground that their criminal activities imperilled

the lives of millions. (The British, who, since they received Fuchs' confession, presumably know more than anyone else about the importance of his espionage, gave him only fourteen years.) "Intelligence," as it is gathered or guarded by all modern nations, is of two kinds—"overt" or "covert." Nine-tenths of all intelligence is of the overt kind; it represents the careful accumulation, comparison, and analysis of non-secret information culled from all kinds of sources. Into it may go the unguarded remarks of a foreign diplomat, data from the foreign technical press, the daily files of American news agencies and foreign correspondents, non-secret data of many kinds. During the Second World War American intelligence found that a useful source of information on the configuration of invasion beaches and their defenses could be derived from collecting tourists' vacation snapshots. In most intelligence agencies the published histories, reference books, statistical almanacs, and encyclopaedias are consulted far more often than the fragmentary reports of secret agents.

"Covert" intelligence is that which is secretly acquired, through secret agents—"spy rings"—established in the hostile country or, much more important today, through the secret interception of the other country's communications and the breaking of its codes. Most of the major wartime triumphs of covert intelligence were accomplished by this latter means, or by aerial photography. In active war, covert intelligence assumes a relatively greater importance than the overt kind; it is still remarkable how few and unimportant are the successes attributed in the literature to covert espionage by individual operatives.

Intelligence is often categorized in a different way — as "military," "strategic," or "counter-intelligence." Military intelligence in peacetime is concerned with penetrating another power's war plans, weapons design, numbers and locations of his troops, and with the identification of his vital strategic targets. Strategic intelligence is more broadly concerned with his national capabilities and intentions; it concentrates on political and economic information concerning him, the personalities

of his leaders, the opportunities for propaganda offensives. This division is not sharp. Military intelligence agencies must consider political and economic factors as well as those of a more strictly military kind; strategic intelligence agencies cannot, of course, overlook the other power's military capabilities. Both overt and covert methods are used by both types of intelligence, though perhaps in varying proportions. Counter-intelligence, the third of these categories, is almost wholly covert; it concentrates on penetrating the other power's intelligence systems, unmasking its agents, interrupting their activities or (rather more frequently, it would seem) utilizing them as sources through which to feed misleading information back to their principals.

Most works on these obscure subjects, and most public information which comes to light, suggest that counter-intelligence consumes a disproportionate amount of the time and energies of all intelligence systems. The double agent is so familiar a figure that one is led to wonder a little what the whole activity may add up to. One derives the impression that all the intelligence agencies are engaged in a kind of game, in which the detection and execution of the other side's agents is a much more important object than the interruption of the information they may be transmitting, most of which is of little practical consequence anyway.

Boris Morros (whom the Department of Justice produced for an interview at the height of the excitement over the *Jencks* decision) declared that he had been serving as a double agent for some twelve years. He said that "many of the agents working [in this country] for Russia are important people financially, and often held in high esteem." But except for Martha Dodd Stern and her husband, no such people have been named or indicted. Morros intimated that he had been feeding information to the Sobles and Albam, who have pleaded guilty to espionage, over a long period. Apparently, the FBI felt that it was a greater contribution to the national security to prolong this arrangement than to arrest and convict the spies. The inference is that the content of espionage is a relatively trivial factor

in security operations. The great goal has become security in the abstract; the specific dangers against which we must be made secure are of no great consequence.

It is a conclusion borne out by nearly everything available on peacetime secrecy and espionage. Considering the whole mass of peacetime intelligence and counter-intelligence operations—overt and covert, military and strategic, that which the Russians collect on us and which we collect on the Russians—one cannot feel that it is of great importance in the present relations between the two powers. Strategic intelligence is likely to be more confusing than helpful, to both sides. Certainly, the great Soviet intelligence networks, largely concerned with strategic or political rather than with specifically military information, seem to have given the occupants of the Kremlin a most imperfect view of the real intentions, capabilities, and governing policies of the Western powers. Our own elaborate intelligence summaries, devised in CIA, often go unheeded by the policy-makers for whom they are produced.

In the field of military intelligence there are some things which it is highly desirable that we know about the Russians, and some things which it is equally desirable that we conceal from them. We do need to know about their weapons designs, the numbers of their forces, and as much as we can about their war plans, if any. Without at least some fairly good data on these subjects it becomes impossible to formulate a rational American policy. However, the fact that the Russians, in order to formulate rational policies, need to know the same kinds of things about us does not mean that we must necessarily keep them all secret. Many have made the argument that a military policy founded, like our own today, wholly upon "deterrence" requires for its success that the potential enemy should have a clear knowledge of our power to deter him. There have been arguments, in Congress and without, over the wisdom of keeping secret the size and power of our atomic arsenal. As Louis Ridenour, former Chief Scientist for the Air Force, has succinctly put it: "Information on present military capability must reach the potential enemy to give the military capability any peace-

time value." Since our whole present national policy is directed not toward the waging of war but the preservation of peace, we must, it would seem, reconsider the problems of secrecy, espionage, and counter-espionage from the point of view of planning for peace. Disclosure as well as suppression has values. Even by the strictest tests of military power, secrecy has disadvantages as well as advantages, and some of the latter may in sober fact be utterly insignificant by comparison with the former.

POSSIBLE LINES OF SOLUTION

The problems of freedom and liberty in this complex field are not readily resolved; but it would seem that solution would have to be looked for along certain avenues. One rough but very practical solution has been advanced. It would be simply to require that every classification stamp carry a time-limit. Today, once a paper is classified it automatically remains classified for eternity, unless it undergoes a complicated and always difficult process of de-classification. Under this proposal, the paper would automatically cease to be classified at the expiry of the time-limit, unless a similarly complicated and difficult process determined that the stamp should remain. The value of the suggestion is apparent; unfortunately, so is the likelihood that bureaucratic routine would soon overwhelm it and that to continue the classification would become as automatic a process as the original classification is now.

Effective solutions would seem to lie along the lines of, first, a genuine re-examination of the uses and effects of both secrecy and intelligence in the relations of modern peoples. It should be made with a clear understanding that, as has been suggested, the true problem here is not one of catching and punishing spies; it is a problem in the proper formulation and protection of over-all national policy. From such a re-examination it might be possible to proceed to a second step, a much more precise definition of the categories of information for which protection is really essential to the national security,

and a separation of all other forms of secrecy from the imperatives of security and the penalties imposed in its name. The present categories of "confidential," "secret," and "top secret" fail in two ways. They make no real distinction between the material involved—some, with experience in these matters, have said that they could see no effective difference in the security importance of the "confidential" and "top secret" information they have received; the designation seems largely a matter of administrative convenience, since more cylinder locks, guards, and similar precautions must be used with "top secret" than with "confidential," and these protections can make business impossibly time-consuming. The categories likewise fail in leaving to the administrator no good method of controlling information which for administrative or other reasons ought to be kept confidential, but concerning which the national security significance is minimal or non-existent.

The entire secrecy system needs clearer definition as to aims, purposes, and uses; it needs greater flexibility in practice. It should be purged, if possible, of extreme concepts of an impossible total security. The fact that almost any piece of information about American technical advances might be of some assistance to Soviet war industry does not warrant efforts (such as that set up, but now happily abandoned, in the Department of Commerce) to keep all kinds of non-classified technical information from falling into the hands of the Russians. The fact that it is conceivable that a truck-driver might be a Soviet agent, that he might as a truck driver acquire some information about the shipments from a defense plant, and that this information might just possibly assist the Russians in following our war preparations, is in itself no argument for screening all defense plant truck drivers to ensure that none had any Communist associations in his background. It is perhaps true that in time of active war bits of apparently innocuous information picked up by a secret agent can lead to lamentable results—though it is remarkable how few are the reported cases of this kind, even in wartime, when, as has been said, most of the significant intelligence triumphs were obtained

through penetrating the enemy's electronic communications or through photographic analysis. In peacetime, after one has traced a bit of either overt or covert intelligence back through the hostile power's intelligence nets, back through his services of evaluation and distribution and through the minds of his policy makers, it is extremely difficult to say what if any value, military or political, the intelligence was to him and what was the justification of the efforts of secrecy and counter-espionage intended to keep it from him.

A sense of proportion is badly needed as to what we endeavor to protect from either covert or overt penetration. A sense of proportion is likewise needed as to how we protect it. The government should have recognized rights to control and keep confidential many types of official information, but it should also have recognized means of doing so without invoking the whole ponderous machinery of classification and the penalties attached to it. Its secret intelligence and police agencies should not be left totally beyond any form of public scrutiny or accountability; admitting that we must have intelligence and secret police agencies and that much of their work must be kept secret if it is to be effective, they should not be allowed the extreme, and on the face of it unwarranted, claim that any breach whatever in the secrecy of their operations constitutes a grave peril to the security of the state.

Secrecy, espionage, and counter-espionage are factors grossly overvalued in their actual effect on the relations of modern states, on the formulation of policy, and on the strength of the common defense. In times of non-war, especially, they constitute little more than nuisances, which no doubt have to be put up with in some degree, but could be greatly reduced without in any way adversely affecting the destiny of the American people. With a calmer view of the whole subject they can be reduced, and, as *Jencks* indicates, their many impacts on individual liberties and civil rights can also be reduced to acceptable levels.

November 1957

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Roper, Elmo

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30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

November 20, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing a copy of an editorial I have written for The Saturday Review to be published in the November 30th issue.

In it I have tried to put the case for not relying solely on the heads of states and the professional diplomats for seeing to it that all possible avenues of greater unity among the genuine democracies of the world are explored and the logical ones recommended.

It seems to me like a peculiarly good time to publicly air such thoughts, with the heads of states meeting as they are in December. I am hopeful, of course, that you will feel like raising your even more powerful voice in behalf of the same cause--the urgency of which seems to me to be becoming more apparent each day.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:tm
Enclosure

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A Declaration of Interdependence

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Ever since the end of World War II, this page has been concerned with the need for a universal design for world peace. In the following editorial, Elmo Roper,* SR *editor-at-large, advocates a design for the Free World.*

ONCE again we have heard a bold Proclamation from High Places of the critical need of the countries of the free world for each other. After last month's talks between President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Macmillan, a "declaration of common purpose" was issued that included these brave words:

". . . The concept of national self-sufficiency is now out of date. The countries of the free world are interdependent, and only in genuine partnership, by combining their resources and sharing tasks in many fields, can progress and safety be found. For our part, we have agreed that our two countries will henceforth act in accordance with this principle."

It is a noble principle. In fact, the concept of interdependence, properly applied, may yet be able to save us and the world we know from destruction and chaos. The concept of national self-sufficiency, which has been out of date for some time now, could diffuse the power of the non-Communist world so that it might buckle under a bold Communist blow.

Over and over our leaders have urged the necessity for "close cooperation" among the free nations. Over and over our "interdependence" has been emphasized. The fault is not in the sentiment but in the lack of action to back it up. Too often in the past "close cooperation" has amounted to no more than "keeping the others informed." This is not just because of the unwillingness of policymakers to share their functions with their opposite numbers in other countries. The reason lies far deeper. It lies in the way our governmental process is set up. We simply do not now have the mechanisms for genuine collective policy, so we are forced to resort to improvisation, to emergency meetings and agreements which lack enduring force.

The big question, then, is not whether we are "for" or "against" interdependence of the free nations any more than it is whether we are for or against survival. True, some arguments for national self-sufficiency are still heard, but they are proposed with less and less conviction. Like it or not, we are deeply involved with the rest of the world, and few see much hope of returning to a charmed isolation.

The central question is how we are to go about implementing this interdependence which everyone in high places knows confronts us. We must find now ways to establish close, lasting ties between the people of our country and the people of the other free nations. Treaties, alliances, pacts—all the old ways—have clearly shown their inadequacy, most dramatically a year ago when common policymaking between us and our main allies failed, information channels froze, and the result was the Suez fiasco—for which we probably will still have to pay.

I suggest that the best people to find these new ways are not the professional diplomats, whose training is in the niceties of power relations, who are responsible to their governments and to policies and forms already established. If a new solution is to be found, it is most likely to be discovered by free and unfettered minds, operating without restrictions or commitments to established positions and policies. I suggest that the best approach to this problem is to call a citizens' convention, where the best minds in our country, with the aid of political, sociological, economic, and financial experts can meet with the best minds of those democracies with whom we will inevitably share a common fate and together work out what seems to be the best way of securing close and continuing cooperation among the democracies. This group should include all shades of representative opinion on this subject and be strictly bipartisan—and strictly "top drawer." They should be as close as we can find to the Jeffersons, Madisons, and Hamiltons of an earlier critical period in our history.

For some time we have been attempting to work together in the military sphere and the results of our efforts have been less than spectacular. With all our vast wealth and know-how, the West has been caught short by decidedly spectacular Russian advances that have brought new wonder and anxiety to our contemplation of outer and intermediate space. The Eisenhower-Macmillan statement emphasized that military security must today be collective, that "It is not within the capacity of each nation acting alone to make itself fully secure."

BUT the statement did not stop at the military sphere. It went on to say that "our collective security efforts must be supported and reinforced by cooperative economic action," and expressed gratification at the developing of a European free-trade area. Military coordination alone cannot bring our potential strength to its full capacity. In so many areas, wealth and efficiency are cut down by artificial and unnecessary barriers.

Many of these barriers can probably be eliminated, or at least lowered. Such a conference would have many problems to consider. A common currency, for example, among all the Atlantic countries, would greatly speed the flow of trade. But is this something we can have now or must we work toward it gradually? Loosening or eliminating immigration regulations would let labor flow where it is needed as well as bringing the countries of the West spiritually and culturally closer. But what would be

(*Continued on page* 37)

CAST PROOF

Interdependence

Continued from page 20

the drawbacks in making this change? What about tariffs? Could a free-trade area be made to cover the entire Atlantic basin? Or, again, is that something that must be done gradually—or in other ways?

A citizens' convention would be ideally suited to tackle such problems. Together its delegates—the best minds available in the Free World—could work out a practical plan for pushing toward real unity among the free countries of the West—indeed, the free countries of the world.

THERE is no use speculating on what recommendations would come out of such a conference. They might be very simple—or quite wideranging. They might stop with the devising of a new political mechanism to insure a common foreign policy—or they might go much further. No one can predict what a group of the best brains in the Free World would come up with—and certainly no one can, in advance, discount the possibility of workable answers. Surely the ability of man to devise new and better forms under which to govern himself did not end in 1789! Surely the faith of Jefferson and Lincoln and Wilson in *the people* and in their ability to solve their problems was not misplaced.

The time has come for something more than solemn and high-sounding pronouncements from the heads of state. By all means let them meet in Paris to to see what they can do. By all means let the NATO parliamentarians meet to see what they can do. By all means let the diplomats continue to see what they can do. But in addition let's put the finest representatives of the public of the free world together to see what they can come up with.

Time after time, in public-opinion surveys, overwhelming majorities of the American people have shown that they have turned their backs on isolation, that they welcome active cooperation with the other democracies of the world. They cannot be expected to write the formula for that cooperation. Such a convention as I propose would search for that formula.

The news that the United States of America was willing to sit down with representatives of other free people and discuss, with no diplomatic inhibitions, any and all ways to form a stronger union of the free world would circle the world with an even greater impact than that of the Russians' truly great achievement, the Sputniks.

—ELMO ROPER.

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ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
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October 10, 1957

7

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

It was most thoughtful of you to take me to the ball game yesterday, and I thoroughly enjoyed it. I have written Archie MacLeish in the hopes of getting some free dates from him for the next Profound Thinkers session.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

September 24, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I thought you might be interested in the results of a survey question we asked recently of a nation-wide cross section on the subject of the recently passed civil rights bill.

The answers contained in the enclosed release were obtained while the bill was still in debate in the Congress. It was interesting that among the public at large, outright opposition to Federal civil rights legislation has shrunk from 49 per cent to 26 per cent in the last decade.

Also:

One third of the population thought that the bill should have mentioned integration of the schools.

The call for stronger Federal legislation was stronger in the Far West than in any other part of the country.

Half of the Southern whites expressing opinion on the subject favor some type of Federal legislation.

If any of the enclosed findings interest you, I would be happy to have you use them with credit to the source, Elmo Roper and Associates.

Yours sincerely,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:em
Enclosure

P.S. Lunch?

THE PUBLIC PULSE
By Elmo Roper and Associates
(for release on and after September 22, 1957)

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW BACKED BY LARGE MAJORITY

Equal access to the ballot box is, for most Americans, a right that merits strong Federal guarantees. Two-thirds of a national cross section recently interviewed thought that Congress was right in passing the first civil rights bill in more than 80 years, and three-quarters of the proponents of Federal legislation thought that Congress should have gone even further than it did in eliminating racial bars to equality. These are the answers our interviewers received:

> One of the biggest controversies in Congress this year was over legislation to guarantee Negroes the right to vote. Several different plans were put forward. Which of these statements comes closest to expressing what you think Congress should have done?
>
> Pass strong civil rights legislation that assured equal rights for all in voting and going to unsegregated schools. 33%
>
> Pass civil rights legislation that assured equal rights for all in voting only and that would let judges decide all cases of violations of the law. . . 15
>
> Pass civil rights legislation that assured equal rights for all in voting only and that would have jury trials decide criminal violations of the law. . . 17
>
> Pass no Federal civil rights legislation and leave the matter to the states to decide. 26
>
> Don't know. 9

The days of complacency over the state of civil rights appear to be over. Nine years ago, when President Harry Truman stuck his neck out by recommending Federal legislation to assure Negro voting rights, a survey showed that while 43 per cent of the nation agreed with him, 49 per cent thought the matter should be left to the states to decide. This year the opponents of Federal action have shrunk to a minority of 26 per cent.

While youth and higher education tend to make people somewhat more enthusiastic about Federal voting guarantees, these are not crucial factors. Nor is membership in one political party or the other, both of which are split in an almost

identical way over the issue. This particular form of equality is above all a racial and a regional issue. Sixty-eight per cent of the Negroes we talked to wanted a strong, double-barreled bill, while the corresponding figure for whites was 30 per cent. Regional differences were almost as dramatic:

	East	Mid-west	Far West	South
	%	%	%	%
For stronger Federal legislation	61	48	67	32
For bill as passed	15	19	15	18
Against Federal legislation	16	26	10	39
Don't know	8	7	8	11

The civil rights battle is often talked of as a conflict between the values of the conservative South and the liberal Northeast. There is truth in this, yet these figures point out once again, as recent surveys have done, that the freshest forces of liberalism are coming from the Western, rather than the Eastern, seaboard.

Even the South is breaking away from its old habits of thought on this subject. The fact that half of the white Southerners interviewed opposed Federal legislation is less surprising than that the other half supported it. And among the supporters, half wished that Congress had passed a stronger law. The times are changing, and no group, no class, nor any region of our country is immune.

This year's bill did not mention the integration of schools. One third of the people think it should have. If the transition to equal and unseparate schooling continues to be marked with bursts of violence like those of the past few weeks, the clamor for Federal machinery to secure this right may well get more, rather than less, insistent.

Roper, Elmo

August 24, 1957

Dear Elmo:

I should be back in the ill-fitting harness by September 2nd.

If you are about and would like to lunch one day, just pick the day.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
Elmo Roper and Associates
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

fc

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

July 8, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

I've been expecting to hear from you as to whether you wanted to meet and discuss my impressions of the Sunday show on automation or whether a telephone call would do it, but I just learned you've been out of town. Please give me a ring when you're back, and I'll give you my reactions for what little they're worth.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

SEPTEMBER 14, 1956

MR. ELMO ROPER
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

REGRETFULLY DESPERATELY CANNOT "THINK" ON
SEPTEMBER 18.

REGARDS

ED MURROW

414-43

Mr. Rurrow

MEMO TO: Members of the Society of Profound Thinkers DATE: September 5, 1956

FROM: Elmo Roper

[redacted]

Word has been received that we have a quorum for our dinner meeting for Tuesday, September 18th, here in New York, probably at 7 o'clock at a place yet to be determined.

I am hoping that we can do better than a quorum--a reasonably full membership. So if some of you Profound Thinkers who gave me tentative "yeses" or nebulous "noes" will reconsider, we might have one of our best evenings yet.

So that we'll know exactly how to plan, please give me your positive, final, irrevocable, affirmative answer promptly.

Roper, Elmo

August 8, 1956

Dear Elmo:

I am not sure about the 18th. The reason for the uncertainty is that I may have to be aboard the FORRESTAL shooting film for SEE IT NOW. I am now waiting word from the navy as to exact dates and will make you a signal as soon as I know anything definite.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

rh

ELMO ROPER AND ASSOCIATES
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

August 1, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Mr. Robert T. Stevens, who has several claims to fame, greatest among which is the fact that he is a member of the Society of Profound Thinkers, vows that he wants to be host to our imposing group on the evening of Tuesday, September 18th, here in the city of New York--if a quorum can be found for that evening.

Bob Sherwood had planned to be host at the next meeting, which was to have been this spring and at which you were to be welcomed to full membership in our group. I do hope you can make it.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

October 13, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I finally found a place to have our little lunch Tuesday, and we'll look for you in one of the private dining rooms on the second floor of Carlton House (sometimes known as the Ritz-Carlton, I guess) at 680 Madison Avenue at 12:30 Tuesday, October 18th.

I haven't heard from you, but I'm hoping Janet can come. Dorothy is coming; so is Madeline Sherwood and Bud's wife, as well as Mrs. Jack Reith.

Mr. Murrow:
I asked Mrs. M. and she said yes and I told Roper's office.
RH

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

SEPTEMBER 27, 1955

MR. ELMO ROPER
~~EXNEXX~~
SURF AND SAND HOTEL
LAGUNA BEACH, CALIFORNIA

ANY FRIEND OF YOURS IS A FRIEND OF MINE PARTICULARLY IF HE IS A SPONSOR TOO. AM FREE FOR LUNCH OCTOBER 18. REGARDS

ED MURROW

414-43

CLASS
This is
unless i
acter is
proper s
The filing

ENDER WAITING
WESTERN UNION
Answer by WIRE
ENDER WAITING
6288(54)

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

1201

. domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1955 OCT 26 PM 10 12

O SAA479 NL PD=LAGUNA BEACH CALIF 26

ED R MURROW=

:MADISON AVE 52 ST COLUMBUS BROADCASTING NYK=

DESIROUS HAVE YOU KNOW JACK KEITH VICEPRESIDENT MERCURY DIVISION OF FORD AND FRIEND OFMINE ONLY IMMEDIATELY POSSIBLILITY ARE LUNCHING EITHER OCT 17 OR 18 IN NEW YORK. PLEASE WIRE IF EITHER ARE SATISFACTORY WITH YOU=

ELMO ROPER=

Lunch

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Roper, Elmo

July 26, 1955

Dear Mr. Roper:

Your letter of July 7th was received in Mr. Murrow's absence on vacation.

I talked to him yesterday by phone and he asked me to drop you a line and tell you that he will be unable to accept your kind invitation to join you at the Century Club on August 2.

Sincerely,

Florence Crissan

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

fc

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

July 7, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am giving another one of my little dinners on Tuesday evening, August 2d, in an air-conditioned room at the Century Club, and I think you'd enjoy some of the people who are coming. Now don't start thinking that I don't know about Ed Murrow and Tuesday nights, but I am just hoping that maybe some miracle makes that particular Tuesday a break in your schedule. How about it?

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

February 24, 1955

Dear Elmo:

My cup runneth over. This is indeed a signal honor, and I undertake to abide by the Constitution and the By-Laws and to think only good and positive thoughts. I shall await eagerly the communication from brother Sherwood.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

rh

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

February 11, 1955

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am instructed by the membership of the Society of Profound Thinkers to inform you that last evening at the annual dinner, you were elected a full-fledged voting member of that august group.

At the next meeting the host will be Mr. Robert Sherwood, and you can expect to be notified in advance so that any lesser commitments--such as engagements with the President--can be summarily cancelled.

I congratulate you on this signal honor and assure you that your election was unanimous and enthusiastic.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

February 2, 1953

ELMO ROPER

CAROLYN CRUSIUS
LOUIS HARRIS
BURNS W. ROPER
ROBERT WILLIAMS
JULIAN L. WOODWARD

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

As you can well imagine, I have read your script for November 5th with interest, and as you doubtless suspected, I find myself both shocked and disappointed at the paragraph which begins at the bottom of page 4.

I am not going to comment at length on your obvious delight in thinking that it is impossible to gain any clues as to the motives of mankind. At a time when it seems to me of vital importance to throw whatever light can be thrown on what are the forces that make mankind tick, it would seem to me any searcher for the truth would welcome any effort that had any validity. However, if you get any happiness out of thinking that mankind and his behavior arenot only a mystery at the present moment but, thank God, will always remain equally a mystery, I think you may be permitted that little form of mysticism without any substantial loss to progress.

Nor do I want to dwell on the relationship between the editorializing you have done in that paragraph as contrasted with your very splendid promise at the beginning of the campaign to report facts and not editorialize.

Rather, I should like to comment on what I think is a very bad case of reporting the facts. You state, in parenthetical form, "They (meaning the polls) were as wrong as they were four years ago." By whatever standards you choose to set up, this is not true. In 1948 we used our figures on which to base a flat prediction; in 1952 we made no prediction at all. Our final figures, given out over another network on the Sunday before election, were Eisenhower 49 per cent, Stevenson 37 per cent, and the "undecided" 14 per cent. In line with the implied promise made to the Social Science Research group which investigated

the 1948 polls--and with my own previously published convictions--we offered no speculation whatever as to how the undecided vote would go. However, it shouldn't have required very much of an analytical genius to figure out that Stevenson had to take all of the undecided vote in order to have 51 per cent and that if Eisenhower got any substantial percentage of them, it would be an Eisenhower landslide. In short, the figures themselves were accurate enough for any who wanted to use them as a basis for prediction.

Also I'd like to comment on the implications inherent in your statement that we regard ourselves as set up for the sole purpose of "predicting the unpredictable." I have been contending for some time that if public opinion polls were used in election years for the purpose of flat prediction and if they continued to be as successful as they were in 1936, 1940, and 1944, they might do a considerable amount of harm, including the fact that they might sometime find themselves with the measuring rod influencing the thing they were trying to measure. In my opinion, this happened in 1948, when the polls helped lull Thomas Dewey's advisers into a feeling of false security. There was obviously no danger of the polls' being accepted in an oracular sense in 1952, but at the same time, I announced flatly on the air and in my column in February of 1952 that we would offer no flat predictions at all but rather would try to find out which issues were influencing which groups, while at the same time publishing <u>all</u> the evidence we had so that any who cared to predict could do so. (I felt it was necessary to publish total figures so anyone could judge for himself the validity of the group--or breakdown--figures.) On this I think we did a very creditable job, and since those scripts are available and since such people as Sam Stouffer of Harvard, Lazarsfeld of Columbia, Clyde Hart of Chicago, to say nothing about such people as Frank Stanton and Frank Folsom and Bob Sherwood and others, also feel that we did a creditable job on the one thing we announced in February we intended to do, I'm not going to take the trouble here to try to document it.

I suspect I disagree with practically every thought in that paragraph, but for purposes of this letter let me content myself by saying that your statement that the polls--and by inference, therefore, our poll--were as wrong as they were in 1948 is demonstrably false and that your assumption that our purpose was to predict the unpredictable shows that--although you now elect yourself to judge it--you never once paid any attention to the many times since 1944 I have said that this was not their function--including an entire broadcast and an entire column on that subject one year ago next month.

In conclusion, I think it is ironic that you should choose to quote Carl Sandburg in what is to me the offending paragraph, since he once took the trouble to come to my house in Redding to tell me that he thought the work we were doing was one of the two or three most important jobs being done in the field of trying to understand the common man--a subject close to his heart. He repeated that statement this month.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

Roper, Elmo

January 15, 1953

Dear Elmo:

Here's the script. For your information, Stanton didn't like it.

I send you my best salute for the new year and hope it will be better than either one of us thinks it will.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

December 22, 1952

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

So many of my friends have told me about a post-election broadcast of yours in which you discussed polling and pollsters that I should very much like to see it, and I would appreciate it if you would send me a script.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:bf

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

November 6, 1950

Called 9/13
Yes

Mr. Edward Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Brien McMahon finds he has to go to a dinner for the President on November 28th, and has asked me to shift my dinner to Monday, November 27th, which I have agreed to do, and I hope you can come.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER/gg

Roper, Ed

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

November 21, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Just a note to confirm our dinner date for 7 p. m., Monday, November 27th, at a private dining room in the Century Club (The Platt Room).

It will be good to see you.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER/gg

Roper, Elmo

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

November 16, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Well maybe that talk didn't read good to you, but for me I will take Lasker's judgment of it.

It will be good to see you as soon as you can get there at the Century, Monday, November 27th.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER/gg

Roper, Elmo

November 14, 1950

Dear Elmo:

Here's a copy for you and one for Lasker. It sure as hell doesn't read so good to me. My only excuse is that I was working until 5:00 that morning.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

11/8/50 pcrjet

October 13, 1950

Dear Elmo:

About November 28th: I shall be delighted and will present myself as soon after 8:00 as possible. Many thanks.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

October 10, 1950

Yes — late

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I'm having a little dinner for Brien McMahon at 7 p.m. November 28th at the Century Club.

There won't be more than nine of us, and I do hope you can come.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER ms

Roper, Elmo

October 4, 1950

Dear Elmo:

This is a belated answer to your epistle of April 5.

The troup of newspaper editors--sterling, stentorian, satchel-mouthed individuals all--was, in fact, organized and prepared to tour the country in order, particularly, that the less civilized and sophisticated residents of the eastern seaboard might have an opportunity to bask in the sunshine of their wit and wisdom.

The project was finally abandoned because during the last briefing session the name of Elmo Roper arose and the controversy over that individual became so acrimonius the team was dissolved. Some were in favor of including him; others maintained that his posture could only be described in the way that the G.I. described the little South Korean.

This limited survey of opinion persuaded me that most editors regard Roper as either responsible or repulsive. My efforts to convince them that you were, in fact, a deep thinker (andhere I avoid the use of alliteration) were unavailing. The result is that the eastern seaboard must wallow along in its own confusion, the path of destruction being illumined only once each week for fifteen minutes--and that late at night.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

M

It was funny then
(ER)

April 5, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Rumor has it that you are collecting a troupe of newspaper editors for an across-the-country tour, which will include radio, television, and personal appearances before Rotary Clubs, Leagues of Women Voters, etc.

As another skilled connoisseur of newspaper editors, I want to bring to your attention the qualifications of my old friend, Mr. Twinkwell Schoonerbottom, editor of the Oskaloosa (Iowa) Blatant Bladder. Mr. Schoonerbottom was born in Oskaloosa, Iowa, on August 10, 1902, and has been as far north in this country as Des Moines and as far east as Keokuk. His travels even have something of an international flavor because in January of 1921 he played basketball way down in Chillicothe, Missouri. (I forget what the score was now.)

Twinkwell attended the School of Taxidermy at Ames, Iowa, but later found it more fun and more profitable to tan the hides of local politicians via the editorial pages of his paper. As one who was there at the time, I can tell you that there isn't a word of truth in the rumor that Mr. Schoonerbottom's taxidermy professor compalined that he never could tell which was stuffed--the animal or Mr. Schoonerbottom. You need have no fears about Twinkwell's radio voice, since he was an easy winner in the Union County, Iowa, hog-calling contest in 1924.

Mr. Schoonerbottom's better known editorials are: "Spring Comes to Oskaloosa," "Oskaloosa--Upward and Onward," "Why Oskaloosa Doesn't Need a $200,000 High School"--and, of course, others too numerous to mention, none of which won the Pulitzer Prize.

As you can see, I have a very prejudiced view toward Mr. Schoonerbottom, since he and I are old friends. I'm sure, however, that you can look beneath this bias and recognize in Twinkwell the kind of rare genius that would blend in perfectly with the troupe now being organized.

Cordially yours,

Elmo Roper

ER:rv

Roper, Elmo

July 18, 1950

Dear Mr. Roper:

As you may know, Mr. Murrow went off the air for the summer on July 7th and is now on his way to Korea. I am writing merely to tell you that your letter of that date with Mr. Abrams' paper has been received in his absence.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

July 7, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Every once in a while a businessman says something well worth reading, and I think the enclosed comes under that heading, particularly the last three or four pages.

You may recall having dinner with the author with me one night at the Century --Frank Abrams, chairman of the board of Standard Oil (N. J.).

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:rv
Enclosure

1—PRD-4A—BP-8378

FROM: STANDARD OIL COMPANY (NEW JERSEY)
ROOM 1626 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y. PLAZA 7-3000

Limited Distribution

HOW CAN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM BE FOSTERED

A Paper Given By F. W. Abrams at
the Meeting of the C.E.D.
Washington, D.C., May 19th, 1950

Many of us, when we talk about a better public understanding of our economic system, really mean a better public attitude toward business. We feel that a better understanding cannot fail to mean a better attitude. We know that we ourselves have reacted that way, as our knowledge of business and business leaders has grown.

To understand fully our economic system would require a good many years of graduate work as well as experience in the practical field. I, for one, would certainly not like to say that it is all as simple as ABC to me. I know some very distinguished economists and I must say they don't all see eye-to-eye. It is my impression that the well-educated, thoughtful, experienced economists in the government do not always agree with the equally able economists in business and industry, or the experts of the labor movement, or the economists in our colleges and universities.

There are some elementary propositions that are important and that are generally accepted. For example, as a people, we can have more only by producing more. There must be a greater production to divide if we are going to have higher living standards. The total of production available for distribution is a result of how much capital we have, and of how effectively we use it -- and it takes profits to build that capital. Finally, it is well to recall that those who receive more than they produce, do so only at the expense of those who produce

more than they receive. These facts we believe to be basic. The C.E.D. is feeling its way, and is developing effective methods to teach these basic principles. And frankly, except for some of these fundamental propositions, I think it would be a very difficult thing to explain economics to the public successfully.

Even this simpler task, essential as it is, will not be successful if we businessmen are not trusted by ordinary folks. Without trust, our economics will not be believed, no matter how right it may be. With trust, our economics may be believed even by people who do not fully understand it. It is simply not enough to ring the old school bell and ask everyone in for a course of lectures in economics.

I want to inquire here today how we might achieve a better understanding and trust between the public and business of the motivations and aspirations of each. If we can understand these better, I think everyone will understand our economic system better. And, it is worth observing, the more we in management know about people, the better managers we will be, and people will get a feeling and sense that we are sincerely concerned with their problems.

Basically, most men want simple things. They want the esteem of their fellow men. They want a reasonable degree of assured comfort for themselves and those dependent upon them. They want freedom to develop culturally and to express themselves spiritually. They want the opportunity to improve themselves by dint of their own efforts, in part, because they are driven by the hope of personal fortune; but also, because of the satisfactions that go with personal achievement. They want to feel they are playing a part in building a finer country and life for themselves and their neighbors. I believe they would like to feel they are doing this <u>together</u> with their business leaders. These, it seems to me, are the fundamental wants of the great majority of men.

Likewise, let us put it down as the hard core of reality, that regardless of the physical environment and social structure at any particular time, mankind is constantly reaching out for something better -- materially, culturally, and spiritually. As businessmen, we can all be profoundly thankful for that compelling drive within men. It is the essence of the dynamic development of American business, in which we can all take justifiable satisfaction.

Down through time, by trial and error, men have come to know that their basic desires can be realized through certain homely virtues. Industry and thrift, together with a sense of self-reliance, have characterized the solid citizens of every generation. Integrity and moral honesty are virtues that have dominated the lives of respected men in every age. But if we are to be at peace with ourselves and our fellow men, there is another great virtue that must not be overlooked, and that virtue is faith in each other.

We hear a lot about the American way of life, and the essential dignity of man. Faith in our fellow men is the only basis on which each and every one of us can live that democratic principle. Suspicion of our fellow men generally -- or any section of our fellow men -- regardless of race, economic group, or religion, is incompatible with the dignity and aspirations of men in a free society.

Today, the complexity of our national life has amplified the basic wants of men, and changed the form of their expression. We are now preoccupied with such things as adequate medical protection, educational opportunities, stability of employment and income, and adequate pensions to begin when our productive lives may have been spent. These are the contemporary manifestations of the fundamental wants of man in his continuing search for better living. At the same time, the complexity of life today seems to have made us less aware of the simple but time-tested virtues that have always been the means of realizing the aspirations of men.

The geographical pioneering of this country's development is pretty much accomplished. Population has increased and shifted to the point where congestion occurs in many locations. The problems incident to increased population are accentuated by more rapid transportation and improved means of communication. People have been brought into closer association. Their opportunities for personal differences have multiplied.

It has become more important for us to learn how to live in harmony in a new kind of world. People now are more concerned with each other, and much less with the mastery of their physical environment. The importance of faith in our fellow men, and understanding among men, is thereby made the greater. Yet suspicion and acrimony exist amongst people, and seem to be growing stronger. In words that have been attributed to Dean McIntosh of Barnard, "while man has brought his physical universe under control, he cannot manage the simple relations between himself and his fellows."

There are some that feel that the New Deal recognized these diverging forces in contemporary life -- brought their outlines into focus, and made political capital out of them. Unfortunately, the New Deal solved few of the problems. But it did hasten the need of facing up to the implications of our basic position, which otherwise might have taken half a century. It seems to me that the great need of our time -- and this is true particularly of the business community -- is to recognize the situation as we now find it, and to proceed with patience and wisdom to make our contribution to meet it.

Well, then, what can be done about it? In my opinion, there is one thing that can be done, and that is to spend a lot more of our thought and our energies working to achieve a redistribution of faith, and less in what has come to be a somewhat sterile discussion of a redistribution of wealth.

Management must apply to its relationships with the rest of the community the same type of searching analysis that it would make of its more

usual business problems. It must do this in terms of what it knows, and can learn about, the basic wants and needs of men. After all, when you stop to think about it, it is absurd that business and the public, of which business is a part, should be regarded as being in conflict; or again, that management should be opposed to labor's basic interest and labor to management's.

All this may sound pretty idealistic to you. It is. But it also can be very practical. Trust among people can be recaptured only if we succeed in breaking through the separatism that has grown up among groups. We must aim to tear down the psychological walls that have been built around group interests. We must realize that in these matters, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Business management must make its own contribution to a restoration of understanding and faith among men.

To be certain that we make our full contribution to the welfare of all, we businessmen must recognize the possibility that we may have become possessed of some of those suspicions and fears that are so clear to us when we see them in others. We too may have lost some of our faith in our fellow men. What can we of good faith in the business community do about minimizing suspicions among the dominant groups of the country, including ourselves? We can make a brave start by examining the area about which we should know the most -- ourselves.

Management can make sure that any action it takes or sponsors in its own behalf is clearly justified, in the light of principle. At all costs, it should avoid building bear traps for business. Conscientious care and restraint must guide us in anything that touches us personally, such as our own compensation. We must curb our occasional enthusiasms for special government protection, or other forms of assistance. We must be sure we do not support the imposition of measures within the economy that are beneficial only to the interests that we may personally represent -- measures that may fail to serve the interests, or may even be contrary to the interests of everyone else.

But self discipline and restraint by business management, essential though it is, is not enough if we are to succeed in reestablishing genuine public acceptance of our economic leadership. We must reestablish the common touch with our fellow men. We must reappear in the role of warm-hearted human beings -- which is what we are.

It always amazes me when I consider how many of the leaders of business and industry today have come from very humble circumstances. Most of the people I know in high positions were not only born barefooted but many of them stayed that way for some time.

But it is true -- and I think we can see it everywhere -- that as success comes and men rise to positions of responsibility they start going to the same clubs, talking to each other, playing golf in the same foursomes, making speeches to each other (as we are doing here) and generally building up a wall around themselves. Perhaps our business leadership needs to go back to school to re-learn the art of knowing all the people. Don't tell me there are many exceptions. I know there are. But there is plenty of truth in the picture too.

There is a growing notion in a big enterprise that the team is what counts and not the individual playing a lone game. But in addition the simple fact, as I see it, is that men give their confidence to men. People turn to people. We trust men and women whose character we have come to recognize and respect. There is no good substitute for people. "These are men I trust," we say. "So long as they are there I am sure the institution is honest, decent, fair-minded and progressive." And since institutions reflect the character of their leadership it seems to me important that people should get to know that leadership.

It always seems rather sad to me that we of the industrial and business world deceive ourselves that we can "make friends and influence people" through such things as paid newspaper advertising, pamphlets and billboards.

Some of that may help under certain conditions. But when it becomes the main channel of our effort, I think it is almost an insult to the intelligence of the average reader. We live our relatively sheltered and exclusive lives, away from the home folks, and expect that a paid notice in the paper will hold their loyalty and admiration for us and what we represent. "Free enterprise, it's wonderful" we say, and then we congratulate each other on what a swell "ad" we have written.

What I am trying to say is that I don't think that business has a chance to do the kind of job it honestly wants to do, and the kind of job for which it is trained and equipped -- it does not have a chance to make its full contribution to the welfare of all, unless businessmen get out and sell themselves personally to the other major groups that make up the people of good faith in America. Part of that selling is the exercise of conscientious care and restraint in our businesses, and part is the simple matter of re-meeting the folks. I am sure that too few people really know those responsible in business organizations. We have gone too far down the road of setting up what might be called a business aristocracy, simply by mingling and talking only with ourselves.

It is easy to be suspicious of the aims and purposes of people you do not know. The foundation of good human relationships must be faith, and it's hard to have faith in a strange name on a piece of paper. We frequently feel hurt that our motives are questioned and our sincerity doubted. But all the advertising space we can buy, exhorting others to believe in us as businessmen, will go unheeded, and all our speeches and statements will fall on deaf ears until folks believe that we understand and are concerned with their problems.

Anyone who knows the business leaders of this country knows that they are patriotic, high-principled men dedicated to the responsibilities of their work. But too few people know them. The very consecration that they give to the problems of their business, has served to absorb their time and thereby isolate them from people generally.

This situation must be changed. The public attitude toward business has become the primary problem of business itself. No longer can the industrial manager believe that he has met the full responsibilities of his position in the efficient operation of his business. A new competitive threat has appeared -- that of governmental encroachment under the guise of social consciousness. It is my firm conviction that business managers can meet this, but they must take to the field to do it.

The faith of the people can be regained by our showing faith in them through the cultivation of their friendship. We have something real to offer in the competition for the future social way of life in this country. But we have to get out and show the folks that we who are responsible for the conduct of business, are warm-hearted human beings like themselves.

Then and only then will they turn to business for economic leadership.

Roper, Elmo

July 6, 1950

Dear Elmo:

This time I have "had it". I go off the air the end of this week and go to Korea the end of next week. I'm sorry to miss the proposed dinner. When I return I shall send you a Roper questionnaire as to how salubrious was the evening and the percentage of drinkers as distinguished from thinkers.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

June 28, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

You remember I wrote you on June 13th about a little dinner party I proposed where the guest of honor was to be our mayor, Bill O'Dwyer. You duly replied, as did the others, but a combination of the fact that half the guests I wanted couldn't come on one of the two dates and the other half couldn't come on the other, plus the fact that my own schedule got in a jam made me call the thing off--or rather postpone it.

I'm now setting it up again, so here's another questionnaire:

1. Would the evening of July 12th be convenient for you? Yes____ No_____

2. Would the evening of July 18th be convenient for you? Yes____ No_____

If you'll let me know promptly, I'll set it up definitely for one of those dates and let you know which one is "majority choice."

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:rv

Roper, Elmo

January 26, 1950

ELMO ROPER
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK

I AM SLIGHTLY CONFUSED DID YOU SAY "PROFOUND THINKERS" OR "DRINKERS" STOP TWAS DELIGHTFULEST EVENING.

ED MURROW

BUSINESS

ELMO ROPER
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA • NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

January 17, 1950

Dear Ed:

This letter is simply intended to confirm our dinner engagement for Wednesday evening, January 25th, at 7 p.m. in a private dining room at the Century Club.

I haven't positive assurance from two of the invitees yet, but the ones who have accepted, besides you and me, are Brien McMahon, Frank Folsom, Winthrop Rockefeller, Albert Lasker, and Ernest Angell.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

P. S. Frank Abrams has just accepted.

Roper, Elmo

June 17, 1949

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Elmo:

Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me "The Rock Cried Out". I haven't yet had the time to read it, but if God is good I'll be off this schedule in two weeks and will then be able to get to it.

As ever yours,

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

June 3, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I have just finished reading in unbound proof form Ed Stanley's new novel THE ROCK CRIED OUT. — on shelf

It is beautifully written and puts some of the half forgotten figures of history and half remembered incidents into such clear perspective that I thought you might like to read it too, and I'm asking him to send you a copy.

Cordially yours,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:ss

Roper, Elmo

February 1, 1949

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Elmo:

Many thanks for sending me "There's Freedom for the Brave", which arrived here while I was in Washington. I'm hoping to get a chance to read it soon.

As ever yours,

ELMO ROPER

30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA · NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

January 11, 1949

Dear Ed:

I am having mailed to you today a copy of Paul McGuire's new book, THERE'S FREEDOM FOR THE BRAVE, which Morrow will publish on February 24th. I am sending it because I think you will find it highly provocative. The acceptance of what he suggests may very well be a necessary "first step" toward world order.

I do not agree with all Mr. McGuire has said, and I am sure you won't. For example, I can't see the sharp distinction between what he calls "The State" and what he calls "The Economy." I do, however, think his point that even in the Western democracies some people tend toward nationalism to the point where they imbue the "state" with God-like qualities is good.

You may find one or two chapters, such as the one where he traces developments in France, a little boring; but if you do, I think you will find some of the other chapters equally as exciting.

Yours sincerely,

Elmo

Elmo Roper

ER:elk

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

January 14, 1949

Dear Mr. Hobson:

Thank you for sending Mr. Murrow a copy of "There's Freedom for the Brave".

It has been received here during his absence but will be called to his attention as soon as he returns to the office.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Thayer Hobson, President
William Morrow & Company, Inc.
425 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

.M MORROW & COMPANY, INC., *Publishers* 425 *Fourth Avenue, New York* 16, N. Y.

January 10, 1948

Dear Mr. Murrow:

At the request of Elmo Roper, we are sending you a copy of Paul McGuire's THERE'S FREEDOM FOR THE BRAVE: An Approach to World Order, which will be published on February 24th.

If you feel as I do that the ideas and doctrine in THERE'S FREEDOM FOR THE BRAVE are vitally needed today in America - and in the whole world - you may very well write me and ask what you can do to help get this book into the hands of people who ought to read it. Whatever you write me about the McGuire book will not be used publicly without your permission, but I would be less than honest if I did not admit that I hope you will feel that you will want to send me comment which could be used in publicity and promotion. THERE'S FREEDOM FOR THE BRAVE is not impulse merchandise and it will not attract a large audience unless it enjoys from the outset the positive support of the people who lead thought in this country.

Yours sincerely,

Thayer Hobson

Thayer Hobson
President

TH:mek

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

MURRAY HILL 5-8648 - CABLE: WILMOROW, N. Y.

January 14, 1949

Dear Mr. Roper:

Thank you for your letter of January 11th and the copy of THERE'S FREEDOM FOR THE BRAVE which have been received here during Mr. Murrow's absence in Washington.

They will be called to his attention when he returns to the office at the end of the month.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

Roper, Elmo

WU027 PD

THIS IS A WESTERN UNION MESSAGE

RECEIVED 1950 JAN 27 PM 3:25 C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

RK NEWYORKNY JAN 27 257P

EDWARD R MURROW,COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

DO NOT LET YOUR CONFUSION WORRY YOU EVEN THE CHARTER MEMBERS HAVE BEEN CONFUSED AT TIMES

ELMO ROPER

321P..